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Eva Maria Jung-Inglessis

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## FOREWORD

This book shall be neither the legend of a saint nor a detective novel. It will not attempt to uncover unknown sources and backgrounds. Its purpose is to narrate simply and modestly the life of a "servant of Christ" who found "grace with God and mankind," as did his Lord and Master.

In addition, this volume will show the role of Cardinal Bea in the Council and introduce his literary work. Therefore his speeches and his writings are quoted as often and as completely as possible. To call attention to these passages, the longer quotations are printed in italics.

When in the course of this account the Cardinal is curtly referred to as "Bea", without forename or title, it is not solely for the sake of brevity, but to create and express a greater intimacy with the man—as in casual conversation if one speaks about familiar persons.

Rome  
Fall, 1969

Dr E. M. Jung-Inglessis

## CHAPTER 1

### The Farm Boy

#### 1. His Childhood

At the edge of the Black Forest close to the Swiss border, the quiet village of Riedbohringen had certainly never dreamed that one day it would become an attraction for tourists and pilgrims. Now it is uniquely famous as the place of birth and burial of Cardinal Augustin Bea. The house in which he came into the world on May 21, 1881, still stands. It is a simple farmhouse and workshop with a barn built alongside. Although the structure remains even today, it is under new ownership. In the parish church in which the young Bea received the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and later celebrated his first Mass, the Cardinal was buried on November 21, 1968. Also in this village is a small museum in which are kept the things that surrounded him in everyday life and were somehow special to him: furniture, clothes, books, pictures.

The Cardinal's ancestors had lived in Riedbohringen for many generations. Originally they were called "Behaim" or "Beham" which in the Schwäbisch dialect of this region means something like "Böhme" which implies that the family stems from Bohemia. The Cardinal's grandfather, however, shortened the name to "Bea". Although the name sounds more southern than German, it is popular in this region, the "Baar".

His father, Karl Bea (1864-1912) was a carpenter and masterbuilder. After Karl had wandered through Europe as an apprentice for several years, according to contemporary custom, he returned to Riedbohringen where he set up his workshop and established a successful construction company. This business prospered

largely because the wooden houses of the locale burned down very easily

Significantly, Bea's first childhood memory is a fire. Because he was accustomed to flames from his early youth, he never feared fire and was never burned.

Although it frightened his mother, little Augustin liked to climb up the scaffoldings of his fathers projects and to hear his father explain the floor plans. From him he acquired a sense for building. But in spite of his interest for his father's handicraft, Bea did not become a builder of wooden and stone houses, but an assistant builder of the house of God—the Church in the twentieth century.

His mother, Maria Immaculata Merk (1854–1918) grew-up in the neighboring village of Gutnedingen. She was married in 1880, and one year later gave birth to her only child, a son, who was baptized "Augustin". Besides caring for her family, Maria did some farming. She rarely travelled except for her yearly pilgrimage to the Einsiedeln Cloister in Switzerland. Like her husband, she was unable to be a part of her son's career. Both the Cardinal's parents were industrious, pious and modest people, as the Cardinal described them in a moving memorial speech which he delivered in 1967 when the coffins of his parents were brought from the Churchyard into the Church. Here they were laid together in a newly constructed crypt where Bea wished later to join them. Every home, Bea told the assembled community of Riedbohringen, should be a "church," the first "House of God" where His praise is sung and His word preached, as it had been in Bea's own home.

This I can truly say with great thanks to God and to my parents, my first educators. Here, at my mother's knee, I learned to pray, and by my father I was introduced to the Church. When I was barely three years old, my father led me up to the choir loft (before the Church was enlarged) from where I could see the altar. I watched the priest raise the Holy Host, give Benediction with the monstrance, and with my childish understanding I felt that to be a priest must be something very great

And this conception prompted me to build a small altar at home, in the corner of my parents' living room. Since my mother walked to Maria Einsiedlen once a year (as it was customary for the pilgrims to do), she would bring me as a gift a 'Kramle,' a small statue. She showed me how to arrange it on my altar, thus giving me the first instruction for my calling. My father and mother were the true inspiration of my priestly profession and all that grew from it.

My upbringing, however, was not at all prim, I had to be obedient and well-behaved. The rod was by no means spared. Once, at age seven, while sitting among the children in the first pews of the church, I whispered to my neighbors. My father had observed me from the choir loft and, stick-in-hand, awaited me at home to teach a young boy that it is forbidden to babble in Church. The boy has not forgotten this lesson.

The first school which determines one's religious outlook is the home. That my faith was unaffected by the many different types of schools I later attended, I owe to the religious training I received in my home. There I was also provided with fundamental worldly knowledge. From my good father I learned to read and write before grammar school, he also taught me elementary arithmetic and the basics of designing and sketching before I was seven years old. My father, then, had given me a thorough education in my earliest years, my mother helping also by instructing me in the performance of household duties.

You will understand that all this could not be without fruit. And when, after almost eighty years, I think back on this first instruction, I cannot be thankful enough to God the Lord and to my parents (A. Bea Die erste Kirche, in Katholischer Digest, 1/69, pp. 16-20)

The young Augustin, therefore, received a very strict and pious education. The region from which he comes, known as the "Baar," was at this time still completely Catholic, but had suffered under the influence of Josephinism and Liberalism. No priest or member of an order had ever come from Bea's village. Because the priest of Riedböhringen recognized the gift of Augustin, he was hopeful that the young Bea would be the first. He gave him private lessons to prepare him for high school, while in his spiritual career Augustin quickly rose to the ecclesiastical rank of acolyte.

## 2. School Days

The young villager took his first step into the wide world at age twelve, when he went to the "Lendersche Lehranstalt" in Sasbach, close to Achern in the German state of Baden. Here he was mistakenly accepted in the third class rather



than the second. Over the portal at the entrance of the school is written: Initium sapientiae timor Domini—this impressed him immensely.

Four years later he went to the Stadtische Gymnasium, a non-denominational high school in Konstanz on Lake Constance. In retrospect the Cardinal viewed this opportunity as providential, since it afforded him his first encounter with non-Catholics. (A quotation follows here which should be supplied from the original English edition. A. Bea, "Paths to Ecumenism" in What I Have Learned, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1969, p. 13)

Still, a year later the student was forced to leave Konstanz because the hostel in which he lived was being rebuilt. He went then to the Erzbischofliche Gymnasialkonvikt in Rastatt where, in 1900, he graduated. On his report card all the grades were "very good" with the exception of his mark in religious instruction which was, strangely, only "good to very good." "That was because of the teacher," Bea explained. "He would insist that we learn and repeat our lessons by rote. Even today I don't like that."

The director of the dormitory in Rastatt at this time, Dr. C. Holl, wrote a letter of recommendation for the graduate to the Erzbischofliche Ordinariat in Freiberg, Breisgau, in which he said, among other things

Bea is a very gifted and equally industrious pupil. He has a very reserved, disciplined and strong character. One can trust him in every regard...The undersigned believes that one day Bea will become a very excellent priest (i. Peinhard Kardinal Augustin Bea, in Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt Nr. 48, 1950 p. 1123)

And he was right. Since at this time cash was uncommon in the rural countryside, at the beginning of the school year the whole neighborhood had to contribute some Marks to supply this high school student with necessities for the new term. Because of his good grades and his parents' declaration of poverty, he won a scholarship to the theological convict in Freiburg.

## CHAPTER 2

The Jesuit

## 1. His Studies

From the outset it was established as almost a matter of God's will that Bea would become a priest. He had no apparent inner conflicts or crises. His whole life seems to be directed upward along an unwavering straight line. That does not mean that his life was without difficulties, vexation, failure or frustration—but these were external not internal confrontations. The only momentary uncertainty was in his choice of an Order. At the age of sixteen or seventeen, he had already decided to join an Order. At first the Capuchians attracted him, because he had heard them preaching during a missionary campaign. Then he became enthusiastic about monastic life among the Benedictines with whom he became acquainted in the nearby Abbey Beuron. But he was afraid his voice was too weak for the rigors of Gregorian chant for which the Benedictines are well known. Later, when he was listening to a Benedictine Abbot sing in Rome, Bea is said to have remarked "My voice certainly would have been good enough!"

Through the Jesuit periodical Stimmen aus Maria Laach, today Stimmen der Zeit (formerly edited in the Abbey Maria Laach, now in Lönchen), his attention was drawn to the intellectual and spiritual work of the Jesuits, which very much impressed him. He felt his place was among these men. In 1898 during a Jesuit retreat held in Tisis-Feldkirch, Austria, the final decision was made. Only four years later, however, could he act on it. His father was understandably disappointed that his son would not take over the construction company, but Augustin wanted to become a priest. The thought of his only child's departure was especially hard to bear, because during this period Jesuits were forbidden

to remain in Germany by the "Jesuit paragraph" which the "Iron Chancellor" Bismarck issued in 1872. Possibly in the hope that his sons would reconsider his vocation, Augustin's father, a practical man, thought young Bea should not hurry matters, but should finish school and then study Theology at the local University of Freiburg, Breisgau. The aspirant Augustin did not want to force the issue, but to achieve his goal nonetheless through prudence and patience. To this method he adhered throughout his life and it proved very successful.

Therefore, in 1900 he enrolled at the University of Freiburg, where an outstanding theological faculty had been established. The future priests of his home diocese, the Arch-diocese of Freiburg, used to study at this state university. In Freiburg the famous Church historian Franz Xaver Kraus lectured, and it was he who awakened in the young student a love for Dante and an interest in archaeology. But Bea's special interest was already directed toward the Biblical Sciences. When he took leave of his Old Testament professor, Gottfried Hoberg, after three semesters, the latter protested

"What? You're going to the Jesuits? You could do better as a professor of exegesis here with us."

"No, sir. I do not go to the Jesuits for that," answered Bea.

But he did become a professor and remained one for forty years.

At last the moment arrived in which he realized his life's wish. In his previously quoted memorial speech he spoke of it.

Through their sacrifices, my parents became the founders of my career, when later I left to study in Basle as my mother and father dismissed their only child tearfully in order to fulfill the will of God. They made a greater sacrifice in completely renouncing my support in their old age by allowing me to enter an order which was banned in Germany at the time. Still, on her death bed my mother told me repeatedly that she never regretted the sacrifice and that she thanked the Lord God that she agreed to this sacrifice. (ibid., p. 16)

Bea departed on April 7, 1902, to enter the novitiate in Blyenbeek, The Netherlands. His parents requested a picture of their far-away son. For this

he was forced to travel to a nearby city to have a photograph taken. This picture portrayed him as a pious, well-mannered young man, as a novice seventy years ago could be imagined. (See photo, p \_\_\_\_). After two years as a novice, Bea began his juniorate which included the study of Humanities and Rhetoric. At this time, the young religious had as his spiritual advisor the holy Father Wilhelm Eberschweiler, for whose beatification Cardinal Bea later testified as "Promeritum" (referent) at the Congregation of Rites. Father Schmidt reports in a preface to an edition of the diaries of Cardinal Bea that: (Here the author quotes from the Italian edition of Bea's diary. This reference should be copied from the English text of the same publication.) (A. Bea Diario di un Cardinale, ed. Paoline, Alba 1970, p. 31)

Brother Bea made his first vows on the seventeenth of April, 1904. Pursuing his interest in Philosophy at Valkenburg, The Netherlands, he was also occupied with the study of ethnology under Father Viktor Cathrein, as his superiors originally planned for him. With the completion of his philosophical studies, he was sent to teach at a school ("Magisterium"), as is usual among the Jesuits, in order to acquire practical experience. In the "Aloysius-kolleg" in Sittard, the Netherlands, he taught Latin, Greek, German and even mathematics. For the summer semester of 1910, Bea attended the Jesuit university in Innsbruck, Austria, for courses in Classical Literature (philology), since his superior now intended that Bea fill a position in this field at the College of Stella Matutina in Feldkirch.

Looking back, the Cardinal wrote in the periodical of his first high school, "Der Sasbacher" (Easter 1962, p. 24)

Of course I never reached Feldkirch. But later in my life what I learned in Innsbruck, philology and philosophy, was very useful to me. Possibly the new Latin translation of the Psalms on which I worked would not have turned out as it did, if the director of the Papal Biblical Institute had not studied Classical Philology. Who could foresee this at that time? Nobody!

However, after only one term in Innsbruck, Bea was re-called to his study of Theology at Valkenburg. Since he had already studied three semesters of Theology in Freiburg, he was "prescribed" or "granted" another two and a half years.

When his "mind was finally reached in the Jesuit fashion," Bea said smiling to himself, he was able to be ordained in Valkenburg, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1912. The following morning he celebrated his first Eucharist at a private Mass in the Jesuit community, as is their custom. Otto Karrer, Bea's confrere at that time, served for him. None of his family was present. (Here the author inserts another citation from the previously quoted Diary), as Bea wrote later in his diary (Op. cit., 1962, VII, 2).

Only a few days after his consecration, he travelled to Riedbohringen to celebrate his First Mass with great festivity, as it usually happened in rural Catholic regions. The entire village took part in this historic event, since Bea was the first priest from this town. That was the first precedent this young boy would set in the course of his successful life. Because the law discriminating against Jesuits was still in effect, the cautious priest in Riedbohringen petitioned the government to allow a Jesuit to celebrate his First Mass in his home parish. From the authorities he received this solomonic response: the Primate might celebrate his First Mass, but no other Jesuit may be permitted to give the homily. Father Bea drew the conclusion, then, that he himself must preach. The government, needless to say, was rather indignant about this "Jesuit logic," but did nothing, since it was merely specified that no other Jesuit might give the sermon.

Because he was too ill to participate, Bea's father could only view from his window the festive procession which met the priest and led him to the church. Shortly thereafter, he died. But the priest's <sup>pious</sup> mother, with great

pride and delight, could see her son on the altar. Six years later she died, attended by her son who administered the Last Rites.

Following his ordination, a fourth year of theological study in Valkenburg was prescribed, according to Jesuit regulation. He completed his study with a doctoral examination in theology, since he had already received his Ph.D. Years of teaching and wandering ensued. To study Eastern languages he was sent to the University of Berlin for a summer semester. Here all his professors were non-Catholic. Eduard Meyer lectured in the History of the Classical Orient, Hermann Strack gave instruction in Hebrew, Josef Marquart taught Eastern languages and Jacob Barth Semitic languages.

However, in the autumn of 1913, Bea returned to Holland for the "Tertiat," the third year of probation which began with a long retreat and four weeks of absolute silence.

This constant vacillation from one discipline to another, from one place to the next, seemed actually useless. But in retrospect the Cardinal said

What I must do today I could not do if God had not led me ways which seemed in part wrong to my superiors, and in part wrong to me. But in view of what is asked of me today, I realize that these ways were not wrong, but were intended by God to give me the ability to understand and perform what I must do according to the will of the representative of Christ. (in Der Saspaciter, op cit., p. 24)

A student as gifted and industrious as Bea is usually sent to Rome for his studies. But because of a chronic lung ailment, his health prevented it. When he was eleven years old, he had a serious case of pneumonia, the local physician thought the boy would not survive. But young Bea, overhearing the doctor's opinion, said to himself "Since it's my death, I should have something to say about it too!" He asked his mother to serve all his favorite dishes, and, thanks to his tremendous will-to-live, he recovered. Later, however, pneumonia interrupted his studies twice. When he was finally to be sent to Rome in 1913, his physician was of the opinion that his constitution could not tolerate the



Roman climate. Again the medical judgment was proven false when, ten years later, Bea finally arrived in the city. The climate suited him so well that he stayed for fifty-four years without a single recurrence of his lung problems. It was here that he assumed responsibility and rank, earned honor and prestige. But even more amazingly he adjusted perfectly to the "Roman climate" in a metaphorical sense too— never becoming absorbed, but preserving his freshness like the air of the Black Forest. Fortunately his weak lungs delayed his departure for Rome long enough to allow him the opportunity of attending German and Austrian universities, which are superior to the Roman institutions in the fields of philology and related sciences. He also came in touch with the non-Catholic academic world, which was not possible in Rome at this time.

There is an anecdote which Father Schmidt, the most intimate assistant of Bea, insists is untrue, but which is nonetheless well improvised. The vicar general of the Jesuits asked Bea when he was Provincial in Southern Germany, why he sent so few of his charges to Rome to study. Bea is said to have answered "Because German universities are far better than the Roman." To which the vicar general replied "Then come to Rome and help us improve ours." That Bea did thoroughly.

However, World War I interrupted the young Jesuit's academic pursuits. At thirty-three years of age he was still eligible for military duty, but he was exempted from service. His religious superiors charged him with the temporary care of drafted Jesuit soldiers on leave in Aachen. In this situation Bea displayed his talent for organization. The recreation and recovery center he established became the first Jesuit settlement on German soil after their expulsion by Bismarck. The law banning the Order from the country was officially repealed in 1917. However, even earlier Bea was recalled to Valkenburg to concentrate finally on his special study, Biblical Sciences.

## 2. Professor and Provincial

For four years Bea taught Old Testament exegesis and after his second year he became Dean of Studies at Valkenburg. Soon, however, he was distracted from his research by another appointment. When the "Oberdeutsche," or southern German Jesuit province, was founded, Bea became provincial with his chair in Munich. Another example of his "Jesuit logic" may be recounted in connection with this episode. One of his confreres asked Bea if there was any possibility that the latter might be selected for this position. "No danger," Bea assured him. A few weeks later he again met his associate and Bea informed him that his appointment as provincial would be announced the next day. "But you assured-me you would not be chosen!" exclaimed the comrade in amazement. "I only said that there was no danger," responded Bea, "because I had already been appointed."

Now Bea could display his talent for organizing. Throughout Southern Germany he founded new houses and in Pullach, near Munich, he built the first study center of the Jesuits, the famous Berchmanskolleg. Missions in India (Bombay-Poona) and Brazilia (Rio Grande do Sul) also belonged to this Oberdeutsche province. At this time the customs and language in the missions were predominantly German, since most of the missionaries came from this country. It is therefore significant that the new provincial introduced native and local customs and languages to these stations, thereby increasing vocations among the natives and insuring the future of the order in Brazilia.

When he was about to leave for South America to tour the missions in 1923, he was recalled to take part in the General Congress of his Order in Rome. There it was decided that within the next year Bea should leave his post as provincial and return to Rome to open a study center for doctoral scholars of theology and philosophy. He set it up in the old Jesuit monastery alongside Del Gasu Church.



(Named "Collegio di San Roberto Bellarmino," it is located today in the Via Des Seminario 120.) Besides the direction of the house of studies, Bea received  
 a chair for New Testament Theology at the Papal Gregorian University, and offered  
 courses in the Doctrine of Inspiration and Introduction to the New Testament at  
 the Papal Biblical Institute

Four years later, Father Bea resigned as director of the study center and replaced Professor P. Murillo as Old Testament instructor. For this reason, Bea moved into the Biblical Institute. However, in the following year he suspended his lectures in order to tour Japan. This journey lasted six months and led him from Berlin to Poland, Russia, Korea and Japan, returning through China, Java and Ceylon, over the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. In 1929 a Jesuit in secular dress walked across Red Square in Moscow, and thirty-three years later the same priest established the first official relations with the Russian Church—Cardinal Bea. The Jesuits' Sophia University in Tokyo was destroyed by an earthquake. Although at this time only two-hundred students were enrolled under the philosophical faculty, Bea immediately designed construction plans for a capacity of 1200 students, providing space for future buildings. The development proved the clever constructor correct, because today Sophia University numbers close to five thousand students.

Bea was by no means an introverted bookworm. As well as a successful organizer and director, he was an enthusiastic teacher who excited his pupils—and in turn, heard them, tried to understand them, and was always eager to learn from them.

(Here another quotation, published elsewhere in English, should be supplied.)

(Paths to Ecumenism, cit., p. 16) Especially when a Jesuit was involved, Bea liked to be more lenient during the examination, because of his preference for the brothers of his order, according to Father Zervick, who sat with Bea in the examining committee of the Bible Institute (cf. the booklet Augustin Cardinal Bea,

edited by the Katholisches Pfarramt Riedbohringen 1970, without page).

The principles and ideals which inspired him throughout his scientific and academic activity are obvious from his diaries. There he writes.

(Diary quotation, see Chapman edition) (1959, *consideratio status*).

This principle of "ever-readiness to learn," Bea had adopted from Cardinal Mercati, who was Prefect of the Vatican Library and an Eastern scholar. Bea always emulated him. (Diary quotation, 1967, IV, 3).

In a meditation of the New Testament passage on the "salt of the earth," which Bea felt Christians, and especially he himself, should be, he writes (Diary quotation, see Chapman edition) (1964, IV, 4). From the beginning Bea's teaching was filled with a priestly and pastoral spirit. Through exegesis he sought to promote the spiritual life of his students and to stimulate the consideration and proclamation of the Word of God. (Cf. Stefano Schmidt *Il cardinale Agostino Bea, La Civiltà Cattolica*, Roma 1969, p. 8).

During his term as professor in Rome, Bea would spend several weeks of his summer vacation with theology students from the Collegium Germanicum, the German seminary in Pastore near Palestrina. There he enjoyed walking with a group of students along the laurel paths or sitting with them beneath the cypresses to explain Old Testament scripture, especially the Prophet Isaiah. One of these students, who prefers to remain unnamed, later remarked that such biblical seminars with Father Bea were unique and unforgettable experiences. "He presented us with wisdom as well as knowledge. What he discussed were enlargements of his own experiences. He wanted to testify. As a scientist he was critical, modern, sober and objective, but he also possessed a rare sense of poetry and an amazing strength of literary expression. His eyes, and especially the gestures of his right hand, also spoke. I do not know to which character he was closer the passionate, self-assured Isaiah or the timid, melancholic Jeremias, who was

always aware of his limitations. In any case, Bea could draw us extremely near to the broad scale of feelings expressed by these two utterly different temperaments. We had the impression that Bea himself was seized prophetically. Yes, he possessed the gift of a prophet. He was inspired by God. He lived by the word of God and the word of God lived through him. And we lived from what he imparted to us." (The author supplies no reference here.)

Bea was a "servant of the Word" in a literal sense. His life's task was directed to the word of God, as were his lectures and speeches, his articles and later his book, Das Wort Gottes und die Menschheit (The Word of God and Mankind), 1968. Significantly, the speech he delivered at the First International Congress on Pastoral Theology in Assisi (1956) was on "die seelsorgliche Bedeutung des Wortes Gottes" (The Pastoral Meaning of God's Word), which was anticipated with great excitement. The following explanation made an especially deep impression

The priest has a double function — he is as much a minister verbi or minister of the word as he is a minister sacramenti or minister of the Sacrament. In him therefore, the word of God becomes flesh of his flesh and spirit from his spirit. In him the liturgical and biblical movements shall meet, melt, and meld. A priest who can celebrate the holy sacrifice of the fractio panis well, but who would not understand how to break the bread of the word of God for the faithful, would be only half a priest. (A. Bea, Valeur pastorale de la parole de Dieu dans la Liturgie, in La Maison-Dieu 47-48, Paris 1936, pp. 144-145)

This concept of the twofold function of the priest also concerns him several times in his diaries. (See Chapman edition 1962, VI, 2)

Even later, as a Cardinal, he could not give up teaching, which to him was service to the word of God. When he lectured during the only free afternoon in the course of meetings and conventions, he was often strongly advised that he should rather rest. He rejected this suggestion resolutely. "Please, this is no strain for me. After all, I am a professor."

For the burden and zeal of his work, his good memory and gift for languages

were extremely helpful. He wrote in Italian and Latin as well as he did in his mother tongue, spoke fluent English and French, and read Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic. In addition, he possessed an amazing power of concentration, and worked with incredible speed and ease. When once a professor of Biblical Archaeology was forced to cancel his lectures, Bea retreated for three weeks and reappeared at the beginning of the semester with a complete study-plan. It is especially remarkable that he had written only a course-outline for his students. Therefore the classes were not redundant, since the students could not simply buy the published lectures ("Dispensen") to memorize, as was the Roman practice.

Bea busied himself writing academic reports, obituaries for his brethren, and many articles. It is impossible to count the exact number of all his articles. He himself may not have seen some of the translations of his works. The last bibliography in 1967 numbers four hundred and five articles. Besides technical essays for specialists, Bea wrote articles (especially in the Civiltà Cattolica in Rome and the Stimmen der Zeit in Munich) to inform the laymen of latest biblical research. He took a stand on contemporary theological and ecclesiastical issues and commented on recent Church publications, encyclicals and instruction. As a matter of fact, in his very first article (1911) Bea took a position on an article by the Protestant theologian A. Harnack under the title "In einer rückläufigen Bewegung zur Tradition?" ("A Reversion to Tradition?").

In a more recent article he answered the question affirmatively and stated

...in a strange irony of history the special sciences from which the Bible critic expected the destruction of traditional opinion, became the strongest support of exactly this tradition, namely Eastern and Israeli archaeology and the history of Religion and Culture. (Biblische Kritik und neuere Forschungen, in Stimmen der Zeit 114, 1928, pp 401-412) (The page numbers of this reference should be investigated, since this short quotation could not extend over eleven pages.)

Bea speaks very informatively of the beginnings and fundamentals of his

literary work in his autobiographical essay "Paths to Ecumenism," pp 15-16  
(Reference should be supplied in the original English, AS PREVIOUSLY CITED)

These first books (De Pentateucho, 1929, and De Inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae quaestiones historicae et dogmaticas, 1930) are textbooks which he compiled from his class notes and lectures and which were intended for use by theology students and seminary professors. He had virtually no time for thorough scientific research work in his special fields. Neither was that his task. He had a greater one.

### 3. Director of the Biblical Institute

On July 2, 1930, Father Bea was named director of the Papal Biblical Institute or "Biblicum." At age fifty, he seemed to have arrived at his permanent post. It was an honorable but difficult office. In this position, the farm boy developed the smooth touch of a born diplomat. He handled himself with the greatest cleverness and self-confidence in the most heated situations. Singeing discussion in Catholic theology at this time arouse with regard to the field of biblical research, but Bea was never burned, because from his youth he was used to fire. Endowed with special administrative ability, he saw his intentions executed without commanding. He made many friends, but no enemies—which means much in Rome.

Here Bea's moderate pleasant character was evident. One of his colleagues said

His most significant trait was an absolute even-temperedness in his apparent mood.

In the eight years of his collaboration with Director Bea, this associate only once realized a hint of impatience and anger

No, Father Bea really did not give the impression of an ascetic. But exactly in that lay his greatest asceticism, that he always maintained an admirable self-control, that he was ever in the service of kindness...



not hard to admit that Bea acquired a reputation, within the Biblicum and without, as a defender of rather conservative positions. I say even outside the institute because those who followed his lectures, I among them, had no difficulty recognizing that occasionally he expressed certain principles in class, the application of which would have led him to quite different positions, but prudence required him not to pursue it. At any rate, the confidence he won through this prudence made it possible for him to exert his influence far beyond the auditorium of the Biblical Institute (St. Lyonnet *Un primo posto nelle controversie bibliche*, in La Rocca, Assisi, 1 Dez. 1968, p. 34)

It is to Bea's credit that in accordance with its basic principles, he attempted to show the Biblicum a new direction which was not liberal but open to new theological stimulation, method and research. In his entire scientific endeavor, Bea aimed to correlate Old Testament exegesis with modern research in the fields of archaeology, ethnology, philology and comparative religion. Father Bernhard Leeming, another of Bea's scholars, summarizes the Cardinal's principles of biblical study

Father Bea rejected the rigid literalism which understood the holy writer as a stenotypist taking dictation. He developed the doctrine now generally accepted—inspiration through the principle of instrumentality. God moves the human author to write only and entirely what God wants. But God motivates him as an intelligent and free human being. Therefore the author maintains his own personality, imagination and talent for expression, which are molded by his environment, contemporary custom, language and culture. Therefore, information concerning literary styles and forms of ancient Eastern writers is necessary in order to understand the full meaning of the authors of Holy Scripture (B. Leeming, Augustino Cardinal Bea, Notre Dame Press, 1964, pp. 20-21)

Rather critically Dr. August Hasler writes in his article "Augustin Bea and Karl Barth in memoriam" (Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift, Linz, 1969, 4 Heft, pp. 292-293)

Although in this view of the matter some things appear problematic an understanding of the historical dimension of the Bible is possible through the concept of instrumentality and through the demand for scientific recognition of the meaning intended by the evangelist or author in accord with the principles of biblical hermeneutic. This is the most important presupposition for the encyclical, Divino Afflante Spiritu. With the document's recognition of the plurality of literary forms in Holy Scripture, the Catholic exegete is granted a new freedom. It would be too much to say that Bea had at this time seen the consequences or that he later followed the developments of

Regardless of his burden, whoever knocked at the door was received as if he had not disturbed or as if he were the only visitor of the day, if not even a welcome break. That was Father Bea's Jesuit ascetism.. This extraordinary kindness had effects reaching far beyond the quality itself, especially with regard to scholarship and authenticity .. This combination of kindness, expertise, and reliability made it possible for Bea to pave the way toward the New...,

writes Father Zerwick, who was Bea's "minister" in the Bible Institute, in his "Plaudereien aus den Erinnerungen an Kardinal Bea" (in Augustin Kardinal Bea, op. cit., s p.)

Founded by Pius X in 1910, the Biblical Institute was intended as a bulwark against the dangers of contemporary modernism. Under its first director, the German Jesuit Leopold Fonck, it was considered a stronghold of Catholic conservatism. But under Bea's administration, the drawbridge of the fortification was lowered; the position of the Institute was liberalized by his regard for modern scientific methods and the findings of non-Catholic researchers.

It was important for Bea to proceed with deference to those of his colleagues who were slower of thought and action. His introduction to the much-feared topic of genera literaria (literary forms and classes) into Catholic biblical sciences, is reported by Father Schmidt as an example of Bea's method of procedure.

It is known that this topic arose at the outset of this century in a rather stormy fashion, and therefore has been a stumbling block for a long time. After Pius XII, in his encyclical Divino Afflante Spiritu, had acknowledged the existence of the genera literaria in Holy Scripture, and had defined the method for their study, students of the Biblicalum said teasingly that many of the texts of their venerable master Bea must now be set in quotation marks, since his teaching had been so identical to the encyclical named above. He himself later remarked several times that he was convinced this argument would not have been incorporated in the encyclical if he had not been slowly preparing the way for it in quiet study and careful instruction for years. (St. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 6)

The extent of Bea's caution is also reported in the article of his former scholar, the present vice-director of the Biblical Institute, Father Stanislaus Lyonnet

In the years preceding the encyclical Divino Afflante Spiritu, it is

Catholic exegesis completely. In many respects it seemed too radical to him. And yet it was he who basically helped to introduce a new epoch in Catholic exegesis, which has not yet ended and which has not thus far completely affected the life of the Church. Therefore, for this reason especially, there can be great hope for the relation of the Catholic Church to other churches.

During his directorship, Bea was also editor of the Institute's periodical, Biblica. Under his administration, the Oriental faculty was formed in 1932 and a new periodical, Orientalia, appeared, in addition to Analecta Orientalia.

Another of Bea's concerns as head of the Institute was the Teleilat Ghassul excavation under its sponsorship in Palestine's southern Jordanian valley. Since his study in Freiburg, archaeology had become his greatest love, after biblical science, so he found this responsibility a pleasant one. These diggings yielded evidence of a materially sophisticated culture, existing in Palestine during the fourth or third <sup>pre-Christian millenium</sup> Century before Christ. The community appears to have engaged actively in commerce with Egypt long before the Israelites settled in the country. Several times Bea, in his capacity as rector of the Institute, undertook expeditions known as "Karawanen". Accompanied by his professorial staff and students, he travelled through Egypt and the Near East to Sinai and Mt. Nebo where Moses died. In this way he acquired a personal knowledge of the Near East, which proved useful to him in his later presidency of the Chair of Christian Unity, which was concerned with Eastern Christianity. Besides several articles which Bea himself offered, the Biblicum edited two large illustrated folio-volumes on Teleilat, which won regard for the Institute in many non-Catholic circles.

The widening reputation of the Biblicum brought an invitation to the First International Congress for Old Testament Studies (1935), organized by two German Protestant theologians from the University of Göttingen J. Hempel and R. Volz. Because such an invitation was extremely unusual at this time, the director felt he should ask for papal permission. Pius XI, a scholar himself, understood the value of such an exchange of thought. "Why not?" he said to Bea. "Go and take



with you professors who are well prepared and know how to answer."

The acceptance of the Institute's director is shown in his selection as chairman of the final session of the meeting. He spoke on the excavations at Teleilat Ghassul and presented a paper on "Die Spuren eines Nachlebens nach dem Tod im alten Orient und im Alten Testament" ("Evidences of Life-After-Death in the Ancient East and in the Old Testament") with such compelling arguments that the scholar whose thesis Bea was contradicting, withdrew his own assertions. At this convention Bea had the opportunity to come into personal contact with his Protestant colleagues, whose writings he already knew. These relationships became closer as time past and provided the introduction to his future ecumenical endeavors.

As the fame of the Biblical Institute grew, so did its size. Twenty-five Jesuit professors constituted the faculty for two-hundred students, comprised of secular priests and members of religious orders from thirty-three nations. The students received their doctoral degrees in Biblical Science or Eastern Studies, and then most returned to professorial positions in their native countries.

The original building at the Piazza Pilotta became too small. In the last years of Bea's administration, a neighboring and much larger building, erected by Pope Sixtus V in the sixteenth century, was connected to the smaller edifice by a bridge.

Associated with the office of director were many activities extending far beyond the scope of biblical science or the administration of the Institute, for example, inspection of the various study centers in Naples, Valkenburg, Maastricht, Innsbruck and Sitten in Wallis (the Swiss county to which the theological faculty of Innsbruck was forced to move during the Nazi regime).

Bea had personally assisted in the formulation of the apostolic constitution Deus Scientiarum Dominus, signed by Pius XI on May 24, 1931, which was intended to

initiate a reform of ecclesiastical academic studies "For the first time in the history of the Church, a uniform regulation for the study of ecclesiastical subjects and for the academic grading of these was established. This legislation is a fitting crowning of the unceasing efforts of the Holy Father to improve ecclesiastical studies...It is one of the great accomplishments of his pontificate " (The author supplies no reference here )

Since 1931, Bea had also been a consultant for the Papal Bible Committee, and as such he took part in the composition of the encyclical Divino Afflante Spiritu. Because it was edited during the Second World War (1943), the encyclical did not receive the attention it deserved at first, according to Bea, although among experts it was well received. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the encyclical's publication, Cardinal Bea was able to emphasize the significance of its contents through various articles and radio addresses in the last weeks of his life.

What was the significance of this encyclical in the historical moment of its publication? It presented the results of fifty years of Catholic biblical research and offered a sound basis for further study. In these fifty years much assistance was lent biblical study by the findings of several secular sciences, especially archaeology which produced numerous excavations and discoveries in the fields of literature, history, linguistics and ethnology. On the basis of these results, the encyclical defines the task of biblical science and proposes a specific program: the study of original texts in terms of linguistics, accurate and thorough interpretation of individual books of the Bible and bible texts with respect to their cultural backgrounds..

The encyclical has obvious merit, since it promoted an enormous interest in the written word of God, and therefore in the Bible movement within Catholic circles, it created a generation of Catholic biblical scholars who were inspired by the document and influenced by it. This movement and these men directed the orientation toward scripture which marked Vatican II. The effect of this scriptural orientation on the inner life of the Church and on the ecumenical movement is already apparent and its intensity will become more and more evident as time goes by. (From a speech on radio Vatican, Sept. 30, 1968, on 'Das bibelkundschreiben Divino Afflante Spiritu und seine Bedeutung im Lichte der vergangenen 25 Jahre )

Bea was also the chairman of a four-year commission (consisting of five

members of his institute) for the revision of the Latin Psalms. In his previously cited article, Father Lyonnet reports that Bea took over "out of sheer obedience to the expressed wish of the Holy See...an obedience which was particularly difficult since he knew that his ideas for the translation were not at all compatible with the notions of Pius XII." (Rocca, p. 33) The difference of opinion did not lie in the necessity of a modern critical translation, but rather in Bea's aversion to the Ciceronian style of Latin requested by the Pope.

Just after the publication of the Liber Psalmorum (March 24, 1945), Bea published a short work to explain the intention of the new translation and to refute critical objections. In his opinion

This step of the Holy Father, anticipated by many for a long time but in this moment completely unexpected by the majority, was an event of extraordinary significance in history. For the first time since the reign of Pope Damasus (366-384), the Church attacked the difficult and intricate problem of a new translation of the Psalms. The problem is so complex because the texts of the Psalms, included in the official edition of the Vulgata, permeate the liturgy of the Church, patristic and theological literature and even world literature and the cultures of different peoples in the course of centuries... The idea of Pius XII to replace the translation of Psalms which had been so firmly rooted in history with another is too overwhelming to be understood by everyone at the same time. It is one of those daring notions through which the Holy Spirit moves the Church forward, against the expectation of many and against the will of some.

(Die neue lateinische Bibeldruckerung, ihr Werden und ihr Geist, Herder, Freiburg 1945, pp. 1-2, 100)

Now it is commonly accepted that the liturgy of the Mass including the Psalms is prayed in the vulgate. But a quarter of a century ago, the alteration of a biblical text which for centuries had been held as unalterable, was revolutionary. Conservative circles saw in the introduction of the Psalterium Planum the beginning of the end of the traditional Roman liturgy—and perhaps they were not wrong. The new Latin translation of the Psalms was actually intended as the initial step toward extensive liturgical reform. The next step was a revision of the Easter liturgy, on which Bea actively collaborated, since he was also a

member of the Congregation of Rites and of the Commission on Liturgical Reform.

In the meantime World War II had stormed across the European continent without interfering with Bea's work or lifestyle. Only once did he personally experience it, when at the time of Rome's occupation by the Germans in 1943-44 he found four SS men in the halls of the institute. He shouted at them in German "What are you doing here?". "We are looking for a Jew," they answered, rather stunned. "There are none here," the Rector assured them. In fact, the Jew they were seeking had been brought to another hiding place shortly before "Where is your lieutenant?" Bea asked. "On the phone." The Rector walked with the four soldiers to the telephone at which the lieutenant was stationed during the search. Bea asked the officer if he served under the Roman High Command. In order not to admit his own responsibility, he answered "In a certain sense, yes!" Bea then produced a letter of protection from Commander von Stahl, which declared the Biblicum to be an extraterritorial region associated with the Vatican. The embarrassed SS company was forced to withdraw. But the courageous Rector shouted after them "Do not forget—I am also a German, but a good one!"

#### 4. The Pope's Confessor

To this point Cardinal Bea has been introduced as a Jesuit, a scholar, a teacher, and an administrator, but there is yet another facet of his calling minister or spiritual advisor. He had, in fact, little opportunity to perform his pastoral function and he had no experience in ministerial work. But for him teaching scripture was a pastoral task. Now, unexpectedly, he was entrusted with a completely unique spiritual charge. the Pope himself.

Early in 1945, the office of Confessor to Pius XII had become vacant with the death of Father Augustin Averk. He had been a friend and colleague of Bea,

who had assisted Merk on a large critical edition of the New Testament. Pius XII again sought a German Jesuit for his confessor because he had a special liking for these quiet, ready and selfless workers of the Society of Jesus. A German was especially desired so that he might also hear the confessions of the three German nuns who ran the papal household. Therefore, Pius XII invited Father Bea, whom he had known for almost twenty-five years (At this point a quotation follows from "Paths to Ecumenism," p. 17)

Since two of the Pope's former confessors had died, the Vicar remarked when Bea presented himself. "Let us hope now that at least this one lasts!". And he did. Bea lived to see two succeeding popes. Father Bea was not in the slightest way <sup>intimidated?</sup> embarrassed by this appointment neither was he overwhelmed by this duty nor proud of it. Quietly, objectively—as was his way—he only asked what he must do. Every Saturday afternoon a Vatican limousine brought him to the Apostolic Palace, where, in the sacristy of the Pope's private chapel, he listened to the confessions of the nuns and of the Pope. Through the grating he could distinguish the black or white figure, if the pope or the sisters entered the sacristy. Everything took place within only half an hour.

Bea, then, had the opportunity to know the most secret thoughts and feelings of the Pope better than any other mortal. Because every confessor is bound by the seal of secrecy, Bea could never share these revelations, nor would he, in his strict discretion, ever desire to. Bea has spoken often about Pius XII, but he has never revealed any aspect of his inner life, never anything which might give the impression he had learned it in the confessional. Yet on several occasions he expressed his admiration for the "gigantic greatness" of the "immortal pope" in articles and speeches. For example, in the clubhouse of the Foreign Press in Rome

In his greatness, Pius XII was actually a lonely man. In his incredible diligence, in his extraordinary sense of duty and responsibility, he was alone in the strictness of his person and life. Perhaps one should add that it will take decades, even centuries,



to measure the tremendous work of this pope and his secular influence on the Church and on the history of mankind. Yes, in a certain sense one can say that the teaching proclaimed by Pius XII has become the spiritual air which we unconsciously breathe. The twenty volumes which the Pope has left behind include so many treasures of wisdom and so many outlined solutions to today's world problems, that anyone concerned with Church renewal in this age cannot overlook these works.  
(Press Conference in the Foreign Press Club, Rome, Apr. 25, 1962)

However, whenever the Cardinal was asked if he felt Pius XII should be canonized, he answered rather guardedly. He announced that, as the Pope's former Confessor, he preferred not to become involved in the process of canonization, in order not to violate the secrecy of the confessional.

In many areas, Pius XII was his example, as it becomes evident from a notation in Bea's diary. Considering his final intention he writes

(See Chapman edition of Bea's diary 1959, I, 2)

##### 5. In the Holy Office

After nineteen years, the overloaded Bea asked to give up his duty as director of the Biblical Institute, because he could not combine it with his many other tasks. As time went on, he became one of the well-known "insiders", as well as one of the most important assistants, of the Roman Curia. Consequently he was asked by many bishops and other ecclesiastical persons for advice and assistance because of his vast experience in Roman matters and his many associations. In March, 1949, he also became a consultant of the Holy Office, which afforded him an even deeper insight into the many concerns and tasks, sorrows and difficulties of the Church. At this time, when a Secretariat for Christian Unity did not exist, ecumenism was a concern of the Holy Office, which was still mistrustful of the movement. In June, 1948, it released a "Monitum," a warning regarding the ecumenical movement. Bea had hardly entered the Holy Office when, in the same year on December 20, 1949, a new edict was published (Instructio de notione ecumenica).

For the first time it estimated the movement positively.

Now in various countries among many people outside the Church, the desire to restore unity gradually arose among all who believe in Christ the Lord. Growing daily, this desire was a fruit of the common prayer of believers through the grace of the Holy Spirit, as well as the product of external events and changing attitudes.

In this document it was also recognized that the Holy Spirit is at work in the ecumenical movement. It states further that "the Catholic and non-Catholic partner are pars cum pari and should debate as equals on questions of the doctrine of <sup>faith</sup> belief and morality", each expressing his belief as his own conviction. But these discussions of union still need the prior permission of ecclesiastical authority. The Instructio declares explicitly "the extremely important work of Christian reunification belongs among the duties of the Church...and must more and more take priority in pastoral work and become the main concern of urgent prayer to God." (Acta Apostolica Sedis, Nr. 42, Vatikan 1950, pp. 142-147)

Nobody knew or will ever know how much Bea contributed to this instruction. But it is remarkable how often he comes to speak of it and how frequently he quotes it—almost like a father, filled with pride and love for his first born son. In essence, this instruction includes the concepts and principles on which, ten years later, the Secretariat for Christian Unity could be built. However, it was as yet unforeseen that one from the Holy Office would become the first director of this Secretariat and the leader of the Catholic ecumenical movement. On the contrary, at this time Bea was still regarded as a conservative churchman, who viewed the ecumenical movement passively in its preliminary stages. From the testimony of Father Schmidt (cf. Il Cardinale A. Bea, p. 9) and Cardinal Willebrands (Memorial to Bea in Observatore Romano, 17 Nov. 1968), it is apparent that among all his activities Bea was more concerned with the care of souls than with

norms and laws. He observed the ecumenical movement with great interest, especially the Una Sancta work in Germany. Whenever Willebrands (at that time the secretary for the International Conference for Ecumenical Questions) came to Rome, he visited Bea, who assured him "Even if I have no time for other things, I am always concerned with the matter of unity."

From Father Caprile can be gleaned some very interesting information which has remained completely unknown.

At this time (1949-51) designs for an ecumenical council were being worked out in the Holy Office secretly. Father Bea joined the central committee and was supposed to head one of the four sub-committees—the one for Bible study, of course, which was formed to draw-up a schema for scriptural exegesis which would attack the many new and, in fact, unorthodox methods.

In the Concilio Ecumenico celebratio autentica, drafted by the secretary general of the preparatory central committee, Professor Pietro Orsini, S. J., concern for the reunification of Christians was expressed, but in a style and tone typical of the Roman Curia at this time (1951). "In the endeavor to achieve unity, this council asks all who have separated from the True Church not to refuse to return to a common table only because their forefathers have tasted the bitter grapes of controversy." (V. Giovanni Caprile Il Concilio Vaticano II, Roma 1969, vol. 1, parte 1 p. 35)

Perhaps it was a blessing that Pius did not implement these plans for a council. If this declaration is compared with the statement of the Ecumenical Council of 1964, it appears amazing that the situation could alter so radically in thirteen years. Or, as Bea remarked "It is a miracle, an absolute miracle."

Those who know Bea for his ecumenical work will be surprised at some of his many other activities, particularly his role in the preparation of the dogma of Mary's ascension, proclaimed on November 1, 1950. Bea was one of ten theologians who were to decide if this doctrine—already taught by most theologians—was ready for dogmatic definition. Bea's opinion in no way contradicted that of the majority. In several essays and lectures he had already confirmed it. In an article for the Civiltà Cattolica on "La Sacra Scrittura ultimo fondamento del dogma dell'Assunzione" he summarized his arguments as follows



In the "Protoevangelium" (Gen III, 15) the common initiative and the common complete victory of the Redeemer and his Blessed Mother who is most closely associated with Him over the devil and the seducer and over the effects of the Fall are announced. The effects are sin—original and actual—and death. Therefore, for the Mother as for the Son, the complete victory must be over Sin and Death—over sin through the Immaculate Conception and over death by the resurrection of her body. (Cp. cit., p. 560)

This is befitting not only for reasons of honor and merit, because the body of the immaculately conceived mother of the Redeemer should not decompose into dust and ash, but for reasons of scriptural exegesis, because it is written "I shall put hatred between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed, he will crush your head and you shall lie in wait for his heel." From that Father Bea concludes:

"Thus the deepest secret of the dignity and duty of Mary becomes evident: she is not only the mother who reared and protected the Christ-child, but, from the moment of the "Fiat" in her home in Nazareth, she became the redeemer's comrade to fight at his side, to share in his victory, and to join with him in the heavenly Gloria, body and soul. This concept, a product of seventeen centuries of Mariology, leads our generation to a deeper and more intimate knowledge of Mary's redemptive role and her part in salvation history, pre-ordained by Divine Wisdom from all eternity. It is immediately clear that this truth has greater and fortunate consequences which must be explored and investigated more accurately in Marian theology." (Cp. cit., p. 560)

Here he alludes wishfully to other possible dogmas, for example, Mary as Mediatrix or co-redeemer. He has Protestants in mind when he explains

Not all Marian dogmas are contained in explicit and developed form in Holy Scripture. There are found the seeds of the doctrines which later grow and ripen within the Church in the light of the Holy Spirit. General councils and Roman popes do not invent these dogmas when they define these truths as revealed by God. Rather they merely confirm these verities and promulgate them. If a difference of opinion arises between us and our separated brethren with regard to the dogma of Mary's ascension, then we must recognize regretfully that the difference lies not so much in the conclusion as in the principle. But the

thought that they also 'render honor and reverence to the Mother of God, our Lord Jesus Christ' gives us the hope that Divine Providence will use exactly that definition to let them arrive at a deeper and more exact understanding of the principle of Tradition. Without this estimation, a true union will never be possible. (Cp. cit., p. 331)



## CHAPTER 3

The Cardinal

## 1. Pope John

When Pius XII died on the eighth of October, 1958, his Father Confessor could not attend him, because he was very ill himself. He also could not participate in the rites of burial. He only left his bed on the day Pope John XXIII was elected, October 28, in order to witness the new pope's first blessing on the television screen at least.

At first the new pope was a figure completely unknown to Bea, as to most Romans. On various occasions, because of his many duties, Bea was introduced to the Pope, each time under a different title. Finally John asked, a little perplexed, "Are there two Father Beas?"

Pope John at once declared that he planned to do much and to have much done. For that he found exactly the right assistant, Father Bea. With John XXIII Bea stepped out of the <sup>still</sup> quiet shadow of Pius XII into the glaring light of the public. Although the pope at first did not know him at all, John soon regarded him as a trustworthy man and an extension of his own outstretched ecumenical arm. It may certainly be said that Bea was the first who understood and supported the ecumenical concern of the pope. After John's death, the Cardinal continued to advocate this spirit and the pope's intention was brought to success in the council. A few weeks before his death, Pope John said to a visitor "Just think of the grace the Lord has given me in letting me find Cardinal Bea!" (St. Schmidt, Op cit, p 15)

In his diary the Pope's thoughts accompanied Bea in his travels and undertakings. "Always the good work of Cardinal Bea, the respected President of the

Secretariat for Unity, has earned such great merit, Now he goes to America where opportunities for doing much good await him. I feel the need in my heart to accompany him in a special union of spirit and prayer." (John XXIII, Diary of a Soul, March 1964)

It is both interesting and revealing to compare Pope John and Cardinal Bea, it is striking that they have so much in common. Both are born in the same year (1881) near the Alps, both came from small villages with rural backgrounds. Late in life each assumed the highest offices in the Catholic Church rather unexpectedly. Both met at an historical turning point in the Church and intuitively understood the signs of the time and divine directives. One would surely have been unable to achieve all that was accomplished without the other. Together these two old men brought the Church into a new Spring. The season was not without the storms which accompany every Spring, but the pair weathered these disturbances well because they were as tough, resistant, uncomplicated and clever as the peasant stock from which they stemmed. Both shared many characteristics, so that much of what Cardinal Bea writes about Pope John actually describes himself as well.

John XXIII, in the short period of his leadership of the Catholic Church, won the esteem and regard of many men and women of diverse religious faiths and even of no religious faith. People liked his welcome to other Christian leaders like Archbishop Ficker, to Rabbis and to non-Christians like Buddhist priests. They liked his visit to a famous Roman gaol, to meet, as he put it, 'his good (yes, good) children who could not come to see him! They appreciated the almost startling directness of his speech, the simplicity of his manner, his touches of humor, his frankness about his peasant origin, his humility in summoning a Council, and perhaps above all, his deep concern for humanity and its welfare. (A. Bea Unity in Freedom, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1964, p. 40)

They rejoiced at his active concern for the whole human family even on the purely human level. Many, of course, did not hold the faith that he held, or admit the claims inherent in his position, but there were few who failed to appreciate his broad humanity, to welcome it and to respect the faith that inspired it (Unity in Freedom, p. 41-42)

Pope John XXIII had a deep and personal respect for man's freedom. In an audience given to a group of bishops during the first session of the council, he remarked that some people were anxious about the forceful language used in the Council by several bishops "But what do you expect them to do?" he remarked, "they are not a bevy of nuns who always have to agree with the Mother Superior." (Unity in Freedom, p. 54)

Those who were in a position to be aware of the way in which he observed the work of the Congregations (that is, the ecclesiastical Civil Service) know how careful he was to respect the just freedom of initiative and of action in those in positions of responsibility—even in cases where he would personally have preferred different methods, and where certain action caused him, with his inclination toward kindness, very deep suffering. His forbearance sprang from his sincere respect for human persons and their freedom and shows that he deeply believed what he said in his Encyclical about the due freedom of thought and of initiative, of action and of decision which should be allowed all men as endowed with intelligence and freedom by their Creator.

This respect for others' freedom came more easily to him, because of his almost innate inclination to see and to stress the good in men and in situations. He often used to repeat "Look at the good which there is and try to encourage it as much as possible, that itself will lessen the bad." (Unity in Freedom, p. 55)

From his belief in the goodness in men sprang his understanding, patience, kindness and affection. (Unity in Freedom, p. 57)

Here also is the explanation of his whole attitude towards opposition and resistance to his plans and wishes. More than once, I had certain knowledge that he fully realized that such opposition was unjustified and had bad effects, but he never doubted the good faith and good will of the individuals concerned. He excused them, tried to explain their actions and their motives in the best sense and to treat them with fatherly patience and charity. I never came out of an audience with him without being deeply impressed by his character, he was so large-minded, so tolerant and so forbearing, and yet so strong, so inflexible in his principles and in his purposes. Such he was as I knew him, and I admired him as a man great in his humility and humble in his greatness. (Unity in Freedom, pp. 59-60)

How often have I heard him utter the word "Courage"—for he was not spared opposition and resistance, which he felt acutely, above all when they impeded and planned to obstruct his pastoral efforts. To a bishop who complained about the difficulties he encountered in his diocese, Pope John answered, very simply and gently "Excellency, I, too, have a diocese, and sometimes I, too, have difficulties. At such times I go to my chapel. And once it seemed to me that Jesus said to me 'Now, Johnny, don't take these things too hard. There's me, too, still in my Church'."

Because of this humility and humble trust in God, he was lion-hearted in facing the gigantic problems of the modern world, in seeking a solution to them, he had a dynamic yet sober optimism and a surprisingly youthful zest. (Unity in Freedom, p. 61)

Inner dynamism, sober optimism, youthful zest—these phrases suit Bea as well, as do all the other qualities which he enumerates about Pope John: understanding, generosity, kindness, forbearance, patience, humility, modesty, courage, daring and respect for the freedom and opinion of others. There is a pun which goes: "The cardinal virtues are not always the virtues of Cardinals." In this case, however, it must be said that all four cardinal virtues apply: justice, temperance, fortitude and prudence, although this list of virtues is still incomplete. Kindness and patience should be added.

#### b. The Creation of the Cardinal

The Cardinal is "created" by the Pope, rather than named or elected. He is a "creature" of the Pope. In Roman circles Bea had been considered as a candidate for the cardinal's miter for a long time. His qualities, his variety of experiences and his confidential position with Pius XII spoke for his selection. In addition to these factors, it was also the case that he belonged to the Jesuit Order, which at present was lacking its traditional representative in the College of Cardinals.

At this time it was rumored that the choice lay between the two German Jesuits, Father Joseph Leiber and Father Augustin Bea. The former had been the private secretary of Pius XII, the latter, of course, his confessor. Father Leiber, however, denied that there was ever any question: "Bea can wear the Cardinal's miter better than I!" There had never been a personal relationship between these two men, incidentally, although both came from the same region in Germany, from the same province of the order; both taught and lived at the Gregoriana and the neighboring Bible Institute, and both attended Pius XII. "We almost never met," Bea explained. "Our duties were quite different."

The morning of November 16, 1959, as Bea was leaving the Biblicum to attend



When Bea directs a meeting of the Secretariat, his spirit remains fresh and flexible even after hour-long discussions of complex issues. His winning smile encourages the speaker, struggling for the Latin expression. His own Latin is simple and fluent. With great skill he controls the debate, he never interferes without need, but uses every opportunity to redirect the discussion to the original topic and to define the questions precisely. (Leeming Co cit, p 39)

Cardinal Pericle Felici, the secretary general of the Preparatory Commission of the Council, reports in an article on "The Second Vatican Council and the Celibacy of Priests" (in Osservatore Romano, Vatican, 29 Jan 1969) that the session of the Central commission on the sixteenth of June, 1968, discussed a schema on De sacerdotibus lapsis (on the desertion of priests). From Felici's article Bea's opinion on this delicate subject can be learned although it actually should have remained secret, because these discussions took place behind closed doors. The schema imputed the blame for the desertion of priests almost exclusively on sins against chastity. Bea spoke against this theory and proved, on the basis of French statistics, that 35% gave up their calling for other reasons (e.g., insobriety, disobedience, crises of faith).

If indeed punitive means are helpful, they certainly do not solve the problem. One should insist rather on better examination of candidates, their physical, psychological and moral qualities, on stricter asceticism, on education in mortification, on moderation, on obedience. And finally since the most defections occur between the ages of 30 and 40, the problems of priests in this age group should be taken into account. Above all, charity and sympathy must be shown toward the priests who have left, and even more importantly, a concern for their spiritual and moral recovery. These miserable priests, burdened with sacrifices and poverty, often seek help among Protestants. Cardinal Bea concluded that this very delicate problem should not be discussed in the Council.

Cardinal Felici added that many of the participants in this session agreed with Cardinal Bea, and that the schema (and, in fact, the whole topic) was dropped from the agenda of the Council. Not for lack of opportunity was the discussion on celibacy eliminated, but because Bea was basically against the suspension of the rule of celibacy and he did not want it questioned at all, especially in public.

a meeting at the Holy Office, a Monsignor stepped from a Vatican car and handed him a letter from the Pope, saying "Eminenza, i miei auguri! Eminence, my congratulations!" This address, used only to Cardinals, already indicated the content of the papal letter. But Bea was not allowed to acknowledge it, since the messenger added "It is a secret until one o'clock." Bea quietly went to his meeting.

The news, however, became public within the course of the meeting. Bea could only bear the congratulations patiently, thank the Pope, and promise his obedience, remembering the fourth vow of a professed member of the Society of Jesus to be obedient to the Pope in all apostolic tasks. From this moment, Bea was responsible only to the Pope and no longer to the General of the Order.

(Here follows another quotation from Bea's diary, the English edition of which may be obtained from Chapman.) (Diary, 1960, III, 2), as Bea writes in his diary. But because he recorded in his diary only during religious retreats late in the summer months, what he felt when he received his appointment as Cardinal and when he was presented with the red hat by the pope, will never be known, since the creation of this Cardinal occurred in November. It is possible to imagine, knowing Bea, that even at this time he did not lose his composure and objectivity, but rather prayed as usual. "Thy will be done! Fiat! .

(Here the author quotes further from the Cardinal's diary 1962, III, 4)

Bea continued to hold his lectures. His last, on the fifth of December, concerned his favorite topic, the doctrine of inspiration. Then, with a heavy heart, he was forced to give up teaching and leave the Bible Institute to move into his own apartment and to prepare for the great celebration.

It would be fine to describe the traditional and symbolic customs and ceremonies of the "creation of the Cardinal" (now largely abolished) which were still in practice at this time. Briefly they will be indicated through key words.

(An extensive description may be found in E. M. Jung-Inglessis Augustin Bea, Kardinal der Einheit, Paulus, Recklinghausen 1962, pp. 37-42)

On the fourteenth of December, 1959, the secret conclave of the College of Cardinals took place. By lifting their "zucchetto" the Cardinals gave their consent to the creation of the eight new Cardinals. Immediately, two papal officials brought the certificates of appointment to the "neoporporati," the "newly purpled," who feigned surprise according to protocol. The congratulatory audiences, called the "visite di calore" which means "hot visits" with the freshly baked and still warm Cardinals, followed. These visits lasted for two days, after which the Cardinals received the violet Mozzetta and the red Birett from the Pope in a semi-private ceremony.

Finally on the seventeenth of December, the public consistory took place in St. Peter's Cathedral. In the course of a long splendid ceremony, the Pope placed the red hat, the "galero rosso," on each new Cardinal, as a decoration particular to this station. The purple-red color is intended to represent not only the majesty of the Caesar, but also the blood of Christ and the martyrs. For the first time Bea appeared in "cappa magna" with a three-yard red train gliding impressively after him on the green carpet.

The seventy-eight year old Cardinal seemed even more frail and bent under the weight of this great mantle. He was the last in the row of new Cardinals, and he looked so aged and weak that no one would have guessed Bea would soon surpass his colleagues walking ahead of him.

Now the farm boy from the Black Forest had become an ecclesiastical prince, on the same level with princes of royal blood, with precedence over all other dignitaries, except the presidents of States. Wherever he appeared in Rome for an official event, two candles had to precede him.

For the first time the purple-robed Bea could participate in a secret conclave. In a symbolic gesture, the Pope opened and closed the mouth of each Cardinal to indicate that they may now join in the discussions of the Holy College of Cardinals, but are compelled to secrecy. On this occasion the Pope presented Cardinal Bea with a yellow-gold topaz ring which was much too large and heavy for his long slender finger. And he bestowed upon him the title of the Church of San Saba. Each Cardinal is assigned to a Church in Rome, the name of which he bears in his title. In this way he is incorporated into the diocese of Rome and is entitled to Roman citizenship. The crest of the respective Cardinal hangs outside on the church door and his picture is displayed inside the Church.

On the same afternoon, "Monsignor Guardarobe" brought to the new Cardinal the "galero rosso," which the Pope had placed on his head briefly that morning in St. Peter's Cathedral. Two private valets had to carry it on a large silver tray because it had a circumference of one yard and was decorated with thirty red tassels. Earlier, when the Cardinals still travelled on horseback, this broad hat served as a sunshade and umbrella at the same time. Today the hat is stored in a wardrobe and used again only at the Cardinal's interment, when it is placed at the foot of the coffin. After that it is hung over the tomb of the Cardinal, if possible. Today Bea's hangs over his tomb on the right wall in the Church of Riedböhlingen.

After the higher ecclesiastical celebration had ended, Cardinal Bea assumed possession of his title-church, San Saba, on the seventeenth of January, 1960. This old basilica at the small Aventin dates back to the time of St. Silvia, the mother of Pope Gregory the Great. Here in the seventh century Eastern monks from the monastery of Mar Sabas near Jerusalem found asylum and consecrated a church to Saint Sabas, their founder. Because of its historical significance as "a

symbol which speaks for that great unity of occident and orient which is the great desire ..of all mankind," this church suited the Cardinal of unity very well, since he sought to reconcile Rome and the Orient in his person and in his office. In his first address in this church, Bea publicly announced his concern for the reunification of Christians.

On Holy Thursday, 1962, Cardinal Bea and the other Cardinal deacons were consecrated bishops by the Pope in the Lateran Church. For this consecration

- Bea received the title of the diocese Germania in Numidia, no longer existing
- today, although originally near Hippo, the bishopric of his patron St. Augustine.

#### c. A New Lifestyle

The Cardinal did not move into a princely palace of which there are many in Rome, but rather into the Brazilian College situated on the Via Aurelia, a noisy street at the west end of the city. The Brazilian College is directed by Jesuits, so Bea could feel completely at home there. He had his meals with his brethren.

Although his apartment possessed every convenience, it was not luxuriously furnished in especially good style. There was a chapel and a throne room for the visit of the Pope or for the first visit of a new ambassador to the Holy See. Bea used the gilded but uncomfortable throne for watching television, since there was space for the large TV set only in the throne room. Common visitors he received in his study, which was crowded with books. On the wall hung a cuckoo clock from the Black Forest, his homeland. On his desk lay a "Züricher Bibel," a Protestant edition of the Bible, among a parade of stamps as in a post office. Everything was in perfect order since he always recalled the admonition of his grandmother: "Halte Ordnung, ~~eingesenkt-dee-Wahn~~ liebe sie, Ordnung spart dir Zeit und Mieh!" ("Keep order, love it, order saves you time and trouble!") When he was a child his grandmother had given him a plaque with this motto,



and it made such a great impression on him that he quoted it often. In the outerroom there lay the red Birett on the silver tray. On the wall above it there hung his seal in an enlargement.

Each Cardinal must have a crest if he does not have one by birth. Bea had his designed to depict the two formal principles of his life the biblical and the jesuit. The upper field displayed the Christ-monogram of St. Ignatius—the moon and two stars, in the lower field the silver dove of the Holy Spirit is represented on a red background. From the dove, golden rays fall onto an open book where the Greek letters Alpha and Omega are written. This is an obvious symbol of divine inspiration of the Bible. Below the signet his motto is inscribed "In Nomine Domini Jesu" from the letter to the Colossians 3, 17, which sets the devotion of the Jesuits for the name of Jesus in a biblical reference. It is remarkable that no ecumenical motif is included. When Bea had this seal designed he was not yet aware of the ecumenical direction his life would take—the third and last after his Jesuit and euagetical callings.

As a Cardinal, he had also to staff his small "court," a household consisting of a secretary, a servant and a chauffeur. On special occasions a papal celebrant and a "Gentiluomo" appeared. In the last years his personal physician, Professor Angelo Amadei, joined them. He visited the Cardinal almost daily and with his successful treatment Bea certainly would not have done so unusually much in his last ten years. Professor Amadei is a lay member of the "Focolarini Movement," for the recognition of which Bea used his influence in the Holy Office.

With the selection of his private secretary the Cardinal also showed good judgment. Father Stephan Schmidt had been a fellow Jesuit and Bea's student at the Biblicum. But Schmidt gave up his own studies and interests in order to stay completely in the service of Bea, therefore a true servus



servi Dei. How far Father Schmidt was involved in the composition of the Cardinal's writings can never be known, but merely supposed. Anyway, he was the Cardinal's constant companion, ever-present, polite, skilled, proficient in languages. He was Bea's public relations man, his manager, the agent who organized travels, lectures, interviews and visits. He was also the most devoted friend until Bea's last breath and ultimately the Cardinal's spiritual heir, who must administrate his inheritance and who, one day, will write the great authoritative biography.

The German Jesuit Konrad Burth from Radolfzell in Baden, a former master mechanic, was also very much more than a mere valet to Bea. Among others he cared for the German manuscripts, while the chauffeur, Nicola Zupcich, for some time dispatched the Italian ones, when he did not have to drive either of the cardinal's cars.

This the small household of the prince was best organized, and it formed a true "Cardinal's family" in the old style, which probably died out with Bea.

Despite his new dignity and lifestyle, Bea scheduled his day strictly as a man of order. Until his eighty-four year (1965), he arose at four-thirty every morning, prayed the breviary, meditated on the Bible from 5:15 until six o'clock, and then celebrated Mass at half-past seven. After breakfast work began at eight-thirty. After dinner at one p.m. he had a half-hour walk with his fellow Jesuits, then a rest for three-quarters of an hour before reading his breviary. At the latest, by four o'clock he was again sitting at his desk. From five-thirty to six-forty he held a conference with his secretary. Once a week, and later every day, he went for a ride or a walk with his secretary for one or two hours. After dinner at eight p.m. he watched the news on television, recited his evening prayer and retired at nine-thirty, unless he had social or other obligations. It is apparent that

he spent much time in prayer and meditation amid all his activities, making it possible for him to lead the intensive spiritual life to which his diaries attest.

To indicate the tremendous volume of Bea's work, a tally for 1960 was kept by his secretary, when Bea was still at the outset of his "career". Although later he was probably unable to match these statistics, in 1960 Bea wrote 1700 letters, received 440 visits, attended 100 receptions, participated in 75 meetings and celebrations, presided at 55 ecclesiastical functions, assisted at 45 Church functions, gave 9 interviews and television programs, presented 9 lectures and made 6 addresses. Surely he has published more articles, given more speeches and interviews, than all other Cardinals of this time combined. During his ten-year reign as Cardinal, he had written or signed fifteen thousand letters.

One reason for Bea's unusual stamina certainly lies in his power of concentration and his method of work. Father Schmidt reports that very informatively

When someone would ask him how he was able to do so much, he used to answer with a smile "I do one thing after the other." With that he meant that the best way to accomplish many things well is to concentrate completely on the moment's work, as if one had nothing else to do. In this sense he often reminded his assistants of the classical adage Age quod agis—whatever you do, do thoroughly. With regard to scheduling he also said "I always have time and never have time", and declared, "I always have time for what I have to do, and I never have time to lose." (St. Schmidt l.p. cit., p. 4)

Another reason lies in team work. Bea was not a man who wanted to do everything alone. He like exchange of thought, he was interested in the opinions of others and respected them. He never considered it a loss of time, but rather a gain of suggestions and insights. Because of his openness, modesty, understanding and moderate, reconciling spirit, he was especially suited to work with others. He even organized his small household into a working team. This is particularly true with regard to the Secretariat, which will be discussed in another section.

He showed a warm affection for his immediate co-workers. He always had time for them. He liked to recognize their work and their contribution in public. He trusted them tremendously, inspired in them a sense of initiative and earned their childlike respect and confidence. Thus he created a real family spirit. (St. Schwiege, Op. cit., p. 7)

When Bea received one journalist after another in his impeturbable patience, he did so with an indulgent smile, which multiplied the many folds of his long angular face, reflecting so much kindness and wisdom. Quoting Pope John he stated that it belonged to the Works of Mercy to bear people of the press with patience. But he certainly did not do it only as a kind deed. He accepted the modern world as it is, and to that world belongs the journalist. He liked people just as they are, journalists and photographers among them. Since he wanted to carry the ideas and ideals of Catholic ecumenism into broad public view and to the many countries which to that point had not even heard the term, he used the modern means of mass media. It is not amazing, then, that Bea, sooner than any other Cardinal, held press interviews, television discussions, radio speeches and addresses, and therefore received favorable press coverage from the grateful interviewers. Intentionally or not, he made allies among them to push through his ideas against the opposition within his own camp.

#### 4. President of the Secretariat of Unity

At first, Bea, like Pope John, appeared to be a conservative, or rather a "conservative reformist". A second look shows him to be an initiator who might have had a revolutionary effect, but who remained quite calm and moderate, practical and objective, tenacious and sure of his goal. Right after his admission to the College of Cardinals, he reportedly said to the Pope "If I am happy about this selection, it is especially because I want to work with the new authority and responsibility that I have been granted through this rank, for the great concern of Christian reunification" (from the the memorial speech delivered by Monsignor Willebrands at the interment of Cardinal Bea, November 21, 1968).

It became possible for the Cardinal to work actively toward his goal only two months later. It is interesting to hear from Bea himself how the commission began.

The beginning and the foundation of the Secretariat has much in common with the parabolic mustard seed—so simple and insignificant. Now, after some years have passed, it is permitted to reveal some details. I do not know if such an organ of the Holy See was requested by the other side, but for my part I know that in the first months of 1960 I received such a petition from Germany (and, in fact, from the Archbishop Jaeger in Paderborn) to suggest such a commission to the Holy Father. After a thorough study and a basic outline of the plan for a 'Commission for the Unity of Christians' had been completed, I brought this petition to Pope John XXIII on March 11. Only two days later, on the thirteenth of March, the Pope informed me that he agreed in principle and wished to speak with me further concerning the details. This occurred on the same day in the course of an audience I had with him. The speed of this decision seemed to indicate that it is possible the Pope sought, since the beginning of announcement of the council, a means of implementing his ecumenical intention, and that he saw in this proposal of such a special organ for unity exactly that means. Several weeks later, after a meeting of the Congregation of Rites at which the Pope was present, he summoned me in order to tell me that he thought it a better idea to name the new organ "Secretariat" rather than 'commission'. Thus it could move more freely in this fairly new and unusual area which was assigned to it, he said. And so it happened that the Secretariat for Christian Unity was founded. (in G. Caprile Il Concilio Vaticano II, Roma 1969, Band I, 2. Part, p. 59)

On the fifth of June, 1960, Pentecost and the time of a true Pentecost

miracle, Pope John XXIII edited the Motu proprio Supremo Dei nutu, through which he instituted the "Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity for the Preparation of the Second Vatican Council" (Secretaratus ad christianorum unitatem fovendam preparatorius Concilii Vaticani II), in association with twelve other preparatory commissions and secretariats for the Council. This inconveniently lengthy name became shorter as time passed. The "Secretariat for the Preparation of the Second Vatican Council" became, at the beginning of the Council, the "Council's Secretariat" and, after the conclusion of the Council, simply the "Secretariat". Instead of "for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians," it was referred to as the "Secretariat for Christian Unity" and, eventually, as merely the "Secretariat"—as it is known if the discussion concerns the secretariat for ecumenism associated with Bea.

Concerning its motivation, the Pope said in his Motu proprio

In order to show more evidently Our love and Our benevolence for those who carry the Christian name, but are separated from the Holy See, and so that these can follow the work of the Council and can more easily find the way to achieve unity which Jesus Christ asked of His Heavenly Father in ardent prayer, we have instituted a special office or secretariat which shall have as president a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church according to Our choice.

The importance of that event still can not be estimated. It meant the beginning of a new epoch in Church History, marked by ecumenism.

On the following day, the sixth of June, 1960, the Vatican announced the appointment of Cardinal Bea as President of this Secretariat. Bea happened to be in New York to receive an honorary doctorate from Fordham University. Since he neither listened to the radio nor read newspapers that day, he learned only the next morning, from the journalists who requested interviews, that his appointment had been announced. He had known for a long time, of course, that it was forthcoming.



With his appointment as the president of the Secretariat, Cardinal Bea undertook the most difficult task in Church history, namely to narrow and bridge the gap existing for generation between the denominations of Christianity. This is a goal so distant that it could be set only by one who has learned from the Church to think in terms of epochs and centuries. Divine Providence prepared Cardinal Bea for this position for eighty years and led him surely to <sup>his</sup> goal, although by several apparent detours. The well-known saying of the late Bishop Besson of Geneva and Fribourg ("Over the Bible, Christians were divided, over the Bible they must come together again") sounds like a prophecy of Cardinal Bea. Because just he, the biblical scientist, possessed the pre-requisites necessary to enter into discussion with Protestant theologians. He could meet them on their own ground

Oscar  
Professor/Cullmann of Basel, who participated as a guest at the council, asserted in his memorial address to Bea

The future historians of the Council will have to recognize that without the biblical renewal of which Cardinal Bea was the main promoter, the Council would not have been possible. Thanks to Cardinal Bea we have realized that the Bible really is a mighty instrument from the Hand of God to prepare us for union, because in the Bible God is present for all in the same way. If we believe that God is still at work in his Church today, then we can say that He has made use of Cardinal Bea to reconcile us through the Bible. (Rocca, Assisi, 1. Dez 1968, p 30)

Bea also had a special relationship and a common link with Eastern Christians a great devotion to the Holy Spirit, who has inspired the Holy Scriptures and who is always manifest in the celebration of the holy liturgy. The doctrine of inspiration was, of course, Bea's field of teaching, and liturgical renewal was his deepest concern.

His expert knowledge, his multi-faceted experience, his linguistic fluency, his winning humanity, eased his task. But these qualities <sup>alone</sup> do not make an ecumenist. An ecumenical disposition must be added, and this is a special charisma. To the surprise of all, it was immediately evident that Bea possessed this charm,



this ecumenical mind and this ecumenical range of view. Although he never experienced denominational divisions and needs himself (he had spent all his life in a strictly Catholic milieu—from his home to the seminary, from the seminary to the monastery—and knew those of other beliefs only through his studies at the university), he made these problems his personal concern.

An amazing quality of Cardinal Bea, as well as of the Pope, is his tremendous open-mindedness with regard to the ecumenical concern, despite his advanced age. In fact, it is even more amazing that the older he became, the more open-minded he grew, and indeed in quite a unique manner,

a friend of more than thirty years once remarked.

This was, however, no break with the past, no sudden change of attitude, as some guessed. It is known that Bea was a quiet, but not secret, promoter of ecumenism in his biblical studies, lectures and activities at the Holy Office for a long time. His interest in ecumenism was rather like the flowering of a seed sown long ago by the Heavenly Sower in him and in many others. The crop was ripe, it was given to Bea to harvest it. Bea was ever conscious of the fact that he harvested what many others had tended in many places, especially in northern Europe. Therefore, on several occasions he emphasized that

That does not diminish Bea's merit. He did not only reap the harvest, but helped the ecumenical movement in its break-through in the Church and in world-public.

A somewhat malignant article in the Borghese (Mailand, 11 Apr 1963) describes Bea as a deus ex machina.

On Bea's name modern ecumenism concentrates. Upon him the nouvelle vogue among Catholics calls. This "purple-wearer" seems to have become a standard bearer. He is regarded as a pioneer who has succeeded in discovering the Christian Mecca, as a pilot who has managed

to enter the eye of the storm, where freedom lies, where the Mohammedans are no longer "unbelievers" and the Jews are no longer murderers of God," and where the Protestants no longer protest.

Yes, he possessed the daring of a young pioneer, forging paths never before trodden, and, at the same time, <sup>he</sup> displayed the audacity of an Old Testament prophet proclaiming the Word of God to mankind. Thus the modest villager became the speaker of a divided Christianity longing to be reunited. He became a symbol, simply the "Cardinal of Unity."

Yet he did not bridge the gap between denominations theoretically, with new theological systems, but through his actions, his person, his speeches, his travels and his life—an example of the new ecumenical spirit

Bea had a fortunate gift he possessed a practical sense for the art of the possible and a knowledge of human limitations, but also confidence in the unlimited possibilities of God.

When Bea was asked if he were an optimist or a pessimist with regard to reunification, he would answer

I am neither an optimist nor a pessimist, but a realist. Everyone who knows the situation realizes only too well that the difficulties of reunification increase even today. But we know at the same time that with the grace of God much has already been accomplished to eliminate them, and that constant prayer, generous sacrifice and unceasing effort for unity will finally lead to that end through the same grace of God. (KNA Documentation, Bonn, 21 Jan 1962)

The answer which Bea gave to a Methodist theologian who asked how the different denominations could cooperate in missionary work is notable "Theologically impossible—practically necessary!" These four words sound like the axiom characterizing the whole man.

"Realism" and "realistic" are favorite words of Bea, because "experience has taught me sound realism to see the limitations of men and the imperfections of their work." (in St. Schmidt, Op cit., p 14)

It is also significant which projects Bea intended to pursue just after the

foundation of the Secretariat (See the Chapman edition of the Cardinal's diary 1960, VI, 2)

Hardly had he returned from America when the Cardinal set about building up the Secretariat. The organizational ability of the former provincial, leader of the student home and rector again became important. The office was installed in the rear of the "Palace of the Eastern Congregation" near St. Peter's Square, first in the Via de Corridori 64, then in the larger rooms of the Via dell'Erba 1, in the same building.

Monsignor Jean Gerard Marie Willebrands, at this time professor of philosophy in a seminary in Warmond in Holland, was named Secretary General of the Secretariat. Formerly the founder and chairman of the international "Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions," through which he came to know Bea personally as a consultant in the Holy Office, Willebrands became president of the Secretariat after Bea's death.

Monsignor Jean-Francois Arrighi from Corsica became the undersecretary. As secretary for the region of English-speaking peoples, Father Thomas Stransky, a Paulist from America, was designated, for the German-speaking region, the Swiss Monsignor Ernst Salzmann was selected. This small staff of assistants grew from year to year, so that now for each particular field and for each region a specialist sits in the Secretariat. The Secretariat was the first of all curial offices which dared to appoint female women as secretaries. Then a board of bishops with voting privileges and specialists who acted merely as consultants had to be established to include as many countries as possible, especially those nations in which the problem of unity was particularly urgent. This board was to be renewed every five years in order to involve as many different bishops and theologians as possible in ecumenical work at the Roman Curia.

Members and consultants were divided into commissions, sub-commissions and integrated commissions. These men drew up the "schemata," the texts which should

serve as the basis of discussion for the Fathers of the Council. These proposals then were checked and approved by the general assembly, which met twice a year, either in Rome, in Ariccia just outside Rome, or in Bühl, Germany. Five schemata were submitted to the Preparatory Central Commission on the Word of God, on Catholic Ecumenism, on Freedom of Religion, on the Prayer for Reunification of the Faith, and on the Jews. In addition to that, there came a recommendation on the "question of the invitation of non-Catholics to the Second Vatican Council." To the Theological Commission, proposals on the membership of the Church, on the episcopate and primacy, on scripture and tradition, and also on the laity, were submitted. To the Liturgical Commission, a proposal on liturgical reform, to the commission of sacraments, a proposal on mixed marriage, to the commission for ecclesiastical studies, a proposal on the ecumenical education of priest, and to the Commission for the Lay Apostolate, a proposal on the role of the laity. All this transpired secretly, so that no one outside the appropriate commission could ever read these texts.

As president, Bea naturally participated in all sessions of the Secretariat and in those of the Central Commission for the Preparation of the Council. It was his special duty to emphasize the ecumenical point of view in all questions within the Central Commission.

Much depended on the energy, the prudent judgment, the initiative, the tact and the personal authority of the president of the Secretariat, in order to minimize and neutralize the uneasiness of the timid, to create a dynamic harmony within the Secretariat itself, to open channels amid the complex relations of the Secretariat and other Roman offices, such as the State Secretariat, the Congregation for Eastern Churches, the Holy Office, the Theological Commission and later the coordinating commission of the Council, and finally, in order to solve the tacky questions of protocol with regard to the separated brethren,

Father Leeming writes in his previously quoted essay (Op cit, p 38)

Leeming also quotes a member of the Secretariat who reports on the meetings

In the beginning, the Secretariat was instituted to instruct the Council about non-Catholic Christians and the latter about the Council. However, from the outset, it was founded with the prospect of a greater and further development beyond the Council and independent of it. The general task of the Secretariat was to initiate and continue contact with other Christian communities, i.e., to welcome hospitably their representatives in Rome and to arrange audiences with the Pope. The first and precedent-setting visit of this kind was that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, primate of the Church of England, on December 2, 1960. After his audience with the Pope, the archbishop paid a visit to the President of the Secretariat.

The importance of this visit is to be seen, above all, in what it reveals and signifies, namely a new atmosphere existing between the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church,

writes Bea (Der Ökumenismus im Konzil, Herder, Freiburg 1969, p. 47). The most obvious result of this visit was the dispatching of a liaison between the Archbishop and the Secretariat, Canon Pawley of the Cathedral of Ely. Following this first ecumenical diplomat in the beginning of 1962, Professor Schlink, director of the ecumenical Institute in Heidelberg, came to represent the Rat der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (Council of Protestant Churches in Germany), rather than only a single clergyman. His representation, however, was only for the duration of the Council.

After Archbishop Fisher had broken the ice, other church leaders followed the presiding bishop of the Episcopalian Church of the United States, Dr. Arthur Lichtenberger, then the President of the National Convention of the Baptists, Dr. Jackson, the moderator of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, Dr. Craig, the Metropolitan Damaskinos of Volos in Greece, the Anglican archbishop, Joost de Blank from Capetown, South Africa—to name only those who had visited the Pope and the Secretariat before the Council.

The Secretariat is not a one-way street leading prominent non-Catholic personalities to the Vatican. Rather it is a bridge extending from the Vatican to the non-Catholic world and over which heavy traffic in both directions flows. To inform the Curia and Council about other Christian Churches, the Secretariat had to get in touch with all the Churches and Congregations of every country. Especially delicate, however, was the important relationship to the "Ecumenical Council of Churches" or "World Council of Churches" in Geneva. Even before the Secretariat was founded, Bea had intended to establish ties with the World Council of Churches. But the Pope thought that the time was not ripe. "From that I drew the conclusion that one had to make it ripe," Bea inferred with his Jesuit logic (Cf. Der Oekumenismus im Konzil, p. 49). He authorized Willebrands, who at this time was still in a Dutch seminary, to arrange a meeting in a "neutral" place with the secretary general of the World Council of Churches. The first meeting on September 22, 1960, in Malland, was followed two months later by another in the chambers of the Secretariat. After the first conference, Dr. Visser't Hooft said to Willebrands: "Really, this man has not only read and studied the Old Testament, he has also acquired the wisdom of the men of the Old Testament." However, Bea did not feel the time was ready to announce these initial meetings publicly. Was he more afraid of the reaction in Catholic circles or among the Protestants?

One of the problems discussed in these two conferences was the delegating of Catholic observers to the Third General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi in 1961. Although formerly strictly forbidden, delegates were now officially sent. The Secretariat named five observers who attended the whole General Assembly in New Delhi from the nineteenth of November to the sixth of December, 1961. From this time, to exchange observers for large Church assemblies became a matter of course. Non-Catholic observers would hardly have



come to the Council, however, if the Catholic Church had not sent observers to their assembly the year before

With the foundation of the Secretariat, Pope John intended to entrust to this organ the initiation of relations with the non-Catholic Eastern Churches. But Bea refused. To him this area was too vast. "I did not feel particularly prepared to attack the complex area of the Christian Orient." (Cf. Der Ökumenismus im Konzil, p. 51) In addition, he feared entering somehow into competition with the preparatory commission for the Eastern Churches, which was concerned with the United Eastern Churches. It soon became evident that these churches preferred to remain in connection with Bea's Secretariat. Besides that, it appeared that it was better to regulate the question of observers uniformly. Therefore, the convocation bull to the Council, Humanae salutis, Christmas 1961, transferred the whole question of observers (and with it the contacts with non-Catholic and also Eastern Churches) to the Secretariat.

The Secretariat had submitted its recommendation on the question of observers, a votum, to the Preparatory Central Commission in 1961, published under the title Quaestiones de non catholicis invitandis ad Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum II. At the Pope's request, this question was debated in the First General Assembly of the Central Commission, but the results were not announced until Christmas 1961, when the convocation bull to the Council, Humanae salutis, appeared. In carefully chosen language, this document spoke of the desire of some non-Catholic Churches to send representatives to the Council, and suggested that the Secretariat act as liaison with these congregations.

This was an attempt to avoid the mistake of the previous Council, Vatican I, at which time invitations to non-Catholic Churches were published in the press before they reached church leaders, consequently precipitating indignation

and refusal from the beginning. Rather than receive refusals, the Secretariat very tactfully "put out feelers" in order to learn which churches would accept such an invitation. Early in 1962, the secretary, Monsignor Willebrands, personally flew to the Patriarch of Constantinople, to the leaders of the monophysite churches in the East, to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, and to the meeting of its governing directorate in Paris, in order to discuss with these groups the matter of council observers. Only after that did Bea send the official invitations. It was decided to invite only the international churches, unions of denominations and religious organizations, such as the World Council of Churches, as well as some larger national churches, such as the Protestant Church in Germany. The invitation to the Orthodox (Chalcedonic) Churches was addressed to Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople, the honorary primate. But the response took time. The Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church in Athens had voted against delegating observers. The Russian Orthodox Church took no position at all. When Monsignor Willebrands learned that the Patriarch of Moscow expected a personal invitation rather than one via the Patriarch of Constantinople, he flew to Moscow at literally the last minute—a sensational step at this time. For the first time the Vatican sent a representative to Moscow. Willebrands was received cordially, but he did not bring an invitation and therefore he did not receive an acceptance, but the assurance that this would be considered kindly, if an official invitation followed. On October 4, Cardinal Bea sent a telegram to the Metropolitan Nikodim, to inform him that an invitation had been sent to Patriarch Alexius. This had hardly arrived when the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church assembled on the tenth of October, and decided to accept the invitation and announced this at once in a telegram to Cardinal Bea. But in the meantime, Patriarch Athenagoras had announced

that he could not send observers, since he had not received the agreement of the Russian Church, without which he refused to act. This announcement arrived in Moscow only after Patriarch Alexius had announced that he would send <sup>two</sup> observers. He did not want to retract, and could not. (Cf. details on these talks in Eva-Maria Jung, "Table-Talk with the Russian Observers" in The Catholic World, New York, February 1963, pp. 273-278.)

Such were the tensions and complications associated with the preparation of the Council. It is obvious that each step of Bea or of his Secretariat echoed in the world press. Consciously or unconsciously, Bea involved himself in high politics and became a master of the new art of ecumenical diplomacy.

Professor Burkhard Schneider, S.J., of the Gregorian University, explained the significance, which will be surprising to some, agreeable to many

Bea's crucial deed was not that he provided the break-through for the ecumenical movement on the Catholic front, but that thanks to his skill and curial experience, he accomplished what no other would have succeeded in doing. He saw that non-Catholic Churches were invited to the Council, not as they had been to Vatican I and not only as part of the scene, but so that the observers really became co-workers, even a control board of the Council.

After two years, at the beginning of the Council, Cardinal Bea could declare

One must say that events far surpassed all hopes or expectations. The actual work for unity, however, will begin only after the Council. After the Council has improved the atmosphere, has created different assumptions through the clarification of difficult doctrinal points and through the adjustment of various Church regulations to the attitude of the separated brothers, and has given new impulses and appropriate guidelines to the Catholic ecumenical movement—can ecumenical work be intensified and bettered. Therefore I think that in large circles of the faithful, a consciousness of the difficult responsibility to work for the unity of Christians must be awakened or strengthened. It has become a matter of course through the work of the last popes that the laity of the world must collaborate with the apostolate of the hierarchy, that all must pray and sacrifice for the mission. In the same way, yes in a certain sense even more, each Catholic must become conscious of the grave responsibility to work for Christian unity. I say even more, because our separated brothers, baptized in

Christ, are much closer to us than the non-Christianized peoples of missionary countries. For this effort, everyone should work according to his profession and status, but all there is and has to be in common is the attitude of love for our separated brothers, the example of a true religious life, prayer and sacrifice for unity. (Interview with VIPA, 15 Nov 1961)

## 5. On Lecture Tours

As far as Bea was concerned, ecumenism was not to be reserved to his Secretariat, but a duty of all Christians. To raise this awareness among Catholics and to draw universal attention to the urgent problems of Christian unity, was the motivation for Cardinal Bea's untiring lecture-activity, despite his age and frailty. "The unity of Christians is not a static phenomenon, but a dynamic one. The Church is One and Holy in itself, but it is always evolving," he used to say

That also holds true of Bea personally. He was as dynamic as the ecumenical movement and always "becoming", just as the Church. But

the way of the Church through the world is not a triumphal procession. In 1900 years the religion of Christ has won approximately only a third of mankind, and of the 900 million baptized, only 500 million are Roman Catholic. And with how many sacrifices and with how much sweat and blood these conversions have been made,

the Cardinal declared in a lecture on "Der Weg der Kirche in der Welt gemäß dem Heiligen Paulus" (The Way of the Church in the World According to St. Paul). And he often emphasized that according to St. Paul and to the encyclical Mystici Corporis, the Church is not only a Church of Law, but also a Church of Grace, not only an institution, but also an organism, precisely the Mystical Body of Christ, which must submit to the laws of life, which explains its weakness and its apparent contradiction.

The 1900-year anniversary of the arrival of the Apostle Paul in Rome presented the occasion for the initiation of the Cardinal's public lecture activity

The Eucharistic World Congress in Munich followed and the Sixteenth Bible Week in Italy. He gave his first public speech on ecumenism on the ninth of November, 1960, in Ferrara, the city of the Union Council of Ferrara-Florence 143G-39

The week of world prayer for the reunification of Christians, celebrated each year from the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth of January, now found an ideal spokesman and promoter in the president of the Secretariat of Unity. It became a matter of course that during this "Chair of Unity Octave", Bea would speak on Radio Vatican and in various other circles. He took this opportunity, in January 1961 in Rome, to discuss publicly for the first time the controversial problem of non-Catholic membership in the Catholic Church. He referred greatly to the encyclical of Pius XII, Mystici Corporis, which to this point had hardly been cited. According to this encyclical, all baptized persons "in a certain way" are members of the Mystical Body of Christ, even if they remain a legal institution outside the Church. This concept became the starting point for Bea's reflection, and the main motif of his lectures. Baptism is the presupposition of each ecumenical dialogue, the common denominator of all Christians. It is the basis of unity for all Christians—a basis which already is established and which must only develop to its natural, obvious completion. "Baptism creates indestructible bonds which are stronger than anything which separates us," he later assured the non-Catholic observers who had appeared at the Council. On another occasion he said, "If these days we speak of 'separated brothers', this is not simply a polite form, but the expression of a profound Christian truth." It is the expression of a fraternity existing only between baptized Christians, it can not exist between Christians and the un-baptized, although all men are Children of a common Father. "Our baptized separated brothers stay much closer to us than the un-Christianized peoples of missionary



French seminarians in St Odile near Straßburg, he gave a speech on "Der Priester als Diener der Einheit" (The Priest as a Servant of Unity), a topic with which he dealt the last year before the Council in various speeches at many places, especially in academic circles in Bern, Basel, twice in Fribourg, then in Zurich. Pastor Vogelsanger of Zürich wrote an article on this event in the Neue Züricher Zeitung (27 Nov 61), in which he reported in summary: The speaker has opened a dimension in which the dialogue between the separated brothers becomes urgent and hopeful—the dimension of grace. As Bea was the first Cardinal in Basel to speak publicly since the Council of Basel 1431-37, so was he also the first Cardinal in Zurich since the year 1520, at which time Zwingli, still a Catholic, received Cardinal Matthäus Schinner. Bea soon was setting one precedent after another. Almost everywhere he was the first Cardinal who appeared, spoke, extended his hand in greeting to the Protestants, instead of waiting for their overture. (The term "Protestants" is used here for the same reason that Bea states in his book, Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, p. 222: "For brevity we use the expression 'Protestants' for all denominations of the Reformation. This expression actually fits poorly and is unappealing. We only use it since no other similar short expression is available" )

At the Universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen he was the first Cardinal to deliver a speech. As the first Cardinal he passed through the Iron Curtain to East Berlin (11 April 1962). After he had torn down the rusty curtain which had separated the Churches for centuries, he now also ripped the political. In almost every instance he had at his disposal an official car and a police convoy. He was festively received by civil and ecclesiastical (even Protestant) authorities. By the thousands, people streamed to his speeches and many had to return because tickets were sold out, or they had to be satisfied to listen to the transmission of the speech over loudspeakers, as was the case in the Hall Saal der la



Mutualité in Paris and in the university of Munich. It was similar in Essen, Innsbruck and Vienna. On these occasions he was constantly giving interviews, press conferences and radio speeches. He also was the first Cardinal to hold a press conference in the Foreign Press Club in Rome. It was actually only a speech presented to the members of the press, because Bea cautiously never took part freely in public discussion.

Early in August, Cardinal Bea again set out on a long trip which led him to the Lambeth Palace in London, the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in order to respond to the visit of Archbishop Fisher to Rome in 1960. His successor, Archbishop Dr. Michael Ramsey and his wife invited the Cardinal and his inseparable secretary to a private luncheon. It was the fifth of August, 1962, a remarkable day in English Church history. The archbishop welcomed the Cardinal on the great front steps. "Eminence, this is an historical moment because, since the time of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, a Cardinal has never entered this palace."

Bea also visited the ill-famed Tower of London, in which many Catholic martyrs were held prisoner and executed, such as the great saints Thomas More and John Fisher. How much times had changed became evident when the famous "Beefeaters", the guards of the Tower, saluted the Roman Cardinal.

He participated in a meeting of priests in Heythrop, where the ecumenical situation in England was discussed. Here for the first time he gave a speech in English, at the age of eighty-one. After that he spoke at the Catholic Day in Hannover on "Niels Stensen and the Concern of Christian Unity". Niels Stensen was a Danish physician who converted to Catholicism from the Lutheran faith, later to become a priest and apostolic inspector in Hannover. He is an example of the ecumenical spirit three centuries ahead of his time.

In the following weeks Bea, as the only German curial Cardinal, went to

countries." When he learned that other Christians did not like the term "separated brothers", since the stress seemed to lay more on "separated" than on "brothers", Bea said "Then we simply shall skip the word!" From that time he spoke primarily of "our brothers" and, if necessary, of "our non-Catholic brothers". He adopted the quotation of St. Augustine "whether or not they want to be, they are our brothers, they will only cease being so if they stop saying 'Our Father'!"

Speaking soon after in Geneva, Milan, Zugano, Turin and Chieri, Bea asserted that the attitude of Catholics toward Protestants must be one marked with the motto veritas in caritate (Eph. 4, 15). An "attitude of love", then, which serves truth with love and seeks to serve the truth through love. The spirit of love asks each to listen to the other, to open mind and heart, to speak from soul to soul, not in discussion but in dialogue. "Dialogue" is the catchword of the ecumenical movement. Bea made it his own and propagated it "Talks between the Churches are not theological tests of intelligence, but an encounter of brothers who are glad to learn to know each other and to open up to each other as each truly is."

Over and over again Bea asked "Let us leave the judgment of the past to history, since it possesses the sources and means of that judgment, let us leave it especially to the court of God Himself, and let us today try to regain what we have lost in that time the unity of all baptized in Christ."

Christianity in the Middle Ages felt called to give mankind the magnificent creation of cathedrals, our time, then, seems to be called to establish the incomparably greater, more noble and more useful gift, or at least industriously begin the project the reconstructed temple of the unity of all believers in Christ. This is not merely the matter of a great and beautiful present. Rather the question is to realize the highest destination of men. Only in this way can the hidden plan of God for mankind be fulfilled—'Namely to include All, the heavenly and the earthly, in Christ, under one head' (Eph. 1, 10) (ver eg tur can eit, cit pp 33-34)

In the fall of the year, Bea travelled further North. At a congress of

Bonn for an official visit with the Federal Government. Chancellor Adenauer invited him for lunch and President Lübke asked him to tea on August 27, 1962. Leaving Bonn, he visited the Abbey Maria Laach and travelled by ship up the Rhein to the apostolic nunciatur in Bad Godesberg, which was an exciting change. In Dortmund he held a Pontifical Mass in the Franciscan Church, where the "servant of God" Brother Jordan Mayer is buried. At his process of sanctification, Bea had been "ponens".

He could celebrate the Golden Anniversary of his priesthood in his hometown, Riedbohringen, and indeed at the same altar at which fifty years before he had said his first Mass. However, he did not have to give the sermon himself, as the last time, since now enough "other Jesuits" were present. His parents' house was decorated with flags. After all these years, he still found some houses built by his father. Obviously everything which his father had made, lasted. He also greeted some former schoolmates.

It is strange that only late in life did Bea re-explore his homeland. Then annually he would go to Riedbohringen for several days. Since his parents were no longer alive, and his former home belonged to another family, he stayed with his niece, Rosa Maier, in two little rooms which his father had built and which were so low that he almost would not have managed to come through the door if he had not been so bent over with age. An Augustin-Chapel was erected, according to a wish he had had even as a child, at the Furstenberg near Riedbohringen. And a "Kardinal Bea Schule" (Cardinal Bea School) was built in Riedbohringen, which later accommodated the Cardinal Bea Museum. Again a parallel to Pope John can be drawn, since his things are also exhibited in a little museum in his home-village. Not that Bea wanted to imitate the Pope on this point. He merely did not want his things to be scattered all over the world and even sold at auctions.

A few days before the opening of the Council, the Cardinal held a talk on the fourth of October, in Milan's Institute for International Politics, concerning the international aspects of the upcoming Council. He could always find new

political fact, but does possess an international character in the assembly of its members and in the problems with which it deals, as well. It has, without doubt, great international and intercontinental scope. "This will affect all countries and all human relationships, so that the Council will provide an immeasurable contribution to the understanding and the freedom of all peoples "

Bea's lectures, articles and interviews in the two years after the foundation of the Secretariat until the beginning of the Council, are collected in a book entitled L'Unione dei Cristiani (ed. La Civiltà Cattolica, Rome, 1962). This book had such success that it soon appeared in six different translations. This was the prelude to his literary activity. His books now appeared one after another, in order to illuminate, penetrate and clarify for all the topic of his life, the unity of Christians.

## CHAPTER .

The Council Father

## 1. The First Period of the Council

Beginning on the eleventh of October, 1962, the Council first put an end to Bea's lecturing activities (except for a speech in the Theatre La Fenice in Venice on November 19). Each day of the Council Bea sat for three or four hours in St. Peter's Cathedral, hardly moving from his seat, a chair cushioned with red velvet but nonetheless uncomfortable. Unlike the other Council Fathers, he never permitted himself a refreshment or a moment's relaxation in the "Bar Jonas" or the "Bar Rabbas", as the refreshment centers of the council were called. In the afternoons he took part in the equally strenuous sessions of the commissions. In addition he received many visitors from all over the world and prepared the "interventions," i.e. the speeches in the Council and written amendments to the schemata under discussion.

It was obvious that Bea would become a prominent figure in the Council, since he served a double function as Council Father and as President of the Secretariat. On October 22, 1962, the Secretariat attained a status equal to that of the other ten Council commissions. It then became known as the "Council Secretariat for Christian Unity." Consequently, this Secretariat had to be consulted for its cooperation with other commissions in regard to broader themes and was also permitted to present its own schemata before the Council. These, however, were not discussed in the first sessions, since ~~at first~~ those schemata which were previously accepted by the Preparatory Central Commission were dealt with. The designs of the Secretariat were examined only in the last two sessions of the Central Commission in May and June, 1962. But they were not printed and therefore were not distributed to the Council Fathers. Possibly time simply was

lacking, but there were rumors among the mistrustful journalists that these schemata were boycotted

Cardinal Bea, however, spoke up seven times in this first session (a term used by the press because of its shortness for period of sessions or period of the Council), to debate other schemata. He also presented written motions, the number and content of which remain unknown. Three times he spoke for liturgical reform (on the 24, 30 of October and 9 of November), arguing in favor of the vulgate, for Eucharist under both species on special occasions, for concelebration and for the multiplicity of rites. Indeed the time was not ready for the introduction of new rites, but the possibility could not be excluded that it would be a request in the development of the ecumenical movement. With regard to the revision of the breviary, it was decided that general norms should be established rather than detailed specifications relating only to the Roman breviary

From the beginning Bea was very considerate of the ecumenical and Eastern viewpoint. Experienced in exegesis, he preferred to point out the incorrect Bible quotations or interpretations which he discovered often in schemata. When Bea was given the floor, all the Council Fathers in the recesses of the Church or in the snack bars, returned in order not to miss a single word of Bea. They knew that whatever Bea had to say would be decisively significant and important to the future development of the Council. Through him spoke the ecumenical conscience which had not yet been awakened in all the Council Fathers. His was the voice of the Bible, as Professor Cullman, who participated as an observer, remarked:

Each time an address of Cardinal Bea was announced in the Council, one knew that it would be like hearing the voice of the Bible itself, and in these moments every barrier between the Protestant observers and the Catholic participants of the Council fell.  
(in Rocca, 1. Dez. 1968, p. 30)



Bea praises the industriousness of the commission, but has to state with regret that he was not pleased by the text in the form in which it was submitted. It does not match the intention set for the Council by the Pope. It completely lacks pastoral spirit, it does not make sense to say that doctrine is the basis of pastoral spirit, since then every theological handbook or essay would be pastoral. Actually this schema is not written to be understood by the man of today. It represents theological schools (of thought), and, in some instances, merely a single theologian, who could possibly be led to mistaken assertions. The speaker named several examples as proof: the absence of questions which are of real interest today, the insertion of themes which can not be the concern of a Council document, the avoidance of some fundamental problems, the repetition of matters which are already handled in every handbook. The schema makes little ecumenical sense since it avoids problems which are of interest to our separated brothers, and it rarely speaks in language which can be understood by them. exegetes, but it regards them with a certain mistrust. Only at one point can a word of praise be given. Therefore the text must be shortened and thoroughly revised, if not even replaced with a new one.

*He often speaks of*

Bishop Emile de Smedt of Brugge, Belgium, then explained to the Council Fathers in what the new method of "ecumenical dialogue" consists. He spoke \_\_\_ as a representative of the Secretariat and could speak more frankly than Cardinal Bea, who had to show more respect to the Roman Curia. (Here follows a quotation which should be supplied in the original English version!) (in Ralph M. Wiltgen The Rhine flows into the Tiber, Hawthorn, New York 1967, p. 50)

Finally it came to a dramatic vote on the twentieth of November. The result: 62% were against proceeding with the discussion under the present draft, and only 37% regarded the schema acceptable as a basis of discussion. But since, according to the established procedures of the Council, a two-thirds majority was necessary to remove a theme from the agenda, it would have been debated indefinitely against the will of the majority if the Pope himself had not interfered. On the twenty-first of November, he abruptly dismissed the schema and established a new commission at this time consisting of members from the Theological Commission and from the Secretariat to draft a completely

new text. As the rumor goes, it was a proposal of the diplomatic Cardinal Bea. He had made the suggestion in the presence of the Cardinal-State-Secretary Cicognani who repeated it to the Pope. At once Bea's proposal was accepted.

The Pope established a co-chairmanship of this commission Ottaviani and Bea. But these two were regarded as the great antagonists of the Council. To many, Ottaviani was the perfect example of an arch-Catholic curial official. His motto was "semper idem", and the Church in his eyes was a "bulwark" (which is the title of a book by Ottaviani on the Church) that must be maintained at any price. Bea, on the contrary, was regarded as a symbol of the new spirit in the Church. He regarded the Church not so much as a bulwark, but as a home, the doors and windows of which are open to every new suggestion and request of the times. Outsiders imagined the hall of the Council as an arena in which Bea and Ottaviani would fight about the future of the Church—indeed not in a physical struggle, but with polite speech, the one with the gravity of tradition, the other with the élan of new ideas.

At once the anecdotes about these two opponents, so contrary in personality, began to circulate. For example, it was reported that the English airline, British European Airways, called BEA, had hung a poster in the Holy Office, where Ottaviani presided at this time, with the advertisement "Fly with BEA", indicating the course of the ship of Peter under this Cardinal.

The new commission met almost daily in order to work out a new schema, now no longer called "Of the Sources of Revelation", but merely "Of Divine Revelation". This change in itself was a step forward. On the evening of the last day of the Council, December 7, four of the five chapters of the new text were unanimously approved by the commission. The fifth chapter was discussed the following February and accepted by the commission with more than the required two-thirds majority. But only in the third session did it come under discussion in the Council Hall.

In an essay entitled 'Von der Geschichtlichkeit der Synoptischen Evangelien,' Bea involved himself in the argument arising over the revelation schema—an argument concerning modern methods and criteria of the biblical sciences. The dispute was begun by some professors of the Lateran University against the Biblical Institute and therefore against its former director. Bea allowed the essay to circulate first as a manuscript for the private use of the Council Fathers. Later it was developed into an article and a booklet to explain the instruction on the historical truth of the gospels, "Über die historische Wahrheit der Evangelien", written by the papal Bible Commission. Two years later, the Bible Commission officially certified that which Bea had already expressed as his personal opinion in the first manuscript, in which he defended form-criticism, praised its pioneers, but warned of the incorrect assumptions and results, such as the conclusion that the synoptics were not the true authors of the first gospels. According to Bea, the solution is the doctrine of instrumentality.

The holy author uses all the qualities of his intellect, imagination and will, no less than any other human author, but at the same time he remains under the quite special influence of the Holy Spirit. This influence does not detract from the qualities of the authors, but with the force of Divine power, it insures that the author writes what the Holy Spirit wills, only what He wills, and in the way in which He wills it. (La storicità dei Vangeli sinottici La Civiltà Cattolica, Rome 1904, p. 25)

When the schema on revelation was removed from the agenda, the schema on mass media was presented. This was dealt with very quickly and therefore did not turn out satisfactorily. On the twenty-fourth of November, Bea addressed himself to the topic and began:

In the beginning I truly had not intended to speak on this theme. But recently when the regular meeting of non-Catholic observers took place, important viewpoints were presented with regard to this theme, and it seemed to me to be worth the trouble to bring this information before the Council assembly.

That was not the first time that a discussion with the observers of the Council prompted a speech in the Council, as Bea assured. In this indirect

way the silent observers could nonetheless participate in the Council debates.

As might be anticipated, this Cardinal, a friend of the press, spoke in favor of the use of new mass media (press, film, radio, television) to serve the Church. In his opinion, the Council's text should speak less of the right and the duty of the Church to take a position regarding mass media than of the blessing and the service which the Church can accomplish through them. The Church should educate men not only to see but to listen. Pictures without words are incomplete, especially concerning supernatural truths. The mass media must become humanized and Christianized with the cooperation of non-Catholics. Bea ended with the wish that a permanent curial press center would be established with the assistance of competent laymen. This wish was partially fulfilled only in 1968 (Summary of the original text, which is not permitted to be published.)

After the topic of mass media, a theme followed which was of special interest to Bea: the Unity of Christians. On this theme there existed three different drafts, one proposed by Bea's Secretariat, as yet unrepresented to the Council Fathers. Another was drafted by the Theological Commission within the framework of a larger schema on the Church, in which the eleventh chapter dealt with the unity of the Church. A third shorter text was written by the Commission for Eastern Churches under the title "Ut Omnes Unum Sint." Only this last schema was presented for debate to the Council Fathers. Cardinal Bea spoke near the conclusion of the discussion, November 30. He pointed out that this schema embraced only the Eastern Churches and moved to combine all three schemata into one which should concern all separated Christians in the same way. And so it happened. Indeed the Council Fathers decided on the basis of a vote (December 1) to accept this schema principally, but to incorporate the other two with regard to the ecumenical nature of the Council. After the defeat of the schema on revelation in its original form, this was the second "victory" for Bea in the Council.

Of course this was not a personal victory, but a triumph for his concern. This vote indicated that the majority of the Council Fathers were already consumed with the spirit of ecumenism. To the Secretariat fell the troublesome task of summarizing the three schemata with the members of the Theological Commission and the Eastern Commission, and of formulating a new schema "De Decumenismo". This was approved by Pope John on the twenty-second of April, 1963, and placed on the agenda of the next interval of sessions, and sent to the Council Fathers for approval.

In the last moment of the first session the most important theme of the Council was presented "De Ecclesia". Drafted by the Theological Commission under the direction of Ottaviani, it was attacked at once by Bishop de Smet (as the schema on revelation had been). It resked of triumphalism, clericalism, and juridicism. Several days later, on the fourth of December, Cardinal Bea himself spoke on this schema for four minutes beyond the allotted ten minutes. However, no bell interrupted him. On the contrary, everyone listened tensely.

Cardinal Bea said "that the schema does not match the great significance of the theme. This subject must take precedence in our Council, it is also important for the Protestants, who only now are rediscovering the Church. It concentrates only on the ecclesia militans. It speaks about the proclamation of the gospel <sup>briefly</sup> only in the chapter before the last, and hardly mentions the priesthood. Rather it deals with matters which are unrelated or still controversial e.g., who are among the members of the Church. The schema must have a better organization. The Pope can not be disassociated from the Apostles, but must be discussed as their head, according to Holy Scripture. The schema shall represent Christian doctrine as scripture and tradition, instead of quoting preponderant encyclicals of the last popes. It deals only with one facet of the Church, namely that of the Mystical Body of Christ, instead of encompassing all aspects mentioned in Holy Scripture. Therefore the schema presents an incomplete



picture of the Church. Bea complained about incorrect Bible quotations, about too many scholastic expressions and pious recommendations. The pastoral character of the text has to be shown in the selection and handling of the arguments, not in recommendations. "The root of all dissatisfaction with this schema lies in its failure to suit the intention of the Council to present the doctrine of Christ to all men in an <sup>comprehensible</sup> understandable and acceptable manner." "It is evident from these words that the schema as it stands is not <sup>satisfactory</sup> acceptable but requires a new, very thorough revision." (Summary of the original text) (The use of the quotation marks in this passage must be checked!)

It was decided to continue the discussion on the Church schema in the next session and to improve it basically in the meantime, so that it would reflect the three essential characteristics of the Council which should be, according to the intention of Pope John "positive, pastoral and ecumenical".

#### 1a The Observers

The great sensation of the first period of the Council was created not so much by the Catholic Council Fathers as by the non-Catholic observers of other Christian Churches and communities, who for the first time attended a Council convened by the Pope in Rome. When they walked to the Council in their long festive robes, all eyes and cameras were directed toward them. They were obvious proof of the progress of the Church and the reconciliation of Christians. The arrival of both the Russian observers and their secretary was especially exciting. They arrived on the evening of the first day of the Council. Monsignor Allebrands awaited them at the airport and welcomed them with the kiss of brotherhood, according to Russian custom. Thus an example was set for the reception of the Russians at the Council and in all Rome as "separated brothers" who are indeed doubly separated by the schism and the Iron Curtain, but are nonetheless brothers.

In the beginning there were forty-one "observer-delegates" selected by their



churches, and representing seventeen different churches and ecclesiastical communities. There were also eight 'observer-guests' who were theologians invited personally by the Secretariat on the basis of cordial relations or special merit. Among them was the Lutheran Professor Oskar Cullmann, who through his studies on St. Peter was very well known in Catholic circles, as well as the founder of the reform monastery Taizé in France, Prior Roger Schutz, and the assistant prior Max Thurian, who drew special attention in their long white cowls.

Among the larger churches, the Baptists were missing because of conflicts within the community, as well as the Lutherans of the Missouri Synod because of their close-mindedness. Most importantly, the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople and some autocephalous churches of the Orthodox Christians were absent. Patriarch Athenagoras refused at the last minute with much regret because of the Greek-Orthodox vote against the invitation and the delayed consent of the Russian Orthodox Church. Because of these <sup>unfortunate</sup> delays, reservations and misunderstandings at the beginning of the Council, exactly that church ~~was missing~~ closest to the Roman Catholic Church was unrepresented—the Church of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It was one of the few failures which the Secretariat had to admit, as Bea himself declared in his address at the reception for observers:

without a doubt, this is hurting both sides. It must be realized, however, that great effort was made by each without the possibility of overcoming the difficulties.

When, in the course of this book, observers are mentioned, the references concern the observer-delegates and the observer-guests as well, who were actually treated without differentiation. They had the same rights at the General Congregation in St. Peter's Cathedral. They were allowed to sit in the same tribunal directly in front, opposite the presidium. One Council Father, sitting quite a distance <sup>away</sup> and unable to hear or see, is said to have remarked enviously that he would leave the Council and return as a Protestant observer in order to sit in

front in one of the seats of honor. The observers could refresh themselves at the two snack bars of the Council without charge, and there could acquaint themselves with Council Fathers from all over the world. They received the schemata to read and were asked to express their opinions on them in written comment or at one of the weekly Tuesday meetings specially organized with the members of the Secretariat, <sup>at</sup> in which the current events of the Council were discussed. Their proposals were then brought <sup>y</sup> by the participating Council Fathers into the hall of the Council.

The Secretariat took motherly care of the observers in all practical matters too, from their arrival at the airport or station to their accommodations. Most observers stayed together in the boarding house Castello behind the Engelsburg. Through the window they could view the angel atop the castle, as he is returning his sword to its sheath, possibly as a sign of the end of denominational controversy and the beginning of a new era of peace among Christians. The Secretary tried to introduce the observers to the life of Catholicism and to show them the religious centers of Rome and its surroundings.

It was first Bea's task as president of the Secretariat to introduce the observers and guests to the Holy Father, who received them in a special audience on the thirteenth of October. Rather than a lengthy speech, he only begged them "Read in my heart! Possibly you will find <sup>in</sup> it much more than in my words."

After the audience, the Cardinal said, as he was leaving, "It is a miracle, a true miracle!" Later, in a conference in the press room of the Council on the eighth of November, he publicly exclaimed, "This phrase not only describes my impression of this audience, although the encounter was unique and extraordinarily moving because of <sup>the</sup> its fine and familiar form, with which the Holy Father in his grace wanted to address this audience. No, this word 'miracle' reflects all the experiences which we have had in the last two years since the installation of the Secretariat. In all objectivity, one can really say that all these experiences

have gained ever greater width, depth and breadth. " Bea called the Council a providential and gigantic undertaking upon which from the beginning the blessing of God quite obviously rested (German documentation of the press center of the Council, Nr 17, 8 Nov 62)

Several days after the audience, on the fifteenth of October, the president of the Secretariat gave a reception in honor of the observers and guests. On this occasion he determined the mood which should now prevail between them, addressing them as 'My dear brothers in Christ! Instead of a long enumeration of

your titles, please allow me to address you with these simple and profound words 'my brothers in Christ'. This title at once draws us into a profound awareness of the incomparable grace of baptism, which 'as created indestructible bonds between us. They are stronger than anything that separates us. Of these bonds throughout the world, we become daily more and more aware. They have moved your ecclesiastical authorities to delegate you as observers to the Council of the Roman Catholic Church. Now since this encounter, desired by so many baptized, has become a reality, I believe that our first and sincere sentiment should be that of gratitude. Indeed this is not the work of a human being of flesh and blood, but rather the work of the generosity, mercy and grace of God, who has moved us through the merits of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ through His Holy Spirit who lives in the heart of each of us. This encounter is, as I believe, a spiritual celebration, a kind of Agape in our Lord Jesus Christ to whom alone is due all honor and praise for ever and ever. (German press documentation, Nr 3, Vatican, 15 Oct 62)

The number of the observers and guests was indeed negligible in comparison to the twenty-five hundred Council Fathers, but their influence on the course of the Council is inestimable. Their quiet presence had an influence which is difficult to judge. It gave new direction to the discussions of the Council. The speakers avoided the use of a word or tone which might offend the non-Catholics. They greeted some with the expression "Carissimi observatores". For their part, the observers were indeed obliged to remain silent in the Council Hall, but inwardly they were deeply moved, as Professor Cullmann assures

Our participation in the negotiations of this Council represents, in my opinion, an important realization of the ecumenical idea. In outward appearance we are passive observers. But inwardly we experience these negotiations with our Catholic brothers, we take positions in

the meeting with the same interest as they do—pro or con  
This has brought us together in a quite special way in the  
last weeks (German press documentation, Nr. 25, Vatican,  
23 Nov 62)

At the end of the first period of the Council, Cardinal Bea could be very satisfied with the outcome. Nothing had been decided at the Council which would hinder his concern for the unity of Christians. On the contrary, many of his suggestions and proposals were accepted. No door was slammed shut, but many windows were opened to the outer world.

#### 1b The Interim

The New Year 1963 began immediately with a series of lectures and travels and further progress of the Secretariat. In a letter on the fourteenth of January, the Pope ordered the Secretariat to be divided into two departments, one for the West under the direction of the Undersecretary Monsignor Jean-François Arrighi, and one for the East under the new undersecretary, Father Pierre Duprey, P. B., who had already been sent by the Secretariat to the Patriarch of Constantinople to clear up the unfortunate problem of observers.

At the opening Mass of the XXV. National Congress of the "Movimento Laureati di Azione Cattolica" (an association of academicians) on the second of January, Bea spoke on "Unser moralisches Leben in Licht der Hl. Schrift" (Our moral Life in Light of Holy Scripture). On this point he could draw from the fullness of his biblical knowledge. As in the preceding year, he again took part in the "Agape" festival of the Pro-Deo-University in Rome (January 13), where he delivered an after-dinner speech with sensational results. Il Giornale d'Italia labelled it the "Magna Carta of Freedom" for the new direction which the pontificate of John XXIII had given to the Catholic world to solve the age-old problems of unity and freedom. The theme of the Agape was "The Love of Truth, exercised in love as the way to harmony among the individuals and groups".

To this Bea, among others spoke

The love of truth without love of neighbor ~~is~~ becomes impatient and repulsive. A real love of truth asks us to recognize the truth wherever we meet it, from whichever side it comes. It asks also a readiness and will to hear the voice of truth whenever it can be heard. . Love without truth is blind and can not endure. Therefore both are necessary: love of truth and love of neighbor. Both, unified in harmony, can effect the unity of men.

As basic as the love of truth is the freedom of man

This freedom consists in the right of man to freely determine his own fate according to his own conscience. Out of this freedom grows the responsibility and the privilege of man to follow his own conscience. . whoever would object to the point that failure has a right to exist, should receive the response that failure is something abstract and therefore not subject to law. But man, even when he fails irrevocably, i.e., when he cannot correct his failure, has the right to follow his conscience and even the right to expect his independence be respected by all.

(These passages are very unclear to the translators and should be carefully verified, perhaps by the authoress herself, in the context of the entire speech—for which an exact reference is not supplied.)

This speech was an announcement of the contents of the schema on religious freedom, as it was worked out by the Secretariat. Here the spirit of the schema becomes evident. Since the acceptance of the decree, "de libertate religiosa", by the whole church, these ideas as expressed in Bea's dinner address, have now become a <sup>self-evident</sup> matter of course. At this time, however, they created a sensation and provoked protest.

"Freedom" has become Bea's second keyword after "unity". The word "tolerance" did not satisfy him. It is too passive and negative. He prefers to speak of the "freedom" of man, even in failure. How "unity" in "freedom" can be realized, is the great problem which concerned Bea throughout this particular year. To this problem he also dedicated his dinner address at the Agape celebration in New York on April 1, 1963. From these addresses his book Unity in Freedom was developed.

During the "Chair of Unity Octave" for unity in faith throughout the world, January 18-25, Bea spoke as usual over Radio Vatican and the Bayerischen Rundfunk (the radio station of Bavaria), as well as in different student groups. He also



gave Benediction in the Church del Gesu on the day dedicated to Lutherans.

Accepting an invitation of the Catholic Bishop of Copenhagen, he visited Denmark (January 24-28). There he set another precedent. Bea was the first <sup>to be</sup> Cardinal/received by the King of Denmark, and to ~~make~~ <sup>give</sup> an official speech in the presence of the Danish minister of culture and several Lutheran bishops. Besides that, he addressed a Christian student movement during a missionary conference in Roskilde on ecumenism and mission. This speech and the discussion which followed it were transmitted on a Danish broadcast. Soon there was no assembly to which Bea was not invited as a speaker, and no topic on which he could not speak or relate to his own concern. Thus he spoke on the twenty-first of February at the Congress on "Tourism and Pastoral Work", relating the ecumenical aspect of tourism. In this regard, he remarked that Italy, as the classical country of travel, has a special responsibility.

Each year a meeting of Italian university professors convened in the Cittadella in Assisi in March. Addressing himself to the theme of the meeting, "The great modern discoveries in the service of the ethical progress of humanity," Bea spoke, on the eighth of March, about the discovery of the Church

The great discovery, new to many, even among Catholics, is that the Church of Christ is not only an association of men of the same religion, but a living and vital organism, penetrated by the life of Christ and therefore divine, an organism in which Christ lives and continues his redemptive work

#### 1c In America

- From the twenty-fifth of March to the fourth of April, Cardinal Bea, for
- the second time, visited America, accompanied by his secretary, Father Schmidt,
- and his private physician, Professor Amadei. This trip through America re-
- sembled a triumphal march. It was the ecumenical invasion of the one-time
- stubbornly sectarian Boston. Within ten days he held five different lectures
- and six <sup>shorter</sup> smaller addressess, all in English, demonstrating the amazing élan of



this old man who looked so feeble. First the Protestant theological faculty of Harvard University held an ecumenical "colloquium" from March 27-30. Following the reception of participants (about 150 university professors from all over the world), Cardinal Bea spoke in Sanders Theater on academic teaching activity and research work in service of Christian unity. The two following days he continued on 'The Council in Relation to the Non-Catholic Christian World Its Preparation, Its First Session, Its Future and Its Importance'.

At this time Boston College, directed by the Jesuits, celebrated its centennial anniversary. On this occasion the Cardinal was granted the "Doctor in utroque iure," after which he spoke to the students about the Council and the duty of working for Christian unity

In New York the 'American Council for International Promotion of Democracy the Under/Sovereignty of God' had organized an Agape celebration on the first of April. Among the more well-known of the one-thousand participants were the governor of New York, N. A. Rockefeller, the mayor of New York City, Wagner, the president of the Union Theological Seminary, H. P. van Dusen, Professor Abraham J. Heschel from the Jewish Theological Seminary, the president of the U. N. Assembly, Mohamed Zafrulla Khan, a Mohammedan, and the secretary of the U. N., U Thant, a Buddhist. The chairman was P. Felix A. Morlion, the founder and leader of the Pro-Deo Organization. Cardinal Bea was the official speaker, although he did not represent the Secretariat, but spoke in his own name. As at the Roman Agape celebration at the beginning of the year, he spoke on 'Unity in Freedom' This unique group aroused great interest with the press and the meeting was therefore televised

also

In New York Cardinal Bea/met privately with the members of the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches to discuss questions of practical cooperation, such as the fight against racism, the maintenance of

Christian schools, the establishment of standing ecumenical commissions of experts, and questions of controversy, such as mixed marriage. That was the origin of official cooperation with different ecclesiastical associations throughout the world—a cooperations which lasted beyond the Council.

At the same time Cardinal Bea contacted members of Jewish organizations from different affiliations in Judaism and informed them about the proposed schema "The Church's Attitude Toward the Jews", which "far surpassed all conceivable expectation of that assembly in New York in March, 1963" in the form of its final acceptance in the Council.

From New York, the Cardinal went to Baltimore, the oldest Catholic diocese in the United States. There he celebrated a pontifical Mass and delivered a sermon. He spoke to priests, to seminarians and to the Jesuits of the Divinity School of Woodstock—each time on the responsibility of working for the ecumenical movement.

Finally he also visited Catholic University in Washington, D C., which is maintained by the Bishops of the United States. This university had, a short time before, forbidden a previously announced lecture series by Council participants (Hans Küng, Gustave Weigel, John Courtney-Murray, P. Godfrey Diekman), since the speakers were regarded as too modern. Now in a festive convocation (April 4), the Cardinal was once again awarded an honorary theological doctorate. Again he spoke on the ecumenical task of Catholics. This event was attended by different members of other religious communities. Thirty-two other universities and colleges invited Cardinal Bea to make an appearance, but he had neither the time nor the energy. At any rate, he had sown the ecumenical seed and it was flourishing. Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara commented (See B. Leeming, Op cit, p. 27 for the original English)

1d Pope Paul VI

The early and unanticipated death of Pope John on June 3, 1963, shook the whole ecumenical world. Here the word "ecumenical" is meant in the literal sense the whole inhabited world. To Cardinal Bea it meant the loss of a friend, guardian and patron of his lifework. Some asked anxiously what will become of the Secretariat if the new pope is not as favorable toward it as the last? It was well known that not all members of the Roman Curia displayed good will toward this newcomer and outsider, as the Secretariat was regarded ~~in the~~ by the curial officials of longstanding. On the selection of the proper pope, the whole council and with it the reform of the Church and the Christians depended. Now Bea could exercise his most important duty and privilege as Cardinal he too could participate in the selection of the new pope. He himself was not considered because of his age (82). Together with the other cardinals he was locked in the Vatican Palace on the nineteenth of June. Two days later, the vote went to Archbishop Montini of Milan. He was the most reasonable candidate, since he combined lengthy curial experience with a sense of the modern world and its needs. Bea knew him personally, since both had attended Pius XII—Bea as the Father Confessor and Montini as the Sostituto of the State Secretariat. Immediately after the selection, as Bea was rendering him the first reverence in the Sistine Chapel, Paul VI said warmly and distinctively "well, your Eminence can continue with the work of the Secretariat as it has proceeded thus far."

The new Pope kept his promise. At his coronation celebration on the thirtieth of June, among the guests of honor the delegations of some other Churches attracted attention. There were familiar faces, known already as observers of the Council.

Some weeks later the Bea-Secretariat sent a delegation to Moscow to the golden anniversary of the Bishopric of Patriarch Alexius, at the expressed request of the Pope.

Sometime later the Metropolitan Nikodim of Minsk, the "State-Secretary" of

Patriarch Alexius, passed through Rome, paid a visit to the Pope and to Cardinal Bea, and <sup>a</sup>prayed at the grave of Pope John.

Some months after the coronation of Paul VI, Bea wrote a preface to the book, The Mind of Paul VI (Chapman, London, 1964) In it he analyzed the program of Paul VI Council, reform of Canon Law, world peace, unity of Christians, dialogue with the modern world, and curial reform.

Bea stresses how human and simple the pope is, how modest, humble and selfless. For example, after his election he continued to sit at his old place at the table among the cardinals. He resumed the complete program of his predecessor. In his speech at the opening of the second session of the Council he publicly asked God and his brothers to pardon the injustices that they believe they have suffered by Catholics. He sat in the circle of the observers, not on a raised throne. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He reciprocated the visit of the Patriarch in Jerusalem. His piety is christocentric. He says about himself

Hope is our guiding star, prayer our strength, love our method  
in service of Divine Truth, which is our faith and our redemption

This was his motto

(Here a quotation from The Mind of Paul VI cit., p. 8 follows. The original English text should be incorporated.)

After the tedious days of Pope John's fatal disease and interment, and the election and coronation of Pope Paul VI, Bea went on retreat for several weeks in Germany, then to a count with whom he was friendly, and finally to the Stella Maris Institute in Rorschach, Switzerland, where earlier in his life Pius XII (then still Cardinal Pacelli) had often spent his vacations. Bea had received the address from Sister Pasqualina, the head of the household of Pius XII, who was a member of the order of Sisters running the institute.

In the meantime, at the Salzburger Hochschulwochen which takes place every year in August, Bea delivered an official speech on "Die Internationalität der

Wissenschaft im Dienst der Einheit der Christen" ("The Internationality of the Sciences in Service of the Unity of Christians")

On the twenty-first of September, the bells of Bolsena rang for the arrival of the Cardinal at the Congress of "The Catholic Union of the Italian Press' About what was he better able to speak than the ecumenical spirit?

This is the great opening of heart and spirit to all men, especially the baptized, and the readiness to serve the truth in love

This spirit grows out of the grace of baptism and must inspire journalists in their work in a very special way.

The year's final speech Cardinal Bea delivered before the national assembly of the Union of the Catholic Lawyers of Italy, on December 13, in the Roman Capitol. In it he dealt with a new aspect of his year's topic--'Religious Freedom and Social Change.'

The conclusions of his speech were so important that they should be quoted verbatim

NOTA BENE

The reference for the quotation which should follow on page 81 of the translation was mistakenly omitted. The English text may be acquired from The Way to Unity After the Council on the page corresponding to Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, Herder, Freiburg 1966, pp. 272-273.

Since, in the appendix of her manuscript, the author includes the bibliographical information for the translations of the works she quotes, the translators have chosen not to repeat it throughout this work in correlating the footnotes.



## 2. The Second Period of the Council

The second period of the Council started on a new note, since a new pope was the chairman Paul VI. The speech with which he opened the second session in St. Peter's on the twenty-ninth of September, 1963, surprised the public and forced the non-Catholic observers to listen attentively. He said to them

If any guilt of this separation is attributable to us, then we ask God humbly to forgive us and also ask our brothers to pardon us, if they feel that we have hurt them. .

Si quae culpa ob huiusmodi separationem in nos admittenda sit, veniam humili rogarum a Deo petimus, ab ipsisque Fratribus veniam petimus, si iniuriam a nobis se accepisse putent. (Osservatore Romano, Vatican, 30 Sept/1 Oct 1963)

That was the very first public admission of guilt from the highest authority of the Roman Catholic Church, the first humble plea for forgiveness, not unequivocal but conditional. The word of the condition (si = if) began the phrase. It was explained to the observers that this is the style of the Roman Curia—to avoid as much as possible clear declarations which limit them, or to weaken these declarations through a small "if". However, this confession of guilt and plea for forgiveness did not fail to make an impression.

In the first audience granted by the new pope to the observers (October 17), he once again referred to this declaration of guilt

We have ventured in our speech on the <sup>twenty-ninth</sup> ~~nineteenth~~ of September to have recourse to Christian forgiveness with each other as much as possible.

Nous avons osé, dans Notre discours du 29 septembre, recourir avant tout au pardon chrétien, réciproque, si possible.

And he brings a quotation of Horace Veniem iamque petismusque vicissim.

The number of observers had grown from forty-nine to sixty-six and the number of churches represented, from seventeen to twenty-two. In addition to the Church of South India, four other new orthodox churches arrived (the Orthodox Church of Georgia, the Syro-Orthodox Church of India, the Apostolic Armenian

cussions with non-Catholics of the Reformation. That the Church founded in this way by Christ is the Roman Catholic Church, is asserted in the text, but unsubstantiated in accepted sources. Finally, it is stated that the Church founded by Christ is 'the pillar and fundament of truth' erected on Peter and the Apostles and their successors. So that, 1 Tim 3 15 is quoted. But in this passage, the Apostle does not say that the 'column' is erected 'on Peter and the Apostles' at all. Eph 2 20-22, however, would be more appropriate.

Conclude This is sufficient to demonstrate that the schema must undergo careful revision, not presenting new arguments, but selecting from those presented the ones which better suit today's needs. Should this not happen, the schema is neither theologically satisfactory nor unifying. That means, it does not effect the restoration of unity among Christians which the Holy Father cited as the primary goal of the Council a few days ago. Dixi (in Mario von Galli Das Konzil Band II, Walter, Olten 1964, p. 33)

Bea always had the intention of the Council in mind. He was like the executor of John's will, and, after Pope John's death, Bea untiringly promoted the original plan and testament of the pope—that the Council should be ecumenical in spirit and intention. The professorial aspect of Bea's character was often obvious in his interventions. Wherever possible, he underlined errors in red pencil, especially incorrect or inaccurate quotations from Holy Scripture. Besides that, Bea was always, under any circumstance, a realist in the Council. That became obvious in his intervention on the thirtieth of October. The fourth chapter, on the vocation to holiness in the Church, was in question. Bea remarked:

This chapter is not sober and realistic enough. A clear differentiation must be made between the Church in the eschatological sense of its perfect holiness, and the Church as pilgrim. The Church on earth indeed strives in all its members to achieve holiness, but it is comprised at the same time of both the just and the unjust, as Our Lord shows in the parables of the net with good and bad fish or the field with wheat and weeds. The holiness of the Church on earth is a living, growing matter, not an established component. If the Church had been holy in all its members in a certain moment, then there would not have been a reformation! Further, the chapter must be criticized for incomplete and incorrect quotations from Holy Scripture. Twenty texts in Scripture speak of holiness, from which a complete doctrine could be drawn, but many of them are not mentioned. On the other hand, in the use of the term 'perfection', caution is required, since Holy Scripture only calls God Himself perfect. The most important verse (1 Thess 4 3), that is the will of God, your holiness, deserves more emphasis. There is also not enough regard to ancient tradition on this question. Such failures are even more significant because they make

Church, the Syric Church of Mar Thomas of Malabar). However, the Ecumenic Patriarch of Constantinople still sent no observer. Therefore the three Russians once again sat in the first and finest place in the tribune of the observers, since the order of seats was determined according to complicated ecumenical protocol, which took into consideration the rank, age and doctrinal proximity of the represented churches to the Roman Catholic Church. Only in the third session did the Russians make room for the Greeks of Constantinople by retreating a few seats.

The observers however were no longer the great novelty and attraction of the Council. Rather the Catholic laymen came to the fore. For the first time, if only as auditors, they were admitted to the Council and now took their places in the tribune opposite the observers. Cardinal Bea again from the beginning to the end sat still and attentive in his uncomfortable red chair in the row of Cardinals.

This time the major topic of the Council, raised at the end of the preceding session, was attacked at once, since it had been thoroughly reworked in the interim. De Ecclesia—the Constitution of the Church. On the third of October Cardinal Bea spoke on it.

In my modest opinion the Bible quotations of the schema should be checked more accurately, as His eminence Cardinal Ruffini has already remarked with complete justification. The same holds for the texts taken from tradition. Both are of increasing importance today, since the Council will also show the nature, the unity and the ministry of the Church to non-Catholic Christian brothers. The common sources for them and for us are Holy Scripture and ancient tradition. Therefore, if we want to enter into discussion with them, it must be done on this basis. Our argumentation from these two sources, then, must be absolutely accurate, so that everything incorrect is avoided and only that is presented which is correct. Several examples in Chapters 2 and 3 are notable.

There is reference to the "unique Church of Christ" but never is an attempt made to prove this uniqueness through Holy Scripture. Further, it is stated that Christ has entrusted his Church to Peter, to the Apostles, and to their successors, again without proof, although precisely here is the salient point of the question in dis-

the discussion more difficult with non-Catholic brothers, whose doctrine of holiness is completely deduced from Holy Scripture and ancient tradition. (German Press Information Nr 23, Vatican, 30 October 1963)

The day on which Bea gave this intervention in the Council Hall was a noteworthy day for another reason, too. It was a "turning point" in the history of the Council. On the thirtieth of October, the moderators asked the Council Fathers five questions in order to see what the majority thought at this time about the heavily discussed questions. (Most of these men sat quietly. Only several hundred of the approximately 2,200 Fathers present in the Council Hall, spoke.)

The guiding questions were 1) if the consecration of bishops is the highest level of the sacrament of Holy Orders, 2) if each bishop who is lawfully consecrated, in association with other bishops and the Roman Pope who is their head and the principle of their unity, is a member of the Bishops College, 3) if this college of bishops is the successor of the college of the Apostles in its duty to teach, sanctify and govern, and if this college now possesses the full and highest authority over the whole church in association with its head, the Roman Pope, whose right of primacy over all pastors and believers remains unequalled, 4) if this authority pertains to the college of bishops together with their head according to divine right, 5) if the re-introduction of the diaconacy as an independent and enduring grade of the holy station of priesthood is to be considered with regard to its usefulness to the Church in different regions.

These "guiding questions" were so named because they were intended to give direction to the theological commission, and to indicate in which sense the second chapter of the schema on the Church should be re-worked. Actually eighty percent of the Council Fathers voted for it.

After that, Bea declared: See the English version of Der Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit. p. 152—Ecumenism in Focus, page unknown.

In the Council Bea did not hesitate to express his own opinion on the rights,

duties and freedoms of the bishops. When the schema on the bishops and the administration of the dioceses came under discussion, he commented, on the sixth of November

I agree with the opinion of the Relator (Bishop Carli), that this schema need not present the theology of the relationship of bishops to the pope. That should be inferred from the schema "De Ecclesia". Nonetheless, from the doctrine presented there, certain principles can be drawn which regulate practical activity. They are of the greatest and most important significance for our question. The problem does not concern some association, the activity of which could be determined according to some need, but ~~about~~ the Church founded by Christ and divinely directed by His spirit. The principles of this organization and its activity, therefore, must be derived from Divine Revelation. These principles are much more important for the Council than the many practical points of view which can differ from situation to situation. First, then, a word on those principles.

1) The first and fundamental principle is that, according to St. Paul, the Church is a living body with various members (1 Cor 12, Rom 12) instituted in love according to the strength of each individual part (1 Th 4, 16). It must be observed that according to the Apostle the construction is built not only through the hierarchy, but through the activity of each single member.

2) Since the Church is a body, all members are related very closely and must cooperate (1 Cor 12 25).

3) Insofar as the Church is a visible association, the highest authority was bestowed upon the college of the Apostles, at the head of which the Lord set Peter. It was he whom the college of bishops followed, over this college the Roman Bishop presides. Moreover, in the course of time other organs were created by the Church, but under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, such as the national and supernational conferences, the central government through the Holy Roman Congregation, and so forth. These new units also, in their own way, become members of the Church, because they are organs for the construction of the Mystical Body, and the Holy Spirit works in those who lead these committees. Therefore, the previously quoted doctrine on the members and their reciprocal relationship applies.

4) As in each society, in the Church also, the authority is not intended to replace the members in their function, but merely to assist them in any matter which they are unable to accomplish, and to take care that the efficacy of the different members is coordinated and directed toward the common good. The same holds of each higher authority in relation to its subordinate.

Thus it follows. The single member has to work for the good of the whole body as much as it can. But it is clear that freedom of activity in some areas must be confined so that it does not frustrate the effectiveness of other members and of the whole body. In a very special way this holds for the bishops' College, since Christ Himself gave it the highest authority in the Church and thereby also the greatest responsibility. The schema on the Church says very well. The bishops are not to be regarded as the vicars of the Roman Bishop, because they have their own authority and in a real sense they are the leaders of



the people they guide." Therefore, they have to care as much as possible for the good of the whole Church, even of the whole world, because they are sent to proclaim the Gospel to each creature. Each bishop is obliged to do his duty and to take upon himself the responsibility for that, so that Rome does not have to write: "The bishop shall exercise his right."

The individual zeal of each member in working for the well-being of the entire Church must be regarded with great respect by all, because it is of the greatest importance for the good of the Church. It is not only a question of the respect of the human person, but of reverence for the activity of the Holy Spirit! All children of the Church are children of God, and the Holy Spirit works in them. Generally, however, the activity of the Holy Spirit is to be presupposed and recognized in individual cases.

Every authority must encounter this freedom with great respect, care for the good of the Church, preserve this freedom, because it has that obligation. Only for one reason may the immediate and mediate authority confine this freedom, that is, when the good of the Church, for which the freedom is granted, requires it. Only the greater and more universal well-being of the Church may move the figures of authority to confine the freedom of individuals under certain circumstances, even if it displeases. Therefore the bishops in their own dioceses, can do everything pertaining to that office, because of their consecration as well as their membership in the Bishops' College. The only exception is that which they must do for the common good in association with a higher authority.

To conclude, an ecumenical aspect. It is known that the Catholic Church often is accused of being despotic, imperialistic, greatly centralized, curial, etc. With more words these accusations cannot be met. It is not enough to ~~say~~ offer flowery phrases about love and the assistance which this central authority lends, nor does it suffice to speak of "services." Only a deep respect for the lawful freedom of the individual, of all substituted authorities and especially of the bishops, is operative. (M. V. Galli, op. cit., pp. 120-121)

(If the editor is dissatisfied with the translation of the above passage, please accept the apologies of the translators, who found the grammar, as well as the logic, a bit obscure in the original.)

In the meantime, the attention of the bishops was directed to a new schema, "de Oecumenismo, which, at the outset, consisted of three chapters. They had received the text in the summer, but during the second session two additional chapters were distributed. On the eighth of November, the fourth chapter on the relationship to non-Christians, especially to the Jews, on the nineteenth of November, the fifth chapter dealing with the freedom of religion'. It excited not only the Council Fathers, but also the entire world.

It is known that three different schemata on ecumenism were prepared.



the document to be a very carefully balanced statement. They also served, bit by bit, to give it the greater breadth it now has as a result of its extension to include the attitude of the Church to non-Christian religions in general ~~to~~ to place the Jewish problem in a wider context.

The first of these difficulties arose in June 1962 when the first schema, dealing only with the Jews and hammered out by the Secretariat in the course of many long sessions, was included in the agenda of the Central Preparatory Commission of the Council.

Unfortunately, at this precise moment, news came through that certain Jewish organizations were to be represented at Rome in connection with the Ecumenical Council and this produced some vociferous protests on the part of the Arabs. It was, therefore, considered prudent to allay anxiety by removing the schema on the Jews from the agenda of the Council.

At this stage, the President of the Secretariat again approached Pope John XXIII who sent to the Council a personal note which included the following comment: "Having carefully examined Cardinal Bea's report, we unreservedly associate ourselves with the burden and responsibility of a concern which we must make our own" (the note is dated 13 December 1962). In the following months, it was decided as a matter of prudence to present the schema in the wider context of the attitude of the Church to non-Christian religions in general and it was in this form that it was put before the Fathers of the Council on 18 November 1963, as the fourth chapter of the Decree on Ecumenism, with the title "The Attitude of Catholics to non-Christians, especially the Jews" (A. Bea, The Church and the Jewish People, Chapman, London 1966, pp. 22-24).

Bea politely ignores the fact that the Secretariat submitted the schema on the Jews again in June 1963 to "authorities of the Council" and that again it was held up, as a press communique of the Secretariat announced on the eighteenth of October. Possibly the rumors and the protests in the press are somewhat responsible for the eventual exposure of the schema on the eighth of November.

In an appendix of the same book, the German text of the "relatio" on the nineteenth of November, 1963, is printed. Of the seven pages, filled with many Bible quotations, the following is an excerpt:

The Decree is very brief, but the material treated in it is not easy. Let us enter immediately into the heart of it and say what we are talking about. Or rather, since it is so easy to understand it wrongly, before all else let us say what we are not talking about. There is no national or political question here. In particular, there is no question of recognition of the State of Israel by the Holy See. None of such questions are dealt with or even touched upon. The schema treats exclusively of a purely religious question.

The Decree intends to recall in a solemn way those things which the Church of Christ, by hidden design of divine providence, receives

Yet even in the first session of the period, the Council Fathers had decided that all three schemata should be summarized into one by the Secretariat for Unity in cooperation with the Theological Commission and the Eastern Commission. The chairman of the Eastern Commission was the State Secretary A. G. Cicognani, and it is for that reason that he, ~~and~~ not Bea, was ordered to hold the first "relatio"—the introductory speech to the ecumenical schema, on the eighteenth of November, 1963. It may have been to console him because his original schema was dropped, or to eliminate his criticism from the beginning. At any rate, it was a skillful and diplomatically clever move, an irony of fate, that the arch-conservative state secretary himself had to present and to praise the most revolutionary schema of the Council. But the fourth additional chapter, "De catholicorum habitudine ad non christianos et maxime ad Iudaeos", was introduced by Cardinal Bea on the following day, November 19. It was necessary to have the complete weight and great personal authority of Cardinal Bea in the world view to present this text and to encourage a good response.

This chapter already had had a troubled history. The old French professor, Jules Isaac, a promoter of Jewish-Christian understanding, had asked Cardinal Bea, and even the Pope in a private audience in June, 1960, to request the Council to make a clear authoritative statement against antisemitism in the homilies and praxis of Catholics. That gave the impetus for the greater development which Bea reports in his book, Die Kirche und das jüdische Volk (Herder, Freiburg, 1966)

Pope John XXIII received me in audience on 18 September, 1960, and charged the Secretariat for Christian Unity with the task of preparing a Declaration dealing with the Jewish people. In so doing, he took a second and more decisive step along the road which he had opened up on Good Friday, 1959. It was on that day, during the solemn liturgy, that he had read out the order to omit the adjective "perfidious" from the customary prayer for the Jews... Even Pope John, however, could not have foreseen the proportions which the task he had allotted to the Secretariat would later assume. The subsequent history of the Declaration was notable because of great difficulties, not all of which were theological, for some were partly due to the unhappy political circumstances of our time. It was these very difficulties which made it essential for

through the hands of the chosen people of Israel. It receives first of all, the word of God in the Old Testament...

.. Not only was the whole preparation of the work of the Redeemer and his Church done in the Old Testament, but also the execution of his work, the foundation of the Church and its propagation in the world were either in the chosen people of Israel or through members of this people whom God chose as instruments. The Church in some sense is the continuation of the chosen people of Israel. For in us Christians, members of the Church, the perfection of that kingdom of God for which God selected and designated the people of Israel is brought to fruition.

Therefore, the aim of this very brief decree is to call to the attention of Christ's faithful these truths concerning the Jews which are affirmed by the apostle and contained in the deposit of faith, and to do this so clearly that in dealing with the children of that people the faithful will act in no other way than did Christ the Lord and his apostles Peter and Paul.

The point, therefore, is not in any way to call into doubt—as is sometimes falsely asserted—the facts which are narrated in the Gospels about Christ's consciousness of his dignity and divine nature, or about the manner in which the innocent Lord was unjustly concerned. Rather that, with these things kept fully in mind, it is still possible and necessary to imitate the gentle charity of Christ the Lord and his apostles, with which they found an excuse for their persecutors.

But why is it so necessary precisely today to recall these things? The reason is this. Some decades ago anti-Semitism, as it is called, was prevalent in various regions and in a particularly violent and criminal form, especially in Germany under the rule of National Socialism, which through hatred for the Jews committed frightful crimes, exterminating several million of Jewish people.

Not that anti-Semitism, especially that of National Socialism, drew its inspiration from Christian doctrine, quite a false allegation. Rather, it is a question of rooting out from the minds of Catholics any ideas which perhaps remain fixed there through the influence of that propaganda. If Christ the Lord and the apostles maintained an ardent charity towards their very persecutors, how much more must we be motivated by the same charity?

For the Jews of our time can hardly be accused of the crimes committed against Christ, so far removed are they from those deeds. Actually, even in the time of Christ, the majority of the chosen people did not cooperate with the leaders of the people in condemning Christ.

But let us set aside these considerations. Let the example of ardent charity given by the Lord and the apostles be sufficient for us. To this example the Church must conform as perfectly as possible in its teaching about the passion and death of the Lord. In saying this we do not mean to state or to hint that anti-Semitism usually or principally arises from a religious source, namely from what the Gospels recount concerning the passion and death of the Lord. We are all well aware that anti-Semitism also has causes of a political, national, psychological, social and economic nature. But we affirm that the Church most certainly must imitate Christ's example of gentle charity towards the people through whom it received so many and such great benefits from God.

...Certainly, I am not saying that the question which we are treating was settled by these words of his (which Pope John wrote to Bea

five months before his death), for he wanted the Council to be free, just as his successor also unquestionably wishes it. I think, however, that these words of his are dear to all the most eminent and most excellent Fathers, and that at the same time they throw light on the way in which we must follow Christ.

However, for our purpose, of much more importance, in fact simply decisive, is the example of burning charity of the Lord himself on the cross, praying, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." This is the example to be imitated by the Church, the Bride of Christ. This is the road to be followed by her. This is what the schema proposed by us intends to foster and promote. (A Bea The Church and the Jewish People, Chapman, London 1966, pp 154-159)

At first it in no way promoted unity among peoples, nor, for that matter, among the Council Fathers. First of all, the Eastern Churches feared that with this text a disturbance would arise in their country and within their government, and that churches and believers (a vanishing minority in the arabic countries) would experience difficulties. (Cf Emilios Inglessis Maximos IV Saigh, ed du Cerf, Paris, pp ?.) Their fears were not groundless, since it at once provoked the reaction of Arabs who regarded this decree as a moral support of their mortal enemies, the Jews. Retaliation against Catholics in Arab countries occurred in several places. Antisemitic pamphlets were distributed, even in Rome and among the Council Fathers. One attacked Bea personally, one claimed that he was of Jewish decent and bribed by the Jews. These rumors possibly arose because several Jewish leaders were seen visiting Bea. Bea himself had asked Jewish organizations to submit proposals for the Council to him. Thereafter, Drs Goldman and Katz of the Jewish World Congress, among others, came to Rome in June 1962 and presented a lengthy memorandum. Bea also granted an interview for the Jewish newspaper, Jewish Chronicle in London. And the hopes of all Jews were directed toward him.

The criticism of the schema came not only from the Arabs, but also from other sides. It began immediately with the title, which was indeed misleading because it read "On the Attitude of Catholics toward Non-Christians, especially toward the Jews." Actually, only in three lines of the introduction were non-



Christians mentioned, while almost the entire text dealt with the Jews. Possibly the title was intentionally formulated so unclearly and ambiguously in order to assure easy passage and to indicate its religious and non-political purpose. The title was indeed providential, since, as time passed, it led to an ever greater enlargement of the theme. Some Council Fathers suggested that in all fairness it should include the other non-Christian religions, especially Islam. This suggestion was accepted. Others did not object to the schema as such, but merely to the fact that it appeared as the fourth chapter of the schema on ecumenism, to which, in the real sense of the word, it was not related. Especially the Orthodox representatives complained that in one and the same schema the Orthodox Churches were discussed, as well as the Protestants and the Jews, giving rise to the incorrect impression that they are of the same rank and worth. In fact, the Secretariat originally had drafted an independent document, but then in the last minute added it to the schema on ecumenism in order to have it included for discussion in the Council, since officially the list of schemata to be presented was complete.

To Bea personally there was some basic connection between the chapters. His industrious study of the Old Testament, his attentiveness to the word of God in Holy Scripture, quite consequently led him to love the people from whom the Old Testament was acquired. This kindness to "our Jewish brothers," as he called them, is the correlation of the love of "our separated brothers." Both belong together, as the Old Testament and the New Testament. In addition to that, as it has been mentioned, Pope John himself had entrusted Bea with this topic. Therefore, Bea felt responsible for the execution of this mandate. Mario von Galli comments on this point: "That was his wreath on the grave of the dead." (Das Konzil, op cit, III, p. 35)

Thus the Jew-schema really had become a deep concern of Bea. In each session he accompanied it into the hall of the Council, like a mother leads her child by the hand, and four times he presented it to the Council Fathers in his own "re-

nor to a vote concerning the chapter on the Jews.

At first the schema on ecumenism as a whole, with its five chapters, was discussed. Then, on November 21, the Council Fathers voted to accept the next three chapters as a basis for further discussion with an overwhelming majority of ninety-five per cent. That was a surprising result, a flashing victory. In two thousand years of church history this theme had never been dealt with at a Council. Many Council Fathers did not even know the term "ecumenism" when they arrived at the Council. The co-Adjutor Bishop of Strassbourg Elchinger claimed. "The schema on ecumenism is not only a text, it is a deed."

Now the debate on the single chapters could begin. The first chapter was entitled "On the Principles of Catholic Ecumenism". But some speakers took offense at this heading, and rightly so. "Catholic Ecumenism" implies that there exist two or more different "ecumenisms", a Catholic one, protestant one, orthodox one, etc. That invited the danger of two fronts, two rivals, as many catholics had feared at the beginning of the ecumenical movement, as though world protestantism would form an alliance against world Catholicism. It was exactly the great and decisive character of this schema that the Catholic Church made the word its own (i.e., accepted<sup>it</sup>), and with it the concept and the intention of ecumenism, without restriction and without the addition of an adjective, joining, although belatedly and modestly, the ecumenical movement which included all Christians. Therefore, Bea also declared in his "intervention" to the first chapter, on November 25, that the title "On the Principles of Catholic Ecumenism" should not be final.

(Here the author summarizes from the text of the intervention. The English translation may be found in Council Speeches of Vatican II, Sheed & Ward, London 1964, pages unknown.)

This solemn apology of ecumenism did not lack effect.

The discussion about the first three chapters was closed on December 2, without a vote on the individual chapters. The two other chapters, i.e., the



one on the Jews and the one on religious freedom, were not attacked at all, although the moderator of the 21 of November had announced that in the next days a vote on these two chapters would follow in order to determine if the Council Fathers would accept these two schemata as a basis for discussion in the aula of the Council. Lack of time was given as the reason that neither the debate nor the vote took place. Hardly anyone, however, believed that, since the discussion on the first three chapters could have easily been limited to allow time for a vote on these and for the discussion of the next two chapters. Moreover, there was no need to hold a commemoration on the third of December for the Council of Trent which had ended four hundred years before. Although this had not been included in the Council calendar and could have been scheduled for an afternoon, it usurped the entire final working day of this period of the Council, on which the majority of the Council Fathers would have preferred to vote on the ecumenism schema. They were understandably very annoyed. It was assumed that intrigues concerning the direction of the Council were responsible for preventing just this vote and thereby postponing the matter. Cardinal Bea, therefore, was invited to ease the tension.

In his closing speech on the second of December, Cardinal Bea declared in his introduction (Quotation from Ralph M. Wiltgen "The Rhine Flows Down the Tiber", cit., p. 163) Did Bea himself really believe in this apparent lack of time? Regardless, in his speech he proceeded in a quieting tone

Then (that is, had the vote been taken) our Secretariat would have more clearly known which working both chapters should finally receive. But since it has now gone this way, I am of the decided opinion that this fact also can have great usefulness. At first glance one could naturally ask: could not the Council Fathers at least have voted on whether this chapter could be made a basis of discussion? This question some will certainly answer affirmatively. But I believe we must be thankful to the moderators that they wished to allow such an amount of speeches on the first three fundamental chapters in order to avoid the danger of the accusation that the vote on these last two chapters and on the first three would have occurred hastily, since these contain such difficult questions and new concepts and are of such great importance for the life and work of the church in our day.

It is proper for all to meditate without haste and think through these matters quite quietly again and again, so that in the next session of the Council, they can be dealt with and decided, when it has become ripe for a fruitful discussion. Here the old adage holds put off but do not put away

And now, to conclude When Pope John XXIII, of blessed memory, ended the work of the first session last year, he encountered the doubt of those who thought the result of the session was insignificant and in no way matched the high expectations of the faithful in Christ throughout the world. To dispel this doubt, the Pope emphasized the brotherly dialogue of the bishops on the important questions of the Church and present day as the greatest and most precious fruit I do not hesitate at all to claim the same for this session (which I am most interested in) and for the debate on the ecumenism schema, because the serious and candid discussion, I will say "the dialogue, on the many problems of ecumenism is, without doubt, fruitful for the Church. The results of this will only later be written in documents, but we have reason to trust that they already exist now in the minds and hearts of the successors of the apostles, who are assembled here in the Holy Spirit ..

The effects of this precious gift are already inextinguishably written in the spirit of the Living God in the life of the Church, and they will, without doubt, bear their fruits "suo tempore". So I believe that we all have to thank the Father of Light, from whom comes "all good and every perfect gift," for this discussion on the basis and means for the promotion of unity among Christians " (<sup>German</sup> Deutsche Press Information, Nr. 44, Vatican, 22 December)

Reflecting on the second period of the Council, Bea wrote

(The English translation of the quotation which follows here may be found in Ecumenism in Focus, on the pages which correspond to the German edition, Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit., pp. 1.9-155, 107-108)

## 2a The Interim

In his speech at the closing celebration of the second period of the Council, on the fourth of December, 1963, the Pope announced that he intended to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This news evoked amazement and joy in the hall of the Council and throughout Christianity. Those, however, who were dissatisfied with the outcome of the session, as well as journalists (who are always distrustful), murmured that Pope Paul had planned and announced this pilgrimage with the purpose of diverting and comforting these factions.

Very much later (1968), Bea repudiated that charge with confidential information. (See Ecumenism in Focus, the English translation of Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit., p. 109 corresponding page unknown)

The Pope's travel was prepared by the Secretariat, insofar as it concerned an encounter with the heads of other Churches. It was not so much theological matters that were at stake, but the more complicated and delicate questions of protocol and precedence, the ecumenical diplomacy <sup>h</sup> which Bea's Secretariat had mastered in the meantime. From press coverage it is known that Father Duprey, undersecretary for the Eastern department of the Secretariat, visited the Patriarch Athenagoras in Constantinople immediately after the Council, and that after Christmas Athenagoras sent the Metropolitan of Tiatira to the Pope in order to determine the manner of mutual visitation between the Roman Pope and the Ecumenic Patriarch.

Strangely, Cardinal Bea did not accompany the Pope on his first and unique pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which he called "unprecedented and symbolic". Only on television, as he sat in his golden throne in the throne room (which otherwise was rarely used), did he see the brotherly embrace of the Head of the Roman Catholic Church and the Honorary Primate of the Orthodox Church, the Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople, and also the embrace of the Greek Orthodox and

the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem For the aged Cardinal Bea, this "pilgrimage" with the entourage of the Pope, with the crowd of the people, and with the flashbulbs of the photographers, would have been/<sup>much</sup>too strenuous. But after that, he wrote a frequently quoted article in the Jesuit periodical Civiltà Cattolica (1964, I, 213-321) on the "Ecumenical Outlooks After the Travel of Paul VI " In this piece, he asks

(This article is quoted as it appears in Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit., pp. 158, 120, which has been translated into English under the title Ecumenism in Focus)

After the Cardinal had recovered somewhat from the stress of the Council and the following sessions of the Secretariat (in February and March 1964), in which the ecumenism schema was reworked on the basis of approximately five hundred oral and written "interventions" from the Council Fathers, he resumed his travels In the <sup>context</sup> framework of the yearly "Week of Brotherhood" in Koln, he spoke on "Das Konzil und die Bruderlichkeit der Menschen" (The Council and the Brotherhood of Men), on March 15, 1964 The theme of brotherhood, which is so closely and basically connected with that of Christian unity, now took precedence in many lectures, articles and books of Bea over and over again.

One month later he spoke at Catholic University in Milan (April 16) on the theme "Die Einheit der Christen und die Laien" (The Unity of Christians and Laymen) while in Milan, he also met with the members of the World Council of Churches on the fifteenth of April, as he had done four years before, quietly and confidentially. Accompanying him were Bishop Willebrands, Father Hamer and Father Duprey, from the World Council of Churches were Secretary General Visser't Hooft, Dr Lucas Vischer and Professor Nissiotis There a kind of "top secret" conference took place between Rome and Geneva The first plans were discussed for the creation of a continuing committee of the World Council and the Catholic Church, a committee which came into being a year later. The time was not regarded as ripe for making this public, since the Decree on Ecu-

menism had not yet been approved

Then in May came a trip to Portugal and Spain. The occasion for it was the great Fatima pilgrimage which takes place annually on May 13. The pilgrimage had a double intention: the pilgrims were to pray for the unity of Christians and for the successful continuation and conclusion of the Council. For the Protestants the picture was a difficult one to grasp—Cardinal Bea, the pioneer of the ecumenical spirit among Catholics and the leading spokesman in the ecumenical dialogue, preaching to a crowd of seven hundred thousand pilgrims to Fatima. But if they had heard his words, their surprise would probably have vanished. He explained (in Portuguese) the profound meaning of Marian devotion.

It is interior unity with Christ and the resulting apostolic endeavor toward which this unity can and must lead us. Then our Marian devotion will be pleasing to Christ and God in the highest degree and will bear rich fruit for the Church and for humanity. Then from its immediate fruit—that huge and precious stock of prayer and penance that is offered up for the great intentions of the Church—this present magnificent pilgrimage will also produce a lasting result as it forms our lives in the school of the Mother of God and, in union with her, according to the image of Christ Himself, for our good and the good of the Church, for the salvation of so many souls and for the ever greater glory of God. (No specific reference supplied)

Then the Cardinal greeted the various nations, each in its own tongue. To the Germans he said, very plainly and penetratingly

. Thus at any Marian pilgrimage site every Christian feels at home with his Mother, the Mother of all who have become brothers of Christ through the ineffable grace of God. At this center of grace our thoughts turn at the same time to our many non-Catholic brothers. We certainly wish that they, too, might feel at home with the Mother of the Lord and know that what the Saviour said from the cross to the beloved disciple was intended for them also: "Behold thy mother." We shall do everything to shape our devotion to the Mother of God in such a way that only the pure truth of the Gospel and the lofty reality of grace and the Spirit of Christ are mirrored in it, so that all in the hour of their visitation may realize that in Mary they have their heavenly Mother as in Christ they see their Brother. (KNA Documentation, Bonn, May 15, 1964)

On his way back, Bea stopped in Madrid and at the request of the Archbishop gave a lecture on the laity and the Council on May 16, similar to the one he had



delivered in Milan

Harvard University in the United States invited him over again to confer upon him, together with the current West German Chancellor Dr. Erhard, an honorary Doctor of Laws degree, on June 11. If all the doctorates honoris causa which Bea received in his long life as a scholar were to be counted, there would be nine of them. (The malicious Borghese, the Milan weekly previously cited, conferred still another degree on him, "doctor ambiguus"!)

Among the honors he received, the various orders conferred upon him as Cardinal should be included: the Medals of Honor of the West German Republic (Grosskreuze), of the Order of Malta, of Greece, and even of the Légion d'Honneur of the French Republic. When deGaulle personally handed him the medal, Bea made the astonishing reply: "General, I thank you on behalf of myself, of the Secretariat, of the Church, and of my Fatherland Germany."

Bea spent the summer holidays as usual in Rorschach, Switzerland, and made his annual eight-day retreat in a house of his own Province of the Order at Neuhausen near Stuttgart. Between these he gave a memorial address on Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa at the latter's birthplace, Bern-Kastell near Trier, on the occasion of the fifth centenary of the death of this great German Cardinal, who resembled Bea in so many respects. In the course of a life that led from a German village to a curial cardinalate in Rome, in his theological significance, in his role at the Council (one at Basel, the other at Vatican II), in his zeal for Church reform. Perhaps ~~one~~ further parallels could be found by tracing the spiritual affinity of both these German theologian-Cardinals.

At the 'Catholic Day' in Stuttgart, Bea gave several addresses (Sept. 3-5, 1964) to the elderly, to the young, and the solemn final address on the "Word of God" to the general assembly in a stadium <sup>seating</sup> containing thousands of participants. In this speech he explained what the 'Word of God' meant for Christians and their lives. The "Word of God" was precisely a key theme for Bea, he said and wrote



a great deal about it

It is of interest to examine for a moment the subject of women. This was an unusual theme for Bea—not that he was hostile to women, but women appear rarely in his life and work. He had left his family home at the age of twelve and then revisited it only occasionally. He had spoken very beautiful words of gratitude for his mother (previously quoted), but she was not a support and companion to him. Then, too, he had no sisters or sisters-in-law. He lived during his lifetime in houses of his Order, and even as Cardinal had no women in his household. Women generally were not found in the field of his Old Testament studies, nor had he worked in the pastoral care of women. Yet he thought very "progressively," so to speak, with regard to women. As already mentioned, he allowed his Secretariat to employ female secretaries, which was not customary in the other curial offices, and he also allowed a woman to write the first biography of him. "This is my biography"—with these words he used to greet her and introduce her to others, with a smile that could have meant everything—indulgence and resignation or encouragement and kindness.

And now in Stuttgart at an agape celebration of the Union of German Catholic Women, he sits at the table with them and says to them:

It is a great grace bestowed upon the Church in our time that the Catholic laity feels increasingly responsible in Christ for the weal and woe of the Church and takes this responsibility ever more seriously. Thus of today's Catholic women one may say that they have a more and more lively consciousness that each one of them, in her place and for her part, must be an excellent housewife in the House of the Lord which is the Church, in the family of the living God. If then many Christian women today ask the Church, as the crowds once asked John the Baptist, "What are we to do to be excellent housewives in the family of the living God, to fulfill our tasks for Christ, for the Church and for the Kingdom of God, then I should like to point, in summary, to the example of the great woman of all women, the one blessed among women, to Mary. She was concerned first with a deep interior union with God in the fullness of the life of grace, in virginity and humble obedience. As the humble handmaid of the Lord, she set herself completely to the task which God destined for her, in the family, concerning her bridegroom and her divine child. In all modesty she also accepted joyfully the worldwide

task of being "the sublime companion" of the divine Redeemer in his entire redemptive work. In obedience, in loyalty even to the cross, she stood by Christ, lived with him, suffered with him. Let us ask the greatest of women that for Catholic womanhood which is becoming more and more aware of its great task, she may be a sublime example, a leader, a helper, an intercessor. (From an offprint of the 80th Katholikentag, Sept. 5, 1964)

Two years later he again gave an address to women on the occasion of a special service for Catholic women in the Church of Our Lady of Peace in Frankfurt on Sept. 24, 1966, where he spoke, as the occasion required, on the task of women as "messengers of Peace" in the family, in the rearing of children, in public life, but above all through their prayer.

For others too can, to a considerable extent, convey the doctrine of peace and advance the peace. But we Christians have received from God the grace of knowing that peace is first of all a gift of God. (Information Service of the Union of German Catholic women, Nr. 9, 1966)

He was also very much interested in the "Ladies of Bethany," who conducted the Caritas House in Rome for the care of non-Catholic pilgrims to Rome, and in 1963 he dedicated this home. His Secretariat also, together with the World Council of Churches, financed the first "ecumenical meeting of women" in Rome in October, 1965. The theme "Woman and Ecumenism" is often on the program of ecumenical discussions.

Bea also showed kindness and assistance to several orders of women, for example to the "English Maidens" in Rome, to whom during the war he used to make the long journey on foot to preach a monthly sermon, and to the "Menzinger Teaching Sisters" in Menzingen, with whom he used to spend his holidays in his last years. Also, while he was in the Holy Office, he helped many orders of women who were in difficulty.

## 2b In Patras

Another chapter must be inserted before dealing with the third period of the Council, even though this chapter deals with events which took place during

the first weeks of the new session. The subject is the return of the relics of the Apostle Andrew, the brother of St. Peter, who was martyred and buried in Patras in the Peloponnesus in Greece. His head was later honored in a precious Byzantine silver vessel in the Metropolitan Church of Patras. The despot Thomas Paleologus, brother of the last emperor in Byzantium, had had it brought to Rome after the conquest of Patras by the Turks in 1460, and there it was kept in St. Peter's. At the time when these relics were received, Pope Pius II had promised that they would one day, in better times, be returned. Pope Paul VI now decided to keep this promise and to send the precious relics back to Patras as a symbolic gesture and prayer that "the apostolic brotherhood of Peter and Andrew in the community of faith and love might flourish in the Church which descended from them" (June 29, 1964).

First the relics were solemnly honored by all the Council Fathers in a special ceremony on September 23 in the aula of the Council. Whether or not this relic really was the true head of St. Andrew was not discussed and was not the issue in any case. This was a question of a symbol, a sign of brotherly love. The Pope wished, as he said, to open his "fraternal heart" to the Greek Orthodox. The situation had its own diplomatic background, in terms of ecclesiastical politics, for the Greek Orthodox Church of Athens was the only Orthodox Church which was still obviously hostile to the Church of Rome and was unconcerned about the Council. Archbishop Chrysostomos of Athens did not look favorably upon the idea that the clergy should participate in the celebrations in Patras. Nevertheless, twenty Metropolitans appeared. Everyone could see on television with what rejoicing on the part of the populace and with what solemnity the papal delegation, led by Cardinal Bea, was received by Metropolitan Constantinos of Patras. The Regent Princess Irene came to represent the King.

In handing over the relics, Bea explained, among other things:

Love can and must prevail in mutual respect, in openness, in honesty, in the will gradually to re-establish the brotherhood

forgotten and broken for centuries. For this brotherhood, the fraternal relationship of Andrew and Peter, who were so closely united in the love of Christ and in the service of Christ, must serve as a model for all in the effort to preach the Gospel to the modern world .. (No specific reference given.)

The Metropolitan Constantinos returned his thanks to Bea with the poetic words of Isaiah 52 7 "How beautiful are the feet of those who preach salvation in the city of the first of the Apostles to be called."

After several other ceremonies, services and visits, Bea, accompanied by Willebrands and Duprey, also sought out the Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostomos, shortly before their return flight. After the kiss of peace and the presentation of the Pope's gift, the Archbishop said, deeply moved, that this was a visit of "historical significance". They "engaged in cordial conversation for twenty minutes," as the press ~~communique~~ very scantily reported it. Did the Cardinal, with his overpowering amiability and his diplomatic skill, really succeed in vanquishing the mistrust and antipathy of Chrysostomos? In any case, the second goal was not <sup>reached</sup> accomplished, for the autocephalous Church of Greece sent no observer to the Council.

### 3. The Third Period of the Council

In the meantime the third period of the Council had begun on September 14, 1964. This time the observers, whose number had grown from sixty-six to seventy-five, and even the thirteen lay observers, were no longer a major attraction. The novelty of this third session was the women. In his opening address the Pope explained. "Thus we are delighted to greet our beloved daughters in Christ, the laywomen observers who have been admitted to the Council for the first time." Everyone looked with surprise for these laywomen observers, but among the two-thousand five-hundred participants in the Council not a single woman was to be seen. The invitations had in fact been sent out too late. Gradually the women made their appearance. At the end of the last session there were exactly fifteen

of them, plus eight nuns. They were like a few lost sheep in the great assembly of shepherds, and they had no statements to make. But their silent presence was taken, at least by the Protestant observers in the opposite tribune, as a sign of the good intention gradually to yield to the woman in the Catholic Church the place she already occupies in the Churches of the Reformation.

In the third session the schema on the Church was taken up again and developed further. In the previous session they had arrived at very vigorous differences of opinion on the question of whether the schema "On the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God and the Mother of Men" should be handled as an independent text or be inserted as a chapter in the schema on the Church. A vote on October 29 indicated that a narrow majority was for its inclusion in the schema on the Church, in order to declare more clearly that Mary belongs in the Church and not beside or above it. At that time Cardinal Bea had not intervened in the discussion, but later he declared

(The following quotation may be found in The Way to Unity After the Council on the page corresponding to the German text, Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, p. 228 )

The original title of the schema was "On the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God and the Mother of Men." But between the first and second sessions, without the knowledge of the theological commission which had prepared the text, the caption was changed in the new printing to "On the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Church." It was not known who had made the change. Now, in the third session, the title was still different "Of the Blessed Virgin and Mother of God Mary in the Mystery of Christ and of the Church." The designation "Mother of the Church" had been set aside. This was immediately objected to by the "maximalists," those who think that the Mother of God should be honored with as many titles as possible. At this point, Bea felt he should intervene in the interests of the ecumenical dialogue.



As usual he began with a compliment

First, two preliminary remarks the excellent quality of this draft schema, which in its brevity contains the epitome of Mariology, is gladly acknowledged. But if some desiderata may be brought forward, then there is only the question of whether the schema in its present form corresponds to the purpose of the Council and the welfare of the Church and of souls in the present day, that is to say, whether its statements are really fully developed for presentation to the Council. For example, it may still be asked whether the doctrine of Mary as "Mediatrice," which is found in Church documents since Leo XIII, has even today been "thoroughly clarified" within the Church in such a way that it can be expounded by the Council. Even its basis in Holy Scripture and the Fathers has not yet been sufficiently established. In like manner, distinctions must be made in the whole discussion. After these preliminary remarks there are four objections to be made to the schema. (1) In several points it fails to comply with the intention expressed in the introduction, namely that the Council in no sense intends "to resolve questions which have not been thoroughly clarified by the work of theologians." The following are mentioned as examples: the lack of unanimity among present-day Catholic exegetes on the exegesis of the passage Gen 3 15 (on the woman and the serpent), the words of the Lord to Mary and John beneath the Cross, etc. Similarly, it is advisable to omit the name "Mediatrice" from the schema, as much in the interests of correct understanding in our own ranks as among the separated brethren. (2) Instead of the merely negative warning in the text to theologians and preachers that they should beware of arousing false impressions about Church doctrine among the separated brethren, a positive indication might be appropriate that Mariology is to have an adequate basis in the Bible and ancient tradition, and that Marian piety must be Christocentric. The schema itself ought to take the lead here by setting a good example. It proves perfectly well, for example, the doctrine of the Annunciation and Mary as a type of the Church, but in no sense, for example, does it provide proof for the assertion of Mary's participation in the sacrifice of Christ. In general any proof is often lacking. Considering the necessary brevity of the chapter, it is better to omit such unsubstantiated details. (3) At many points the doctrine must be set forth with greater precision, for example, this statement is too abstract: the cult of the most Blessed Virgin differs essentially from the worship of Christ and of the Trinity. The schema seems rather to confirm the misunderstanding of the separated brethren that we worship Mary. Or again, in the presentation of Mary as prototype of the Church the important notion of the virginity of the Church is missing. (4) Finally, it was to be expected that the whole Marian chapter should formally treat the most Blessed Virgin in her relationship to the Church. In reality the subject is discussed



only in the second part of the chapter (no 54) The five preceding columns are devoted to a variety of other topics One may ask whether these ought to appear in this chapter without reference to the principal theme This might by all means take place, for example, with reference to Mary as "mother of Christ the head of the Mystical Body

If she is the Mother of Christ, who is the head of the Mystical Body, then she is also the Mother of the members of that body, and consequently Mother of men in the order of grace

Conclude I acknowledge all the merit that this chapter contains, but (1) I ask whether it can not better fit its purpose and its context, i.e., the Constitution on the Church (2) Therefore I think the whole chapter must be basically reworked so that it really will correspond to its purpose, so that the matter may be clearly and exactly set forth and supported by solid arguments, so that questions that are not yet fully explained may not be repeated, repetitions may be avoided, and the doctrine may be expounded in a simpler and more sober style Jixl (German Press Bulletin, No 2, September 16, 1964)

Six days later Cardinal Bea gave a lecture in Latin at the Domus Mariae to the Brazilian bishops and many of the other Council Fathers In it he explained in detail his intervention on September 16, and in particular took a position against the designation "Mediatrice"! He showed that this expression appears neither in Holy Scripture nor among the Church Fathers in the sense in which it is used in modern mariology, that for pastoral reasons the use of this designation is to be discouraged because it is hard for people to understand and it obscures the sole mediatorship of Christ, and that from an ecumenical standpoint as well it ought not to be put to use.

It follows that this is not a worthy and true way to honor and glorify the Blessed Virgin, and it would not please her Even if the doctrine of the Mediatrice is true, it must nevertheless be expounded in a different form and manner From the doctrine of the Apostle Paul on the mystical body of Christ, the Church Fathers and ecclesiastical documents, especially the "Mystici Corporis", have derived the idea that the Blessed Virgin, as the Mother of Christ the head of the Mystical Body, is also the Mother of the members of this same body and consequently the Mother of men in the order of grace This can be shown very well in the schema when the role of the Blessed Virgin in the Annunciation is explained. But if that happens, the whole life of the Virgin and especially her presence at the foot of the Cross and the words of Christ from the Cross to her and to St John will appear in an entirely new light.

Concludo From what has been said it follows that I am in no sense against the doctrine of the Mediatrix as this doctrine has previously been set forth by the Church itself. But I believe it must be proposed that the expression "Mediatrix" not be used by the Council. Rather I believe this doctrine is better not set forth by the Council with the help of the concept of the Mediatrix. But the idea itself which this expression signifies can be proposed, more or less in the manner outlined above. Moreover, it is basically verified by Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers. The others should be left to further dogmatic declarations. May God ordain that the Council find the best means to explain the function of the Blessed virgin, how much we owe to her, how much we can and must expect from her, and for what reasons, so that she also, at least somewhat, becomes comprehensible to our separated brothers, so that they may honor her and call upon her with us as the Mother of God and the Mother of all brothers of Christ. (Extract from the original)  
(No specific reference supplied)

At the end the Council Fathers found a compromise, mentioning the designation "Mediatrix" only in an enumeration of other titles, without defining this one as a doctrine of faith.

Therefore the Blessed Virgin will be invoked by the Church with the titles Advocate, Intercessor, Adjutrix and Mediatrix. But these must be understood in such a way that they, neither detract nor enhance the dignity and efficacy of Christ, the only mediator, because no creature can ever be equated with the Lord, which has become flesh, and with the redeemer. Therefore the title "Mediatrix" is to be understood in such a way that it neither takes away nor augments the dignity and efficacy of Christ, the only intercessor. (No reference given)

In his book, Der Weg zur Einheit nach den Konzil (Herder, Freiburg 1966), Bea has dedicated a whole chapter to "Mariology, Marian Piety and Ecumenical Spirit". From that work, some parts will be quoted. It begins with an explanation

(The author quotes from Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, cit., pp. 217-219, which is translated as The Way to Unity After the Council. The paragraphs seem to be chosen at random—none of them are specifically cited according to page. The remarks of the author which are interspersed are translated below.)

As an explanation, Bea offers the extreme attitudes which should be avoided.

In connection with this, Bea demonstrates how a Catholic can come to meet Protestants without hurting their feelings, but without surrendering his own conviction. The following story is a typical example of Bea's practical sense.

Therefore pilgrimages to the modern places of Marian devotion should not be discontinued to please the Protestants, Cardinal Bea remarks, but

At the final meeting of the third session, in the presence of the Pope, the Council Fathers (with the exception of five) voted in favor of the chapter on Mary from which the designation "Mary, Mother of the Church" had been deliberately omitted. The Pope then gave an address in which, totally unexpectedly, he granted the title Mater Ecclesiae, "Mother of the Church," to the Mother of God With this gesture he obviously sought to console the minority, in particular the Polish bishops, who had pressed for this honorary title. But it was a shock for the other more ecumenically-minded participants. The Pope was repudiated for his independent and uncooperative attitude. Ironically, on the same day the constitution, with its new concept of the collegial relationship between the Pope and bishops, had been accepted.

How did Bea attempt to explain this act of the Pope? In his article "Der Beitrag des Konzils zur Sache der Einheit der Christen" in the Stimmen der Zeit (1964/5, pp. 415-430) he writes

(See Ecumenism in Focus, the page corresponding to Ökumenismus im Konzil, p. 244.)

It should not have been too difficult for the Cardinal, since his tremendous veneration for the Mother of God is obvious, as his sermon at Fatima demonstrates. His private secretary has reported that Bea carried a picture of a saint with the German prayer to the "Mother of the Church" in his prayer book, Vademecum Sacerdotis, until the end of his life. Just how completely the Cardinal had made the Pope's decision his own, is evident.

That should not be surprising, because, as a Jesuit, Bea was especially devoted to the Pope. Therefore he writes in the same chapter

(See notes above )

How does Bea judge the entire Constitution on the Church? He writes

(See The Way to Unity After the Council Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, 19-21, 165, 169.)

But what is the problem with the "nota praevia explicativa," the explanatory

preface which, by papal order, had to be added in the very last moment (November 17) to the third chapter of the Schema on the Church, the one concerning the collegial relationship of bishops. It was intended to clarify this doctrine and thereby not only to prevent too liberal an interpretation of the power of the bishops, but also to break the resistance of the conservative groups in the Council who were against this doctrine. Bishops and press did not ~~so much~~ protest the content of this nota as <sup>much as</sup> the method of its presentation, which they regarded as tactless, since the Council Fathers had neither been consulted previously nor allowed to discuss the addition afterwards. They had one choice to object to the entire schema on the Church, or to accept it with the nota praevis<sup>a</sup>.

Again Cardinal Bea defends the Pope. He said that, viewed in the entire course of the Council, it was "only an episode." (Ecumenism in Focus, page corresponding to p. 190 in the Italian edition, Ecumenismo nel Concilio, Bompiani, Mailand 1968—not included in the German translation.)

After the Church Schema, the Jew-Schema (as it was nicknamed) came to the floor of the Council. This schema was presented to the Council Fathers by Cardinal Bea at the end of the <sup>previous</sup> last session, but had not yet been debated or voted upon because of "lack of time and for no other reason," as Bea assured. In the meantime it had been changed so much by the Secretariat because of requests from the Council Fathers, because of pressures from above, and because of political circumstances, that it was almost unrecognizable. The addition to the Decree on Ecumenism became an independent "declaration", as the Secretariat had originally hoped, and the title was shortened to "Declaration on the Jews and Non-Christians". The content also, as far as it related to the Jews, had been so condensed that it was almost beyond recognition. The part on the other faiths had been elaborated, a special paragraph on Islam, and a shorter one on Hinduism, had been added, the statements on the Jews had been weakened so much that they, practically

lost their effect. Above all, the controversial renunciation of the term "murderers of God" for the Jews was this time omitted. The original draft intended to acquit the Jews of the accusation of the murder of God. Indignation and conjecture were in the air before the re-worked schema was finally distributed. In this tense atmosphere Bea now read his second "relatio" (September 25,

1964) (Although the author reports that the following speech was delivered on Sept 25, the Chapman edition of Church and the Jewish People dates the "relatio" OCTOBER 25.)

Venerable Fathers,

My commendation of the Schema of a Declaration on Jews and Non-Christians cannot but begin with the fact that this Declaration is one in which public opinion has shown the greatest interest. .

..The mere fact of its existence shows that on this subject the eyes of the world are upon the Church, and that on the approval or disapproval of this Declaration will largely hinge a favorable or unfavorable judgment of the whole Council.

(External considerations) show the impossibility of following the advice of some of the Fathers and removing the subject from the program altogether.

The schema now has two sections, nearly equal in length, one on the Jews, the other on non-Christians.

As to the section on the Jews, the text is now better constructed and achieves a clearer sequence of ideas. Some new ideas have been introduced.

The central issue which caused the more important changes was the question of "deicide". The question is if and how the condemnation and death of Christ the Lord is to be laid to the charge of the Jews as such. Now many modern Jews claim that the principal reason for anti-semitism stems from the conviction of general Jewish guilt, and that this conviction is the source of the flood of evils and persecutions which the Jews have suffered through the centuries. This cannot be sustained. And yet it is still true that not a few instances can be found in the history of different peoples where conviction of general Jewish guilt led Christians to consider and designate the Jews with whom they lived as members of a race rejected and cursed by God for "deicide" and so to despise or even persecute them. It is for this reason that the Jews today are most anxious that the Council <sup>itself</sup> oppose itself to this conviction of general Jewish guilt and should publicly and solemnly declare that our Lord's death is in no way to be laid to the charge of the Jewish people as such. We must now decide whether such a declaration by the Council is possible and if so, how should it be made, what should be its tenor. .

Our Secretariat was at pains to take account of the conditions of these different classes of people, so that the schema might, on the one hand, affirm according to the Gospel narratives the guilt of those who decided upon the crucifixion of Christ, and on the other, might not ascribe any guilt to the Jewish people as a whole, much less to the Jews of today. .



Why only the Secretariat for Unity worked out a text on Non-Christians, is explained by Bea

When our Secretariat first touched on this subject, there was no other Commission or Secretariat that could deal with it, since the Secretariat for Non-Christian religions was not set up until May of this year. .

And yet, the close association between the Church, the chosen people of the New Testament, with the chosen people of the Old Testament is common to all Christians, and thus there is an intimate connection between the ecumenical movement and the matters discussed in this Declaration. Even so, the bonds between Christians are closer than those between Christians and Jews. Hence matters dealing with our relationships with the Jews have been omitted from the schema on Ecumenism, in the sense that they are not a chapter in the Decree itself, but instead form a separate Declaration added at the end of the Decree .

(The nature and importance of the questions to be dealt with in this proposed Declaration) are matters of the greatest importance for the Church and for the modern world. As regards the Church's relations with non-Christians, the importance is evident from the fact that this is the first time in the history of the Church that the subject has been treated by any Council. Further, the Holy See has set up a special organization to encourage contacts with non-Christian religions ..

Here then is the purpose and scope of this Declaration, that the Church should imitate Christ and the apostles in their charity, and by this imitation itself find a renewal, recalling how God worked out our salvation, and how many benefits he has bestowed upon us through this people

Such renewal is so important that it is worth while to expose ourselves to the danger of some people abusing this Declaration for political ends. Our duties are to truth and justice. Our duty is to be grateful to God. Our duty is to imitate faithfully and as closely as possible Christ our Lord and his apostles Peter and Paul. In so doing the Church and this Council can never allow any political influence or motive to find a place. (This quotation and the one previously cited are taken from A. Bea The Church and the Jewish People, Chapman, London 1966, pp. 159-166.)

What did Cardinal Bea feel when he presented this new condensed and diluted form of the schema on the Jews (which did not meet his own expectations) to the Council Fathers? Probably he had cleverly calculated this reaction in advance. On the basis of the many petitions and proposals which the Council Fathers submitted, the Secretariat again received the right to rework the text, to deal more thoroughly with Non-Christians, especially with Moslems, and to add at the end the terrible term "murderers of God," but only in order to retract this regrettable accusation in a positive manner. Out of political prudence the "Jews" were



eliminated from the title, so that from then on it was called "Declaration  
the  
on the Relationship of Church to Non-Christian Religions".

When Cardinal Bea again stood before the Council Fathers with this third  
text on the twentieth of November, 1964, he compared it with the biblical  
parable of the grain of mustard seed.

Originally it was my intention to make a short and simple statement on the relation between the Church and the Jewish people. But in the course of time, and particularly in the course of the discussions in this Assembly, this seed, thanks to you, has almost grown into a tree, in which all the birds of the air are nesting. In a sense all the non-Christian religions find a place in it ..  
(A Bea The Church and the Jewish People, Chapman, London 1966, pp. 166.)

The position of this declaration was changed again at the wish of the leadership of the Council, pushed away like a child. First it was supposed to be added to the Decree on Ecumenism, then/inserted into the second chapter of the Constitution on the Church, and now to be added at the end of this Constitution.

To attach it to the Constitution has the further advantage that its purely religious character would be emphasized, and that any political interpretation would be thereby excluded.

At the same time, the weight and impact of the Declaration would be all the greater if it is added to a dogmatic Constitution, even though the aim of the Declaration is pastoral rather than dogmatic. (A Bea, op cit, p 167 )

Then Bea gives reasons for the length of the text and for the inclusion of other pagan (the schema says "non-Christian") religions. The Church has the serious duty to enter into discussion with them.

.. This can be done by our acknowledgement of the spiritual and moral values which are present in each religion, and by our sincere respect for those who belong to them. After all, they are... united to Christ and his Mystical Body by an implicit faith provided they follow the dictates of an upright conscience.

Just now, when Christ's vicar on earth is about to travel to visit that great people. It would have been most appropriate if, by the grace of God, this Declaration could have been definitively promulgated. This is at present unfortunately impossible. But the preparation of the Declaration is a token given by the Church to these peoples who are separated from Christ. (A Bea, op cit, pp 168-169 )

After this report of Bea, without further debate the vote on paragraphs 1-2 and 3-4, and, finally, on the complete schema, followed—with only ninety-nine opposing votes.

At this juncture there arose a more disturbing problem which had more or less dogged the whole progress of the document. The result of the ballot on the first reading gave rise to so much popular agitation in the Near East that for a time there was reason for grave anxiety, and serious thought had now to be given to ways and means of preventing similar unrest at the moment of the Council's definitive approval of the document (A Bea, op cit, p 24)

In the meantime, before the final vote in the next session, the text was worked over once more and, through negotiations with ecclesiastical and diplomatic authorities as well as travels in the Near East, the waves of restlessness were quieted.

The Schema on the Jews, as it is known, had a twin sister (the Declaration on Freedom of Religion) born of the same mother, the Secretariat. First introduced in the second period of the Council, it was postponed without debate to the third session, where it was dealt with a few days earlier than its sibling, and therefore gained some headway. But then (it was like a race), it fell back. The "freedom of religion" was not set on the racing <sup>track</sup> course by Cardinal Bea, as the Schema on the Jews, but by another member of the Secretariat, Bishop De Smedt of Brugge, an excellent speaker who knew how to inspire his audience. Bea never spoke on the theme of freedom of religion in the aula of the Council, but he moved the scenes forcefully, to use another metaphor. In the press, the most exciting rumors were circulating. Through the press it became known that Cardinal Bea received two letters from the Secretary General Felici on Friday, October 9. Calling on "higher authority," he ordered that both declarations be handed over to a special commission for revision. The Jew-declaration had to be reduced to a few lines and inserted into the second chapter of the Church Schema, where it spoke of the people of God. Four Council Fathers (among them, outspoken adversaries of the schema) were named to be advisors for a new formulation of the

Declaration on the Freedom of Religion. Saturday no session of the Council met, and the bishops learned of these letters only through the press. On the same evening, sixteen cardinals (including the presidents of the Council, Frings and Alfrink, and the moderator, Döpfner) brought a written petition to the Pope, requesting that he change his mind. firstly, this procedure would be against the order of the Council, and, secondly, any violation of the rules of the Council and its freedom would be very detrimental to the Church in the eyes of the world. They expressed their hesitation about the demanded insertion of the schema on the Jews into the schema on the Church, because in many ways the importance of the statement would be diminished. They were afraid that the declaration on the freedom of religion, in the hands of the four new members, could experience a change which did not reflect the wish of the majority. The petition reached its goal. It became clear that at the urging of one-hundred-fifty Council Fathers who had almost won over two-thousand, the Pope had not given an order but merely expressed a wish. Now instead, he left the two twins (the declarations) with their "mother," the Secretariat. Rather than a commission, as Felici had described in his letter, the Pope instituted a council of ten theologians to make proposals, not to make decisions. Five of these men belonged to the Theological Commission.

The whole thing was an unfortunate accident. However, thanks to the noise of the press, this misunderstanding was corrected. Without this noise, one possibly would have let everything slide.

(Mario von Galli Das Konzil, cit., Vol. III, p. 43)

When the schema on Freedom of Religion was improved and presented to the Council for a vote in an expanded version, it very unexpectedly tripped over a barrier erected by the conservative minority in the last moment (November 13). They declared that it was no longer the same text, and therefore it would have to be re-discussed. The time (two days before the end of the Council) was much too short for studying it properly. According to the rules and by-laws of the Council the opposition was right. The dean of the presidium, Cardinal Tisserant,

announced that no vote would be taken in this session. The indignation was great in the Council Hall and was reflected in the pressroom and throughout the world. This indicated a failure of the Council to draw the obvious conclusion from the decree on Ecumenism which had just been passed, i.e., to grant the practice of religious freedom to all denominations. The American bishops were especially concerned, they feared the worst reaction in their country and with fervor collected signatures for a petition to the Pope. In this petition, which unfortunately failed, they asked him to permit a vote on the Declaration on Freedom of Religion before the end of this session instantanter, instantius, instantissime, otherwise the confidence of the Christian and non-Christian world would be lost.

However, it was not quite that bad

Therefore, both chapters (on the Jews and on the freedom of religion) which were separated from the Schema on Ecumenism, were not concluded in this session, but the Decree on Ecumenism was passed without them. The joy over that was somewhat dimmed by the nineteen points which, at the request of the pope on the very last night, had to be inserted in the completed decree on ecumenism. The Council Fathers regarded this as a violation of the collegial relationship, in the same sense that the nota praevia of the third chapter of the constitution on the Church had been forced by the Pope.

It would be much too complicated and tedious to explain all nineteen points. The Pope had sent thirty-eight proposals for improvements to the Secretariat "for greater clarity of the text," in order to achieve unanimous passage, if possible. Some of these proposals, however, did not improve the text, but <sup>diminished</sup> ~~damaged~~ and deteriorated it. For that reason they were not accepted by the Secretariat. The others, according to the Secretariat, were not good, but could be accepted because they did not change the text essentially.

(See The Way to Unity After the Council, page corresponding to p. 44, Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil )

That was the "black Thursday" in the history of ecumenism. Even more than the Council Fathers, the observers were offended by the insertions into the text. They felt wounded in the "interior of their faith," Father von Galli said. Father Congar wrote "A deep sadness permeated the atmosphere of the Council. It seemed necessary to ask pardon of Protestant friends, and so we did." (No reference given )

It is a sign of the relationship and community existing among the observers, guests and fathers of the Council, that their sorrow was so deeply shared,

reports Dr. Werner Becker, a consultant<sup>ant</sup> of the Secretariat who experienced this "black Thursday".

On the same Thursday the weekly meeting was held. Here their basic understanding stood the test, after three years of cooperation. As true participants of the Council, the observers now participated in its crisis as brothers. The two monks of Taizé had an undeniable part in the cultivation of the ecumenical atmosphere in the Council. On the black Thursday they gave testimony to their relationship to their brother in Christ, the Pope. They are an embodiment of ecumenical grace (Una Sancta, Weitingen 1965, p 253 )

Again as in the case of the Pope's explanatory "preface" to the third chapter of the Schema on the Church, Bea defended the interference of the Pope

Der Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit., pp 262-263 Translation may be found in ecumenism in focus

Finally the Decree on Ecumenism was solemnly approved by the Pope and the Council Fathers on the twenty-first of November. 2134 yes, 11 no At the same time the Constitution on the Church and the Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches (i.e., Eastern Churches associated with Rome—not a concern of Bea and his Secretariat) were passed.

The concluding judgment of Bea on the Decree on Ecumenism

Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, p. 19 See The way to Unity After the Council.

The decree regards the theoretical basis of the ecumenical attitude to be the effect of each baptism rightfully performed and therefore its consequences, it follows from that, that non-Catholic Christians are our brothers in Christ and as such are in a certain but imperfect community with the Catholic Church. The decree further points out



the treasures of Christ which these, our brothers, possess, although, on the other hand, it states truthfully that they do not possess the entire fullness of the gifts entrusted to the Church by Christ. In that fullness, only the Catholic Church, established by Christ, can participate. It further recognizes that these churches or (church-) communities are used by the Holy Spirit as a means of salvation despite the deep doctrinal differences, and that their performance of the services of the Christian religion, according to the different constitution of each, can create or enlarge the life of grace in the participants. Finally it is mentioned that the unity of Church, desired by Christ, in no way means uniformity. Therefore, besides the necessary unity, the appropriate freedom must exist in the rites of liturgical celebrations, in the regimen of life, even in the theological elaboration and presentation of the revealed Truth itself.

Moreover, the decree on ecumenism gives plenty of directives and proposals for practical ecumenical work. It emphasizes the necessity of perpetual renewal of the Church as a whole and of its members, the necessity of the truly Christian lives of the faithful, unanimous prayer for unity, theological dialogue among specialists, brotherly help and cooperation among Christians of different denominations. By far the most important is the indication that the care for the restoration of unity is the concern and duty of the whole Church, of the faithful as well as of the pastors, each according to his own position. (KNA Documentation, Nr. 3, Bonn, January 1966)

It is interesting to read the following remarks of Dr. Visser't Hooft on the Decree of Ecumenism (See Peace Among Christians, the English translation Friede zwischen Christen, Herder, Freiburg 1966, pp. 123-124 )

Dr. Lucas Vischer, a colleague of Visser't Hooft, carries this thought further

I think that the person of the Cardinal could be characterized by this remark. He was a Christian who wanted to promote unity among Christians without illusions, but at the same time he was always led by this attamen so often found in the Decree on Ecumenism, that attamen which has its roots in the experience that unity already exists and surpasses all borders of denomination. (La Rocca, Assisi, 1 December 1963, p. 32.)

After the schema on ecumenism had begun its course, the schema on "Divine Revelation" (as it was called) had its turn. In the first Council period, the Theological Commission had presented a schema "On the Sources of Revelation," the very title of which had raised opposition among the Council Fathers because it implied that there are several sources of revelation. Therefore, Pope John

had decided that the topic should be dropped from the agenda and that a new commission, headed by Ottaviani and Bea, should be established to combine the text of the Theological Commission and the text prepared independently by the Secretariat on the same theme. Although this was done immediately, the new text did not appear in the Council Hall until September 30, 1964, when it was accepted favorably. On the fifth of October, Bea spoke on Chapters 4-6 concerning Holy Scripture (the Old and New Testaments) and its role in the Church.

- 1) It is of absolute importance that the following commendable aspects of the schema be retained: a) the first representation of the fundamental doctrine on divine revelation and on scripture and tradition, b) the excellent, positive manner of presentation through which we come farther, according to John XXIII, than with any condemnation of error, c) the well-practiced restraint in questions which are still controversial among Catholic theologians, d) the admirable biblical substantiation with proof from ancient tradition, as well as the biblical language. All these aspects help our non-Catholic brothers to understand.
- 2) It is necessary that the following points be improved: a) the fundamental doctrine itself must be completed and clarified, for example in the description of the importance of the books of the Old Testament and their specific content of revelation, especially with regard to the New Testament which presupposes them. The practice of prayer in the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, should be explicitly mentioned. Perhaps then the Old Testament would not be so neglected, particularly not for antisemitic reasons, b) the doctrine could be presented even more clearly, for example with the distinction between the Old Testament as books of Holy Scripture, and the Old Testament as Covenant—or the opposite assertion that the books of the Old Testament contain some "temporal" aspects but are nonetheless of enduring value, c) the style could be clearer in some parts in order to avoid doubts or misunderstandings (for example, with the exhortation "especially to the people of religious orders" to overcome the ignorance of Scripture). Despite all these criticisms, however, it remains true that this schema belongs among the most important of the Council. (Deutsche German Press Information, Vatican, Nr. 5, 5 October 1964)

This speech was again typical of Bea. He was accustomed to begin with praise for the text or its authors, and then to offer critical comments, always in a polite, refined, sometimes subtle form. But what is the explanation for the fact that he criticizes a text written under his own chairmanship? Bea himself explains, in a preface to his intervention, that only a part of the text

was worked out in the commission of which he was co-chairman with Ottaviani. In part it was written by the Theological Commission chaired by Ottaviani only. In addition, although Bea did not mention it, no chairman could override the vote of the majority of a commission. The discussion on the Schema on Revelation further lasted only a few days. The text was then improved on the basis of the proposals in accordance with Bea's intention, and was passed in the fourth session with only six opposing votes. Father Zervick of the Bible Institute inquired about what had happened.

Have the bishops suddenly become progressive in this field? Apparently they have. But from several remarks it is also apparent that for some of them professional knowledge was simply replaced by a trust in Cardinal Bea, with whom they had enough opportunity to become acquainted in the course of the Council. In these circles it was not asked "is it proven?" but merely "what does Cardinal Bea say?" If he was for it, then it was good. (In Augustin Kardinal Bea, cit., s p)

Bea gives other reasons for the sudden unanimity of the Council Fathers during the final vote on the eighteenth of November, 1965.

Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, pp. 111 21-23, translated in The Way to Unity After the Council

Too much was asked of the Council Fathers. They were required to listen to ten or twenty Latin speeches (not a discussion, but "interventions" worked out in advance and read). Then they had to fill out the ballots to vote on various issues without further discussion, keeping the matters in mind in order to vote properly. Thus an extreme variety of topics were in the air as the ballots on completely different issues were cast simultaneously. The "debates" (i.e., previously prepared interventions) and the vote on the Church, on Ecumenism, on the Jews, on the Freedom of Religion, and on Revelation, were confused.

Then, in addition to these, Schema 13 was introduced—so named because it originally stood in the thirteenth and last place on the agenda of the Council, after its proposal in the first period of the Council by Cardinal Suenens and

others. Essentially the schema was supposed to include the complete Christian anthropology, ethics and sociology, to deal with the dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity of men, with marriage and family, with war and peace, with culture and economics, with state and international organizations, with atheism and the Church as "the all-inclusive sacrament of salvation which at once reveals and realizes the secret of God's love for man" (Nr. 45). Schema 13, therefore, received a very ambiguous title "The Church and the Modern World". The Church and the world were the poles about which all the debates of the Council revolved. The birth of this youngest child of the Council was anticipated with the greatest interest. On October 21, 1964, Bea commented

The schema is a successful perspective of a multi-faceted and difficult topic. In an ordered and clear manner it presents the major problems of our time and the principles of their solution. The term "world," however, has to be further clarified, since it is used in different senses in the text. It is also necessary to base the doctrines in Holy Scripture and Revelation, so that it becomes evident that this is a true instruction of Christ and the Church, not merely a philosophy. In order to explain the relationship of the Church and the believers to the world, the implication of conscience and moral principle is not sufficient. It must refer especially to the authority of Christ over all creation (that is, over social, economic, political realms), to the function of lower creatures as well as to the double nature of the Christian life (the heavenly and the earthly), and to their consequences. Elegance of style is less important than clarity of concepts. (German Press Conference, Nr. 27, Vatican, 21 October 1964, with additions from the original.)

Bea also spoke in the fourth session about "The Church in the Modern World," when an improved version was presented. In order to ease the work of the Council, the presidium ordered that certain schemata regarded as less important be reduced to guidelines. That enraged the commissions which had worked out the schemata, especially the schema "On the Church's Missionary Activity". Despite the personal intervention of the Pope, this "short schema" was rejected by the Council Fathers. On the sixth of November, Bea remarked

It is the duty of the Council to give a new impulse to the missionary work of the Church. But it is not as necessary to work out new juridical orders of the missions, as it is to create new vocations



and a new zeal for the mission. This is requested especially in the spirit of the present Council, by the nature of the Church and by contemporary conditions. For different reasons missionary vocations have decreased today and doubts are expressed about the present significance of missionary activity and the opportunity for this work. It is especially necessary to clarify the intention of missionary activity so that it becomes comprehensible to the modern mentality and thus highly regarded. Only in the light of revelation as contained in Holy Scripture do missionaries appear not as the representatives of the white race or of western culture, but as the representatives and true servants of Christ, as heralds of the mysteries and gifts of God's grace. Then it will become obvious that the work of the missions must be continued until the end of time when God's plan of salvation is completed. It also becomes evident that this day is far off, because two billion people do not yet know Christ. Therefore a new youthful enthusiasm for missionary work is necessary.

If one argues that almost everywhere today there is an established hierarchy and that therefore it is unnecessary to send missionaries, particularly because even Christian countries must similarly be re-Christianized, then it is to say that the hierarchy alone is insufficient and that the Church always has cared more about the first proclamation of the Gospel to peoples who have never heard of Christ and who are poorer, humbler and more responsive.

The bell of the moderator interrupted the speaker, since Bea had gone past the allotted time. But since the Latin text of his speech was released, its conclusion is known.

Conclude In order, therefore, that the Council promote the renewal of the Church more essentially and more efficiently in this regard, may I be permitted to propose that point number one of our schema on the necessity of missionary activity be emphasized and expressed to appeal more to the mentality of modern man. I know that is not lacking in this short decree, but I think that my proposal can be expressed in a short way. I add that this decree would receive more attention if it were less sober and juridical. This attention is necessary because the Constitution on the Church deals with Christianization in general and not with missionary work in particular. Moreover, it is appropriate that this short decree include at least some principles about the spirit in which the work of the mission is to be accomplished. Spirit and enthusiasm are of more importance than juridical norms, although these are necessary too. o-x

This conclusion is very significant, for Bea always set the spirit above the norm, the Gospel above canon law, without denying its justification.

After this unfortunate short schema had been returned to the workshop of



the commission (to the joy of its authors) for revision and expansion, the members of religious orders were discussed in a "short schema" which found as little favor among the Council Fathers as the mission schema. It is known that one-third of the Council Fathers belonged to Orders. Fifty bishops and Council theologians, not to speak of Cardinal Bea, were Jesuits. Reiterating his previous points, Cardinal Bea voiced his opinion on this topic also: there must be a spiritual deepening as well as a return to the Bible and the Church Fathers as sources, the ecumenical intention of the Council must remain foremost, and the schema must accommodate contemporary attitudes.

Church renewal, a goal of the Council, also asks for new suggestions for the life of the religious order. These ideas seem to become more necessary, as vocations to orders decline so remarkably in what might be regarded as a real crisis. Without doubt this crisis for the most part is precipitated by external factors, such as gradual de-Christianization and modern life style, but we must investigate if factors have not come into consideration which are rooted in the life of religious orders themselves. Therefore, one cannot reduce this schema to a list of juridical norms. These certainly are necessary, but one also must refer to the spirit behind these norms and explain it. The pastoral spirit which impregnates this council indeed cannot disregard the formulation of norms, but it especially must emphasize the spiritual bases which justify them and promote their observation.

The biblical and patristic bases of vocations to religious orders must be studied more intensely. A basic element is the consecration of the members of an order to the whole Christ, i.e., to the Church for the continuation of the work of salvation, for the salvation of all mankind. This aim forms the spirit and character of every institution. Although the members of orders live the rule and spirit of their order faithfully, they should feel even more that they are members of the Church and participate in its life, as well as in its biblical and liturgical renewal, in the apostolic, missionary and ecumenical spirit, and they shall strive together with the Church for renewal in order to reflect the picture of Christ the Lord in themselves more and more perfectly. (Extract from the original)      a specific reference given.

Finally the "guidelines" were lengthened to a decree "On the Modern Renewal of the Life of Orders," which was accepted in the last session.

Reflecting on the third period of the Council, Cardinal Bea said over the Bayerische Rundfunk (January 20, 1965).

I know that the last days of the third period of the Council have brought a certain feeling of disappointment, possibly also a certain confusion to not a few ecumenically-minded Christians. But whoever thinks realistically (!) will see not only the difficulties or failures, but also the positive and enduring aspects. The major event in the ecumenical movement is the final vote and the publication of the Council's Decree on Ecumenism. This decree presents the official theological and practical opinion of the Catholic Church as such on the ecumenical concern and the ecumenical movement... It has been rightly called a milestone in the history of the ecumenical movement, and there remains only the wish that this important document of the Council be not only thoroughly read by each Christian, but digested in thoughtful consideration ..

Other documents of the Council which the third period has produced are also of great ecumenical importance, especially the Constitution on the Church with its more precise definition of the office of bishop and of the collegial ~~relationship~~ structure which unites all bishops of the Church. The draft on the important and difficult problem of mixed marriage which contains very positive and concrete proposals must be mentioned. It was merely touched upon, but there is confirmed hope that it will soon bear plentiful fruit.

Considering all these events it is certainly not surprising that I say I am absolutely satisfied with the results of the third period. Certainly I also know of the events of this session which overwhelmed and pained sore. But I think it would be unfortunate, even misleading to judge the third period or the entire Council as less positive because of such details. Fortunately a sobriety and an objective judgment spread, and it is hoped that the impression created by certain aspects will disappear and that the view will be directed toward the broad outlines, the whole. Sentiments must slowly fade and die, the work done in the Council and especially the published decrees will remain and work more and more for the good in the Church ..

In the book Ecumenism in Focus, Bea worked out his evaluation of the third period on paper. Translated from Die Ökumenismus im Konzil, op. cit., pp. 260-261.

### 3a The Panorthodox Conference

While the Council Fathers still conferred in Rome, the representatives of the Orthodox Churches assembled on the fifteenth of November, 1964, for the Panorthodox Conference on the Island of Rhodes. Here they wanted to discuss the possibilities of official theological dialogue with the Anglican, Old Catholic

and Roman Catholic Churches concerning reunification. With great expectations the Secretariat sent several "observers," the press their cameramen, and the Pope a salutation. At the opening ceremony the chairman of the conference first addressed the absent pope.

It is with respect that we greet the one who has the honorary primacy among equals, the very holy bishop and pope of ancient Rome, Paul VI, and with him the reverend fathers of the Council. We do so in a brotherly and cordial manner, wishing them great success in their ~~work~~ effort to encourage Christian unity.

Rome, however, was sadly disappointed when the Panorthodox Conference decided to begin official theological discussions with the Anglican Church and with the Old Catholic Church, but not with the Roman Catholic Church. The president of the Conference gave the reasons on the occasion of the pilgrimage of the conference participants to the skull (relic) of St. Andrew.

...Concerning the Catholic Church the Third Panorthodox Conference of Rhodes has made the following decision: the Orthodox Church, through the work of local parishes, will prepare an official theological dialogue with Rome on the community level. However, at the same time it was decided to begin the dialogue of love, cultivating brotherly relationships between the orthodox local parishes and the Roman Catholic Church. We shall begin ourselves to practice this love. The dialogue requires much study, the love needs none. It needs initiative, nobility, readiness to sacrifice. The time of the dialogue of love precedes the time of the dialogue of Churches. We cannot reestablish Christian unity if we do not learn to love. (More details about the Third Panorthodox Conference in A Sea Der Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit., pp. 187-202 = Ecumenism in Focus, pp. 7)

In reacting to this decision of the Orthodox Churches, Bea did not become discouraged. He tried to understand the reasons and to view the good aspect of the matter. He declared: See Ecumenism in Focus, page corresponding to p. 195, Der Ökumenismus im Konzil.

Moreover, the conference in Rhodes had given the Patriarch Athenagoras the order to present the decisions of the conference to the Pope and the Secretariat officially. Two months later on the fifteenth of February, 1965, the first official delegation of the Ecumenic Patriarch arrived in Rome from Con-

stantinople. This visit took place in such a cordial atmosphere that the Metropolitan Meliton, the president of the Conference in Rhodes as well as of the delegation, said in his farewell conversation with Bea, "Eminence, we depart with the feeling of leaving our own home."

Right after the visit of the orthodox delegation, Bea travelled to the very cold north, to Geneva, the Protestant Rome, on the seventeenth of February. Once again Bea set a precedent as the first Cardinal to visit the headquarters, the "Vatican," of the World Council of Churches. He was welcomed in a festive, even triumphal, manner the president of the World Council, Bea had met Visser't Hooft/ previously on September 22, 1960 in Milano, on the December 3, 1960, in the Secretariat in Rome, again on his trip through Rome on January 8, 1963, and once more in Milan on April 15, 1964, where the possibility of the institution of mutual committees was discussed. Now Bea, in the name of the Pope, could tell the World Council of Churches

Friede zwischen den Christen, cit., p. 25—See the English translation, Peace Among Christians

Bea must have been moved with joy in this moment, because he knew that he had passed another milestone on the path to Christian unity. (Friede zwischen den Christen, Herder, Freiburg 1966, p. 25—Peace Among Christians), said Willebrands, who prepared the reception in Geneva. (Cp. cit., p. 9), commented Willebrands on this subject

At the same time, one of the founders of the World Council of Churches, Pastor Marc Boegner, the honorary president of the Church of the Reformation and a member of the Academie Francaise, was invited. This pioneer of ecumenism conversed with Bea at the festive reception in the residence of the World Council

If I did not believe in the Holy Spirit, I would say<sup>y</sup> that I am dreaming, because the old man speaking to you and to this assembly today, can say that in the course of the sixty years in which he has studied the ecumenical problem, and especially the relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism, the Holy Spirit has never ceased to work in our different denominations, in our different churches... You have directed the Secretariat

for Unity with that wisdom, with that brotherly love and respect, with that spiritual tact, which move us so deeply, because wherever you go you are a sign of the love with which we must love one another... I think, Eminence, I can say again that you, through your whole work, through your whole life, give the impression of love to whoever meets you and understands you, a love which radiates and evokes a warmth and great hope. You are a sign, please allow me to tell you, of the love by which we are called to love each other, according to the tradition and biblical foundations of the doctrines of each church. I seek the truth, which we shall one day understand in its fullness through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ  
(Rencontre Ecumenique à Genève, Geneva 1965, pp 39, 42, 90)

Whatever Bea thought of these compliments, he remained modest and humble, but grateful and without false pride.

Geneva, the fortress of Calvinism, had prepared for the visit of Cardinal Bea. Besides the reception in the residence of the World Council of Churches, there was a solemn reception in the Consistorium of the Protestant National Church as well as with the heads of State and City, a visit to the Protestant Cathedral of St. Peter, a common service of the Catholic and Protestant clergy in the American Protestant Church, and finally a colloquium (on February 19) with Cardinal Bea and Pastor Boegner in the Reformationssaal. This theological "confrontation" was more a dialogue between friends. Before and after the discussion, Protestant and Catholic choirs sang, first separately, and then together. The celebration was closed with the common recitation of the "Our Father". The assembly room was overcrowded and nearly one-thousand people had to remain outside, since there was no more space in the room, which could accommodate only two-thousand.

Pastor Bodmer, the chairman of the Ecumenical Union of the Churches of Geneva, who was largely responsible for the preparation of those days in Geneva, says in his preface to the previously quoted Rencontre Ecumenique à Genève

In summary, these two historical days allow the hope that the unfortunate period of the counter-Reformation is ended, and that we now stand at the dawn of a new reformation (ecumenical)



of all churches with a view toward a ministry and testimony which, as far as possible, should be common in a world of complete change. (ib. cit., p. 8)

Three months later, from the twenty-second to the twenty-fourth of May, 1965, in Bossey, the "committee" met for the first time and continues to meet once or twice every year. Quotation Friede zwischen Christen, cit., p. 52, see Peace Among Christians.

From this example, other commissions were soon founded with the Lutheran World Union (1965), the Anglican Community (1967), the Methodist World Council (1967), and the Presbyterian World Alliance (1969). The correct English names of these organizations should be verified.

### 3c In Constantinople

As ecumenical protocol and improved relations required, Cardinal Bea responded to the visit of the delegation of Patriarch Athenagoras which had come to Rome in February at the order of the Third Panorthodox Conference. Naturally this duty was a pleasure for him. This travel to Constantinople (April 2-5, 1965) was one of the most beautiful memories of his life and a personal satisfaction. As it is appropriate on the occasion of such official visits, the Cardinal was accompanied by ~~the~~ Bishop Willembrands and Father Duprey, by his private secretary and his physician. Numerous compliments and gifts were exchanged, speeches were given, receptions were held, courtesy visits and sight-seeing tours were undertaken. But very much more transpired which filled their hearts with joy, inspired these men, and soldered the links of friendship between Catholics and Orthodox believers.

The papal delegation participated in the solemn liturgy in the Church of the Patriarch. The Patriarch received the Cardinal with the kiss of peace and led him to a throne at his right side. When they left the church, they were met

in an "especially moving scene", according to the report of Bea

See Ecumenism in Focus, Ökumenismus im Konzil, cit, p. 215.

The Patriarch had also invited the Roman Catholic community from Constantinople, and even women of religious orders, as an extremely tactful gesture. (Cardinal Bea patiently allowed himself to be photographed with them.) In one of several tours, Bea visited the island of Chalki, the site of the theological school of the Ecumenic Patriarch.

On the morning of April 5, before the papal delegation departed, they visited the Hagia Sophia, once the Cathedral of the Ecumenic Patriarch, later a mosque, and today a museum. Inside, Bea went first to the place where the altar had formerly stood—the spot where the papal legate, Humbertus de Silva, had placed the papal bull of excommunication for the Patriarch Michael Caerularius on the sixteenth of July, 1054. There Bea remained for some moments in quiet prayer as a symbolic gesture. Knowing that after nine-hundred years he was the first Cardinal to be sent by the Pope to Constantinople for an official visit, he wanted to indicate that the Catholic Church now intends to eradicate such a sad memory. (Further details in Ecumenism in Focus — pages corresponding to the German edition, pp 210-216, 268-292.)

### 3d Travels and Lectures

After his visits to Geneva and Constantinople Cardinal Bea made other trips. He flew via London, where he met the new Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Michael Ramsey in the Apostolic Delegation, to Philadelphia—the City of Brotherly Love. Here, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1965, he received the "Brotherhood Award". On such occasions it is customary that the recipient speak on this theme. What topic was more appropriate for Bea than "The Re-establishment of Unity in the Family of Man," a theme often encountered in his publications.

The only firm foundation on which this Family of Man can be built is, according to Bea

Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, cit., p. 334 The Way to Unity After the Council, p.

On the occasion of the presentation of the Brotherhood Award, Cardinal Bea was also named an honorary citizen of Philadelphia. He visited St. Joseph's College and St. Charles Seminary before leaving for New York to visit the main office of the "Society of Atonement" of the Franciscan Friars in Graymoor, a short distance from New York City. There he received a second prize, the "Christian Unity Award". On this occasion he naturally gave another address (May 4, 1966).

That was his fourth and last trip to America. (Earlier visits were in 1960, 1963 and 1964 )

At the National Eucharistic Congress in Pisa in June, Bea spoke on the "Significance of the Eucharist for the Unity of Christians". Then he spent a month in a hospital in Zürich and later travelled to Rorschach to recuperate in the Stella Maris House. Soon it was time to prepare for the Council once more.

#### 4. The Fourth Period of the Council

On the fourteenth of September, 1965, the fourth and last period of the Council began. The discussion on freedom of religion was resumed, since just before the conclusion of the previous session a small minority had prevented the vote on this schema, to the great indignation of the vast majority. In the meanwhile <sup>time</sup> it had been reworked for the fifth time. Still unacceptable, it required further improvement by the appropriate commission in Bea's Secretariat, as well as the approval of the Theological Commission. In the interim

the fifth chapter of the Schema on Ecumenism had become a "declaration" rather than a decree, with the remarkable subtitle "On the Right of the Individual and of the Community to Social and Civil Freedom in Religious Matters." This caption was supposed to indicate that it does not concern freedom from God and conscience, but freedom for God and conscience. (?)

When Bishop De Smedt, as official relator of the "declaration," gave the report on the new wording to the Council Fathers on the twenty-fifth of October, he began

Although I am afraid that it is annoying to you to hear another (and it is the sixth) report on the religious freedom draft, may I be permitted to ask your indulgence.

At this point a kind laughter echoed through the Council Hall and re-echoed some hours later in the press room when part of this speech was presented.

No other Council document had had such a difficult birth as this declaration on religious freedom, the twin sister of the schema on the Jews. Yet both saw the light of the world, and the dazzling light of public attention, receiving a Christian baptism from almost all of the Council Fathers (October 28 and December 7).

Cardinal Bea never spoke on the question of freedom of religion in the Council Hall, but naturally as president of the Secretariat he watched the development of the text like a father. At the request of Bishop De Smedt in the speech quoted above, the Council Fathers sent more than two-thousand proposals for improvement to the Secretariat in a generous response. Father Stransky, who assisted in the editing and insertion of these suggestions into the final text, reports that one of his colleagues exclaimed in desperation "We are the slaves of the freedom of religion!" Certainly the entire Secretariat felt the same way.

Since there exists no intervention of Bea on this topic, reference should

be made to the following remarks from his book The Way to Unity After the Council German edition, pp. 233, 23-25.

Bea had been concerned about the problem of religious freedom for three years, giving impetus to the issue through his sensational dinner speeches at the Agape celebrations of the Pro Deo. At the opening ceremony of the Fourteenth National Congress of the Union of Catholic Lawyers of Italy on the thirteenth of December, 1963, he had given a speech on "Religious Freedom and the Changes in Society," in which he analyzed the basic principles of religious freedom from a theological point of view. This speech has been reprinted in several languages to contribute to the clarification of the discussion and the promotion of the development of <sup>the</sup> Council document. This document surpassed the expectation of the Cardinal, because in this speech Bea conceded the freedom of religion only to the one "who in good faith is involved in an inescapable, erroneous idea" (see p. 81). (The translator finds that, in an English reprint of this speech, the Cardinal reportedly conceded this freedom "also to the one 'who in good faith...'" ) At this time, however, that was a great concession!

Bea observes that Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, cit., p. 274, <sup>272-</sup>  
The Way to Unity After the Council, p. ?.

In the fourth session Schema 13 "On the Church in the Modern World," which had been greatly reworked and lengthened, was thoroughly re-discussed. On the first day, September 21, Bea criticized the form more than the content.

First it should be acknowledged that, thanks to the work of the commission, the schema has improved significantly. Three comments are offered 1) the many repetitions and examples, especially in the first part, are boring. References to the principles stated at the beginning of the text would suffice at any given time, 2) The schema must also be reworked with regard to the doctrine. It is indeed difficult to understand the doctrine clearly because the Latin is faulty examples a) the concept 'world' must be clarified from Holy Scripture, b) if it says that Christ denied any terrestrial government, then it contradicts the Lord's claim to be king; 3) finally, the Latin of the text has to be examined carefully. It is necessary that the Latin phrasing be at least as clear as the French, since the Latin version will be regarded as the official document of the Council. (German Press Information, Nr. 5, Vatican 21 September 1965.)



Obviously the character of the former Latin teacher cannot be denied. It is also apparent that Bea studied all Council documents carefully, even if they were not strictly in the field of his competence. In this intervention he reports that he has filled twenty folio pages with comments on the first fourteen lines of the second part.

The schema on the Church in the Modern world, the last placed on the agenda, was also the last passed by the Council in the form of a "Pastoral Constitution" (December 7, 1965).

In forming his opinion on this constitution, Bea naturally regarded it from an ecumenical point of view. Its very title is like the initial fruit and consequence of the decree on ecumenism promulgated a year before. In the pastoral constitution, Catholics are no longer mentioned, but only "Christians, because the problems and aims of the Church in the modern world are common to all Christians."

Quotation Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, cit., pp. 311, 329, The Way to Unity after the Council, p. 7.

Again, but for the last time, the former schema on the Jews, now entitled "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," must be mentioned. The word "Jew" was deliberately eliminated from the title, and the highly controversial phrase "murderers of God" is no longer found in the text. The relationship to the Jews fills only one-third of the complete document. As relator, Cardinal Bea has to report on the final wording of the declaration to the Council Fathers on the fourteenth of October, 1965.

After he had spoken about the insertion of the "~~con~~" (the proposals for improvement), he continued

In the first three chapters it seems that the intention of the Declaration is now expressed more clearly. It does not propose to offer a complete account of religions nor of the divergences that exist among themselves and from the Catholic religion. Rather, the Council intends through this Declaration to point out the bond between men and religions as the foundation of

dialogue and cooperation. Thus, the stress is placed on those things which unite men and lead to mutual fellowship...

As for theological clarity allow me explicitly to recall one point, the most difficult point of the schema, which concerns the question of the responsibility of the Jews for what happened in the passion of the Lord. To explain this clearly, I will first read the new text proposed by the Secretariat

'Although the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ (cf. John 19 6), nevertheless what happened in his passion cannot be attributed to all Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor to the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected by God or accursed, as if this follows from the Holy Scriptures.'

From this text it appears clear that

1. The schema completely preserves and expounds the truth of the Gospel.
2. At the same time it excludes unjust affirmations and accusations made against all Jews, without distinction, then living and against the Jews of today namely, that all of them are guilty of the condemnation of the Lord and therefore are rejected by God and accursed
3. The Council exhorts everyone when dealing with this subject, especially in catechism instruction and preaching, to say only what accords with the truth of the Gospel and with the spirit of Christ.

By a comparison of this text with that approved by you last year it is clear that the Secretariat proposes that the expression "guilty of deicide" (deicidii rei) be eliminated from the text. Why? It is known that difficulties and controversies—for example, that the schema might seem to contradict the Gospel—have in fact arisen, especially because of the use of this word. On the other hand, it is obvious to anyone who reads the text, just now read and explained, that the substance of what we wished in the earlier text to express by this word is found exactly and completely expressed in the new text. I well know that some give great psychological, as the current term has it, importance to this word. Nevertheless, I say if this word is misunderstood in so many regions, and if the same idea can be expressed by other more apt words, then does not pastoral prudence and Christian charity forbid us to use this word, does it not require that we explain the matter in other words? I say that this is required by the same "religious, evangelical love" which impels John 28 to order that this Declaration be prepared and which last year inspired you to approve it. Our Secretariat judged this emendation to be of great importance, in order that the Declaration itself be everywhere rightly understood and accepted, in spite of the various difficulties. Thus, I strongly urge you to consider this emendation in the

light of pastoral prudence and evangelical charity.

Our Declaration looks to co-operation in that same mission... to which the (work) entire of the Prince of Peace was directed, he who through the cross had made, in himself, Jews and Gentiles into one new man, making peace, thus made our peace (cf Ephesians 2 14-16). Following faithfully the work of its head and spouse, the Church today is also considering more attentively how it can foster and further unity and concord among men and nations. May God grant that, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and of all the holy patrons of the Council, this Declaration by your work and prayer be an efficacious instrument in carrying out this mission. (The Church and the Jewish People, pp 169-172)

Bea's moving words were greeted with applause. Immediately after his address the Council Fathers voted on each chapter and then on the complete text. There remained two hundred and fifty negative votes. However, at the official session on the twenty-eighth of October, 1965, in the presence of the Pope, the opposition was surprisingly reduced to eighty-eight votes.

Bea regarded it as a work of Providence that the promulgation of this declaration occurred in the days of the celebration of the return of St. Sabas' relics to Jerusalem. "It was no small help that this controversial decree was noticed less." Since his title church was consecrated to St. Sabas, Bea used his influence to send the bones of this saint to his homeland.

Although Bea did not personally agree with the final wording of the declaration, it had to be drafted in order to reach the greatest compromise possible. Therefore the Cardinal writes in his book The Church and the Jewish People (p. 86, footnote 1)

The final choice and promulgation of the present text obliges Catholics to accept it as true, but not necessarily as the best of all possible texts. Personally I regard it as better than the previous text. (This is the correct translation of the referenced footnote. The author, in her revised manuscript, misquotes the phrase as 'Personally I regard the previous text as better' )

Special reference should be made to this book, since it offers Bea's extensive commentary on the "declaration" which he had undertaken as the last will of Pope John, and which he now could place as the last "wreath on the

grave of the Pope." The first wreath was the Decree on Ecumenism, which possibly might never have succeeded if the Pope had not instituted the <sup>for unity</sup> Secretariat/and the Council. The second wreath was the Declaration on the Freedom of Religion, also a work of Bea's Secretariat.

One phrase of the Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian religions should be quoted, since it deserves, according to Bea, "to be written in bold letters on the United Nations Building"

All peoples are one community; they have the same origin, since God gave all mankind the earth to dwell on, they also have God as one and the same aim. His Providence, the testimony of His kindness and His plans for salvation extend to all men, until the chosen people are unified in the Holy City, the light of which will be the glory of God and all peoples will walk in this light. (This text must be available in English in a publication of Council texts.) [Nr 1]

Bea meant that this declaration opens "new dimensions," creates a new relationship to non-Christians, recognizing and promoting the spiritual value of other religions. This encounter will lead to an exchange of spiritual values and thereby contribute to the unification of the family of man. That is the third keyword of Bea: the family of man. Unity, freedom, family of man—his triad.

Rabbi David Schaumann wrote on Bea in La Rocca (Assisi, 1 December 1966, p. 31)

The Cardinal has struggled with his previous work and throughout the Council, with the whole authority of his person and his will, to set the basis for a new epoch, and the first, although unripe, fruits are visible. The Jewish people will count Cardinal Bea among the "just of the nations of the world".

While the Council Fathers still were casting their ballots on the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions (four times), the debate on the schema "On the Life and Ministry of Priests" began. Many had hoped that the question of priestly celibacy would come into discussion, but Pope Paul had asked that it be <sup>adjourned</sup> disregarded. The majority of the Council Fathers ~~agreed with~~ his wish. ~~whoever~~

had worked out an intervention with the intention of easing the rule of celibacy, destroyed it. It was with such excitement that priestly celibacy was discussed, as a means of serving God and Church completely, that Bea felt obliged, as the guard of ecumenism, to speak for the married clergy of the Eastern Catholic Churches, lest the impression arise that these priests would be somehow inferior. On the sixteenth of October, Bea was heard in the Council Hall.

We can be very thankful to the Commission which has very carefully prepared the schema on this matter, so important for the Church. Without doubt, the priest will ~~thankfully~~ <sup>carefully</sup> accept the doctrine presented in the schema, and indeed the ~~moreso~~ <sup>more so</sup>, because now, if I am not wrong, for the first time in Church history a Council is dealing with the life and ministry of priests so positively and extensively. For the greater success of this intention, may I be permitted to recommend that the schema be further improved in several points. My speech refers to the doctrine as well, but I could rather leave this area to other Fathers, either to perfect the doctrine or to accommodate it to the present theological position and to the problems of priests.

I wish to speak only on one point: the manner in which the schema deals with celibacy. What is stated about the motivations, advantages and fruits of priestly celibacy is excellent and should be approved without further discussion. After all, celibacy is not an essential requirement of the priesthood. But the paragraph which follows is presented in such an absolute manner, that celibacy seems to follow from the essence of the priesthood. Generally it is said that the priestly mission is completely consecrated to the service of the new mankind, and from that it is concluded "The priest therefore becomes through celibacy . a living symbol of that future world." What about the married priests of the East, then? Are they not priests in the complete sense? Indeed, the schema admits that there are "highly meritorious priests" in the Eastern Churches, as if this were an exception. But if I am not wrong, our ecumenical Council should deal with both priestly states: the celibate priest in perfect chastity and the wedded priest in perfect (I almost want to say ideal) marriage. It should be shown how each should be selected for his position carefully, educated and trained through appropriate selection and fundamental formation, and how each can defend himself against the dangers threatening his way of life. In this way our Council would also be of great ~~help~~ benefit to our beloved brothers of the East.

I shall submit further remarks on this point in writing. Here I wish only to speak about two points which seem to be less significant, but which also have importance...

Bea continues, criticizing the deficient form and order (with regard to



prayer, penance and study) as well as the poor style of the Latin. All these things

...shape the necessary medium by which the matter and the content reach those to whom the Council documents are directed.

Conclusio Once more I thank the commission for the work done in preparation of the schema, and I urgently request that the schema be carefully improved in the arrangement of its content, in its style and in its language. In order to assist in this task, I have written some detailed remarks. Cixi.  
(Shortened translation of the original.)

#### 4a The Observers

This time the customary papal audience for the observers, whose number had risen to 103 from twenty-nine churches, was not given, because Pope Paul had something special in mind for the last session of the Council. He intended to hold a service with the observers, a "liturgy of the word," as it is now called. For that ceremony he selected the Basilica of St. Paul, outside the city walls, because St. Paul (who unites all denominations) is the Apostle of the Peoples, and because in this Church the predecessor of Paul VI had announced the Council. The public was excluded from this liturgy of the word, to the great indignation of the press. It was intended as a very intimate celebration of thanksgiving and farewell, in which the Pope and the Council Fathers wanted to practice their own recommendation to the faithful in the decree on ecumenism a year before common prayer on special occasions. The observers in their choir robes actively participated, alternating in the reading of Scripture and prayer. At the end of the service, all recited the Pater Noster, each in his own language, and sang the Magnificat.

In the morning Dr. Lucas Vischer, as speaking for the observers, had expressed the gratitude and indebtedness of the observers to the Council Fathers in the Council Hall. Then in the afternoon at St. Paul's, the Pope bid farewell to his "brothers and friends in Christ," the observers, with very warm words.

See The Way to Unity After the Council, Der Weg zur Einheit nach dem Konzil, pp 10-15.

The Pope ended his address on an unusually hopeful note. Bea called it a "moving testimony to the brotherly atmosphere" which the Council had created.

After the ceremony, the Pope received the observers in the Monastery of St. Paul and presented each with a small bronze bell, which should call <sup>him</sup> them to prayer and charity, and with a parchment scroll, which, in Latin, certified <sup>his</sup> their participation in the Council.

According to ecumenical protocol, the Secretariat held a reception for the observers on the eighteenth of September in the Foyer Unitas. On this occasion, Dr. Douglas Horton, an American representative of the International Council of Congregationalists, gave an address which was informal, warm and humorous. Directly to the Cardinal, he said.

See Ecumenism in Focus, Ökumenismus im Konzil, p. 343.

The Council speeches themselves could fill tome after tome, but the addresses given on the occasions of innumerable receptions, conferences and lectures associated with the Council, would require many more volumes. A paragraph is quoted from the speech which Bea presented at the reception given in his honor by the observers and the Secretariat in the house of the Theological School of the Waldensers in Rome on December 6, 1965

See Ecumenism in Focus, Ökumenismus im Konzil, p. 349.

#### 4b Annulment of the Banns of Excommunication

The last day of the Council ~~brought an event~~ brought a joyful event to those present and to all Christians. It was a special pleasure and satisfaction for Bea who had prepared this occasion through his own efforts as well as through the prudent negotiations of his Secretariat. On the seventh of December, in St. Peter's Cathedral, the Pope embraced the Metropolitan Meliton of Eliopolis

and Theira, the head of the delegation of Patriarch Athenagoras. Never before had the applause in the Council been so spontaneous, so enthusiastic and so continuous as at this moment.

After the final vote on the last four documents of the Council (the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, the Declaration on the Freedom of Religion, the Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church, and the Decree on the Life and Ministry of Priests), Bishop Willebrands entered the pulpit and read the French text of a common declaration of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Church of Constantinople, in which both expressed regret for their offensive words, unjustified rebukes and gestures worthy of condemnation. Both promised to annul the bans of excommunication, to <sup>obliterate</sup> ~~obliterate~~ them. This is in reference to the bull which Cardinal Humbertus, legate of Pope Leo IX, had laid on the altar of the Hagia Sophia, excommunicating the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael Caerularias, who responded by excommunicating all who had written, published or agreed with the bull of the Pope, according to the decision of his Synod on July 24, 1054. At this time, however, no one had intended or realized that the Church of Christ would be permanently divided.

The common declaration continues

See Ecumenism in Focus, Ökumenismus im Konzil, p. 365.

A concelebrated Mass followed, then the repeal of the excommunication. The president of the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, accompanied by Cardinal Marella and Cardinal König, approached the papal throne, erected over the Confessio under the canopy of the papal altar, while the Metropolitan Meliton approached from the other side. Cardinal Bea read the papal brief, Ambulate in dilectione

See Ecumenism in Focus, Ökumenismus im Konzil, pp. 325-326.

Rising to embrace the legate of the Patriarch Athenagoras as a brother, presented the Pope/him with this brief on a parchment scroll.

At the same hour in Constantinople in the Church of the Patriarch, a similar ceremony took place in the presence of a papal delegation headed by Cardinal L. Shehan, Arch-bishop of Baltimore, a member of the Secretariat. Here the same common declaration was read in Greek. Afterward, the Patriarch himself read the tomos (a document similar to the papal brief) and presented it to the papal delegation.

See Ecumenism in Focus, Ökumenismus im Konzil, p. 327.

Previously these words had been considered by both churches. The usual juridical terms were avoided, such as "revocation," "recantation," "annulment," since they presuppose that the sanction had been valid. They did not appoint a tribunal. They did not judge history. Rather, as in a family, they found one another after long and painful disputes, the memory of which they now wish to forget.

It is significant for the new atmosphere of friendship that before the Metropolitan Meliton left Rome, he went to the grotto of St. Peter to the graves of John XXIII and Leo IX, whose legate had announced the excommunication of 1054. There Meliton placed nine roses to recall the nine centuries of the schism, now overcome through these and other symbols of friendship and brotherly love.

In an interview with a Greek journalist, Bea answers a question which is a great concern of Orthodox Christians: What happens if Rome and Constantinople reunify?

See Peace Among Christians, Friede zwischen Christen, pp. 68-70.

#### 4c The Council in Retrospect

Bea's judgment of the Council as a whole is easy to learn. He has voiced and published his views several times, probably most extensively in an interview entitled "The Council of Precedents" in the weekly Roman periodical Vita,

December 16, 1965 (pp. 47-48). Since this interview is little known it will be quoted here verbatim.

How does this Council differ from the twenty preceding Councils?

"From the beginning I want to emphasize that this Council is above all a grace, an undeserved present of God to his Church. If we speak of an evaluation of the Council, then we do so first of all in order to become conscious of the greatness of this grace with this in mind, I dare to claim that this Council has set a series of precedents in the history of Councils, especially with regard to its preparation. Considering the amount of consultation along the episcopate of the Catholic world, as well as the preparations which followed, no other Council has been organized with such enthusiasm and thoroughness. This Council has also set a precedent in size. two-thousand two-hundred bishops from one hundred-forty nations of all continents participated. This universality is unique in the history of Councils. The great number of interventions is related to this vastness. (This fortunately necessitated that they be brief.) One can add the precedents of calmness and composure, which may surprise those impressed by certain single episodes which occasionally occurred in each of the four sessions. Certainly I do not want to deny them, but one has to confine them to their proper level and to realize that in the course of the Council they never possessed the importance attributed to them by some press coverage. In any case, it must be said that, viewed with the distance of time and in comparison with the history of other Councils, these episodes are relatively unimportant. Finally, there is the precedent of the quantity of documents published by the Council. This is unmatched by either of the last two Councils.

"We refer in passing to other precedents which seem to be rather external, but which are not without concrete significance for the final results of the Council. The first concerns contacts with non-Catholic Christians and especially the presence of the representatives of a great number of Churches, ecclesiastical communities and associations from all over the world. The second refers to the intensive, I almost will say, passionate participation of the public in the events of the Council. If it is true that this was made possible through the development of modern mass media, it is also true that it presupposes a great and basic interest of today's world in the matters of the Church. It is no small merit of the Council that it made this interest evident."

In order to understand the Council from within, in which relationship are the documents of the Council to the life of the Church and its activity?

"The best way may be to catch the complete range of the Council documents in one glance. Let us begin with the fact that the Council intended especially to be pastoral, that means that it sought to deal with that which concerns the eternal salvation of men. However, the pastoral obligation of the Church presupposes that the Church deepen its understanding of self, of the mystery of God, who sustains it, of the treasures entrusted to it, of the command it has received for the good of mankind. This consciousness has



been expressed in the dogmatic Constitution on the Church. If we proceed to the practical renewal of the life of the Church, then the first point refers to the relationship to God in liturgy and culture, and especially to Divine Revelation entrusted to the Church for transmission to all mankind. Then follows the revision of the attitude and life of the different categories or its members: the decrees on the pastorate of bishops, on the education of priests, on life and ministry of priests, on the renewal of the life of orders, on Christian education, on the apostolate of the laity. Finally we must mention the revision of the relationships of the Church in three concentric circles, of which the encyclical ecclesiam suam of Paul VI has spoken. The general attitude is outlined in the Declaration on the Freedom of Religion. Then follows the attitude toward non-Catholics and the ecumenical movement, finally the attitude toward the followers of non-Christian religions. This attitude is manifest, on the one hand, in the true fulfilment of the order of Christ to proclaim the Gospel, and therefore in missionary work. But this activity always takes place within the scope of a more general attitude, since the Church recognizes everything true and good in non-Christian religions. The Church respects it, estimates it highly, and is ready to promote it. Moreover, there is the attitude of the Church toward the so-called Modern world with all its values and failures, with its intentions, problems and needs."

To what extent are the decrees still to become incorporated in the life of the Church, and to what extent are they an expression of an experience and a mentality which already exists in the Church?

"Something is true in each hypothesis. The Holy Father himself has said that the Council is more than only an end: it is the beginning of many things. He also has spoken of the great obligation of translating the Council documents for the whole Church and into the praxis of life. On the other hand, it is true that this work of assimilation has already proceeded to a great extent. Think only of the fact that almost all schemata were discussed extensively in the beginning, but then after repeated discussions and improvements, were accepted in the final vote with moral unanimity (none had an opposition of more than 4%). This fact certainly cannot be explained by a supposed apathetic acceptance on the part of the Council Fathers, because there was no such apathy. It also cannot be explained by a careful examination and improvement of the schemata, although such examination certainly contributed to the fact that these decrees were accepted more favorably. Basically it is rather a slow process of ripening through study, through the exchange of thought in discussions, in the Council Hall as well as beyond. These are the factors which in time created a common outlook among the Council Fathers and made it possible to reach a moral unanimity in the end. The beginning of the assimilation of the problems and ideas of the Council has been achieved through the great help of communications media and public opinion. All this proves that

the documents of the Council are not only on paper but are to a great extent the expression of a mentality which arose in the course of the Council. Nevertheless it is true that there is still much to be done to awaken this mentality and especially to transmit the decrees of the Council into practical life with the help of the special directives announced by the Holy Father, for example in the fields of ecumenical work, of education, etc.

To what extent can it be said that the Council has been a manifestation or even a revelation of the Church to the whole world?

"I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that the Council has been a great manifestation of the Church. It is sufficient to remember the great interest of the mass media in the Council. These media of communication have done much to further the interest in the Council and its work in the world. They have thus performed a great service to the Church, as the Holy Father himself recently acknowledged. To be specific, it was especially obvious in the presence and ever-greater participation of the non-Catholic observer/delegates to the Council, in the number of problems dealt with (including the most urgent problems of modern man, such as peace, nuclear war, etc.), finally in the attempts for solution proposed in the various documents of the Council. What the Church is, how it thinks, feels, works—is thus made more comprehensible to modern man. Only with the distance of time will the fruits be recognized."

Eminence, which aspect of the Council, in your opinion, has most impressed contemporary man?

"The answer is not difficult because it has been given by others before me. I think that it was, above all, the facts by which mutual understanding, kindness, love and charity became obvious... This concrete manifestation of Christian brotherhood is the deepest reason that the invitation and the presence of representatives from non-Catholic Churches, ecclesiastical communities and associations have, from the beginning, attracted the attention and the interest of the public more than anything else. This is also obvious from the fact that the largest, warmest and most hearty applause of the whole Council was given to the embrace of the Pope and the representative of the Patriarch Athenagoras I of Constantinople, after the painful events of 1054 and their consequences 'were erased from the memory of Church' through solemn, mutual declaration. Finally, the messages of the Council to the world and to its categories, read at the final ceremony, have made a deep impression (as the world press emphasized), especially because they displayed the same kindness and sympathy, the same love."

"In other words, the Council as it was planned and intended by Pope John has been a manifestation of the unanimity, love and unity existing in the Church. It concerns the love which God offers to each man and all mankind, the love to which He has testified and to which He continues unceasingly to testify, in Christ who lives and works in the Church."

Therefore, the greatest precedent which this "Council of Precedents" has set is love "It is a climax of the hierarchic and brotherly love never before experienced" (Paul VI).

## CHAPTER V

### The Great Events After the Council

On the third of January, 1966, shortly after the end of the Council, the Pope released a motu proprio (a document which the Pope releases "on his own initiative") in which he recognized the Secretariat, originally a "Preparatory Secretariat," then a "Council Secretariat." He ordered that it "consist of the persons of whom it had been comprised during the Council," retaining its two departments (one for the Churches of the East, the other for the Churches of the West), with its officials, members and consultants. This had been the wish of Pope John and the hope of Cardinal Bea from the outset. With this document, Bea received the recognition and appreciation of the Church's highest authority. In the six years of its existence, the Secretariat had stood the test. The Secretariat had already planned its activity after the Council. In the same month it announced that an ecumenical institute for the study of salvation history would be opened in Jerusalem/ for all denominations. The source of this plan had been one of the observers, the Danish Professor Skydsgaard, whose suggestion had been approved by the Pope in the audience granted to the observers in the second session (October 17, 1963). In 1971 this institute will be ready.

Eight weeks later, however, a document appeared which dealt a slight blow to the Secretariat. On the eighteenth of March the former Holy Office, now the

"Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith" ('Confraternity of Christian Doctrine'?), released an instruction on mixed marriage. It was obvious from the instruction itself that the Secretariat had not been consulted before its publication. Before the Council, the Secretariat had worked out a schema on mixed marriage to present to the Commission on Sacraments. This schema was absorbed into the 'Votum on the Sacrament of Marriage' of this commission which was debated on the last day of the third session (November 20, 1964). The question focused on the canonical aspect of marriage. Under Number 5, proposals were made for a change in the existing regulations on mixed marriage with baptized non-Catholics, according to which the Catholic partner rather than the Protestant should/educate the children in a Catholic manner. Besides this, the bishop of the diocese should have the right to give the dispensation for a Catholic wedding. At the proposal of Cardinal Döpfner, the votum was turned over to the Pope, in order to avoid controversy and to speed up the decision. The Council Fathers asked the Pope to release a motu proprio rather than wait for the complete reform of canon law. Instead, the Pope remained silent for over a year. When the instruction was finally released by the Congregation on the Doctrine of Faith (?), it had a provisional character and was an unfortunate compromise which greatly disappointed the Protestants and raised protest/in Protestant countries, especially Germany. In that moment, the head of the Anglican Church was on his way to Rome to discuss the question of mixed marriage with the Pope. The Secretariat quickly sent him the text of the instruction by messenger to inform and prepare him personally.

Cardinal Bea wrote an article, distributed by the German Press Agency and reprinted in Peace Among Christians. Naturally no curial office ever publicly criticizes another. As always, Bea attempted to see the positive and to reconcile Christians. Therefore he emphasized the "new spirit" which is obvious in

this instruction. It states that it has the wish and intention that "the relationship between Catholics and non-Catholics ~~will~~ be penetrated by a more intimate love" The regulations on mixed marriage were indeed eased a bit. Instead of the written promise (which, to that point, the non-Catholic partner was required to give) to educate the children as Catholics, only an oral assurance was now asked. He "will not set an obstacle" to the fulfillment of the religious duty of the Catholic partner with regard to the practice of his/her own belief and of the education of the children. If the Protestant partner regards this as intolerable according to his own conscience, he can ask the Holy See for a dispensation. A dispensation may also be granted if, for a serious reason, a Catholic wedding ceremony is impossible. It is a step forward that the dispensation is at all possible. But since Rome reserved the right to grant this dispensation rather than leaving it to the bishop of the diocese, as the Council votum suggested, it meant further centralization. (This clause was suspended in 1970.)

It is important that henceforth and retroactively no Catholic will be excommunicated for marrying a non-Catholic. But if he does so without a dispensation it still remains a mortal sin which excludes him from the sacraments. His marriage is indeed valid but unlawful.

Bea answers the objection that one should leave the question of the education of children to the parents, that the demand for a promise in this regard is a violation of the parents' right, and therefore a violation of the Council declaration on religious freedom. Peace among Christians, Friede zwischen den Christen, pp. 78-81.

Most of the committees with representatives of the Catholic Church and other denominations discuss the problem of mixed marriage, and at the first Synod of Bishops the topic was taken up.



## 1. The Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury

In Rome visits of representatives and delegates of other Church leaders were common, but now the ecumenical movement takes another step. The Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Michael Ramsey had announced his official visit, not only as Primate of the Church of England, but also as president of the Lambeth Conference. Therefore he came as head of the Anglican Community with the consent of all member churches (his predecessor, Archbishop Fisher, came to Rome in 1960, but only for a private visit). The visit of Archbishop Ramsey took place in great solemnity. Naturally it was the task of the Secretariat to prepare this visit. Cardinal Bea welcomed him in the English College. The first encounter between this primate and the Roman pope occurred in the Sistine Chapel on the twenty-third of March, 1966, with the usual addresses, brotherly embraces, and the exchange of gifts.

On the evening of the same day, the Secretariat gave a huge reception in honor of the Archbishop in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican. Two hundred ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries were present, but no women were invited—not even the wives of the Anglican priests or of the married laymen. When the person responsible for the invitations was asked why no women were invited, he is said to have answered humorously: "The memory of Lucretia Borgia is still too fresh." The Appartamento Borgia was the dwelling which the father of the notorious Lucretia had furnished for himself. Her picture as a slender blonde, "Holy Katherine" still hangs on the wall. The dining room of the Borgia pope now serves the Cardinals during their conclave and occasionally for other receptions.

Here Cardinal Bea gave a welcome address which he concluded with the exclamation: "Let us go forth unified in Christ. God wills it, mankind awaits it." "God wills it" had been the battle cry of the Crusaders in the Middle Ages, now it became the proclamation of the ecumenist.

On the next morning, there followed a very impressive liturgy of the Word in the Basilica of St Paul, outside the city walls, where three months before a similar liturgy had taken place with the Pope and the observers of the Council. Paul VI and Archbishop Ramsey entered together and were seated on two similar thrones before the altar. The audience (those who were fortunate enough to have an admission ticket) sang Veni Creator Spiritus. Homilies, hymns and prayers followed. Then came the solemn moment in which Monsignor Allebrands in Latin and Anglican Bishop Dean in English read the "Common Declaration of His Holiness Pope Paul VI and His Grace Archbishop Michael Ramsey of the Twenty-Fourth of March, 1966". The formulation was not as difficult as the common declaration of the Pope and the Patriarch Athenagoras, since no mutual excommunication was involved. Among other things, the text says that both declare

. that they wish to leave to God's mercy everything which in the past had violated the commandment of love. They also express the wish that the faithful of both communities be permeated by the same spirit of respect, high regard, and brotherly love. In order to promote this mutual attitude they propose that a serious dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Community be established with the Gospel and ancient tradition as its basis. It is hoped that this dialogue may lead to that unity in truth for which Christ had prayed...  
No reference given.

The two heads of Church embraced as a sign of reconciliation and exchanged parchment scrolls with the common declaration. The Pope motioned to the Archbishop to give the blessing together with him, but the Archbishop did not understand immediately. So it happened that the Pope gave his blessing to all those present, including the Primate of the Church of England. The Archbishop <sup>made</sup> blessed the sign of the Cross devotedly. During the recessional the Pope removed a precious ring from his finger and presented it to the Archbishop who recognized with satisfaction that the Pope was wearing the golden cross which he had given the Pontiff. Outside, the Archbishop blessed the jubilant crowd. Then he visited the Secretariat.

Cardinal Bea remarked in an interview for the London Times

It has been said, and I believe with reason, that this visit surpassed all expectations. Its importance lies especially in the fact that it opens a new very fruitful era in the development of brotherly relations between the Church of England, the Anglican Community, and the Roman Catholic Church with an extensive program over a long period.

(No reference supplied The end of the German text is grammatically unclear )

According to the promise which both heads of Church had given, a commission was established which met from the ninth to the thirteenth of January, 1967, in Gazzada near Milan. "After four hundred years of separation of the Anglican Church from the Roman Catholic Church, official representatives of both have made the first steps toward the establishment of complete unity," they declared in a press communique. In Rome in the Palazzo Doria, an Anglican Center for Studies and Lectures was created, which the Archbishop opened on the occasion of his visit to Rome.

After the example of the Primate of the Anglican Church, the Armenian Orthodox Katholikos Khoren I of Cilicia made an official visit to Rome on the ninth on May, 1966 This was of special importance because it was the first visit of the head of an Orthodox Church. He had already been very cordial toward Rome and was one of the first Orthodox Church leaders to send observers to the Council --The Armenian Katholikos Khoren I was received by the Pope in the Sistine Chapel On the following day he visited the Secretariat where he was greeted by President Bea, who expressed his joy at the visit and his interest in the East "as a former exegete and archaeologist".

A long time after the Council had ended, Professor Karl Barth appeared in Rome for an "ad limina apostolorum" visit, as he said in a witty, ironical manner On this occasion he also visited the Cardinal

Visiting in the home (situated in the Via Aurelia). of Cardinal Bea, well-known in the non-Catholic ecumenical movement and honored with reason, I found a doubtlessly good man in service of a doubtlessly good cause, for which he, however, stands in a somewhat conventional theology at any rate this is better

than one who represents a less worthy cause with a modern theology Augustin Bea comes from the Black Forest and the ticking of a wall clock, obviously from his homeland, interrupted out discussion with its occasional cuckoo-ing.  
(Ad Limina Apostolorum, Zurich 1967, p 13)

Unfortunately, there were no other witnesses except the cuckoo and from the tone of Karl Barth, it seems they did not get beyond general courtesies to important issues. This is unfortunate because these two men, although in different camps, have worked quite decisively for the development of their Churches toward a common goal. They could have said much to each other, but did not speak in the same style. It is remarkable that these two great contemporaries died almost at the same moment, after a long life in which their paths crossed only once for a short polite visit.

In September of this year, Bea could fulfill an old wish by visiting the Taizé Monastery in France, a center of the ecumenical movement. The Prior and Sub-prior of Taizé had played a leading/role among the observers in the Council. Just at this time, an international youth meeting convened in Taizé. Bea greeted the youth and spoke to them about the controversial problem of intercommunion, in order to explain its rejection by the Catholic Church. Later the Secretariat released an official declaration on that problem.

The German Book Trade awards a Peace Prize annually, which in 1966 was granted to two men who were old friends and, in a certain sense, "colleagues" Cardinal Bea and Dr. Willem A. Visser't Hooft, the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches. In the certificate it says

Both have worked with exemplary conviction for religious peace, preparing the discussion among denominations through their theological writings and speeches, and therefore have contributed to the initial reconciliation of Christian. They have understood their work for the unity in faith as a service for peace in the world. Therefore each in his own way has become a pioneer of peace among men. Through this honor all shall be encouraged in their work for peace based on mutual respect among religions, philosophies of life, and peoples

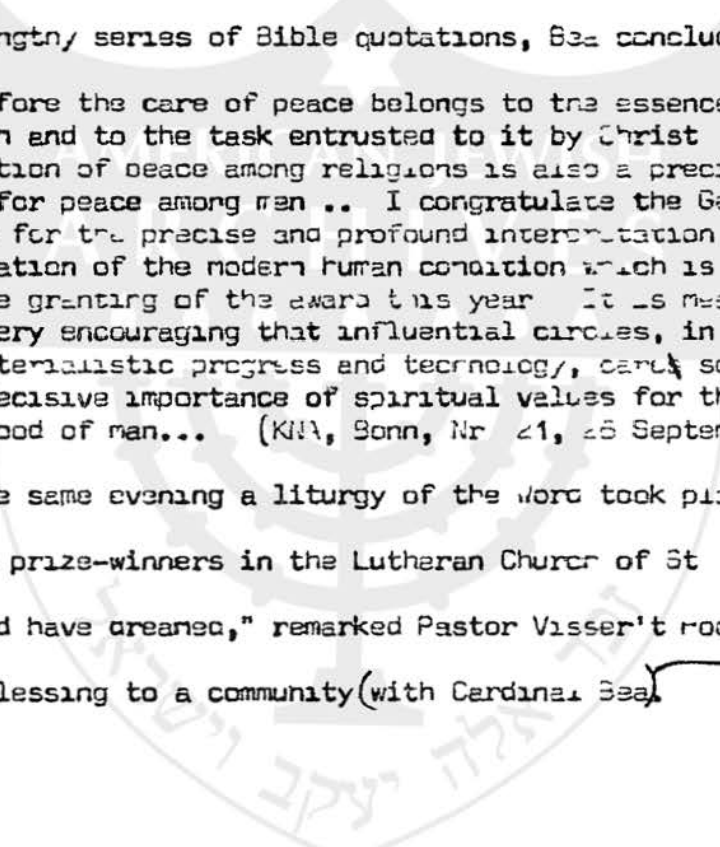
The Peace Prize was awarded in Frankfurt/Main's Church of St Paul, in the presence of the Federal President of Germany, Lübke.

In his speech Cardinal Bea spoke first about his personal encounters with Visser't Hooft, about cooperation with the World Council of Churches, efforts and about the Popes' attempts for peace

All these efforts for the deepening of Christian life and thought by Catholic and non-Catholic Christians grow from the essence of the religion of Christ, they are an expression of the Gospel of Christ entrusted to the Church, to which the care of peace also belongs.

After a lengthy series of Bible quotations, Bea concludes

Therefore the care of peace belongs to the essence of the Church and to the task entrusted to it by Christ. The promotion of peace among religions is also a precious service for peace among men... I congratulate the German Book Trade for the precise and profound interpretation and appreciation of the modern human condition which is expressed in the granting of the award this year. It is meaningful and very encouraging that influential circles, in the midst of materialistic progress and technology, care so much for the decisive importance of spiritual values for the life and good of man... (KNA, Bonn, Nr 41, 25 September 1966)

On the same evening a liturgy of the word took place under the direction of the two prize-winners in the Lutheran Church of St Paul in Frankfurt. "I never would have dreamed," remarked Pastor Visser't Hooft, "that I once would give the blessing to a community (with Cardinal Bea)." 

## 2. Patriarch Athenagoras in Rome

anticipating the visit of Athenagoras,  
In the heat of July 1967, Pope Paul VI had flown to Istanbul. (Cardinal Bea was unable to accompany him because of illness) This was another sign indicative of this "dialogue of love" which simply ignored all regulations of protocol and precedence. On this occasion the Patriarch Athenagoras announced his plans to visit Rome. On the twenty-sixth of October he arrived in Rome, where he was met at the airport with greatest honor by three Cardinals,



among them Bea, who later wrote about these events

Ecumenism in Focus Ökumenismus im Konzil, pp 443-444.

It was the first time in Church history that a governing Patriarch of Constantinople paid an official visit to the Pope. Everyone was anxious to see him. The majestic appearance of Athenagoras I, with his long white beard and his splendid blue robe, made a great impression on the men. All eyes were upon him, as if he were the main actor of this wonderful spiritual scene played in the most solemn theater of the world, St. Peter's Cathedral. The Pope, walking at his side, seemed to be rather slender in his modest white soutane, as if he had only a supporting role.

Since the visit of the Patriarch coincided with the session of the first Bishops Synod, approximately two hundred bishops and seventy-five cardinals were present in addition to the Diplomatic Corps, the heads of State and Roman society.

The service, not merely a "liturgy of the Word" as at the visit of Archbishop Ramsey, contained some parts of the Mass, without the Consecration and Communion. Bea explains

This form expressed the ardent desire of both sides to celebrate the Eucharist together and to participate in the sacrament through communion. But it expressed as well the present painful impossibility to fulfill this desire. No reference given.

Then the Patriarch gave an address in Greek, followed by the Pope speaking in Latin. Both were continually/ interrupted by applause. The kiss of peace was exchanged by the Pope and the Patriarch and his four Metropolitans, while the Patriarch embraced the three Cardinals who accompanied him, as well as the Cardinal Archpriest (?) of the Basilica. When the broad Patriarch gave the kiss of peace to the slim Cardinal Bea (on both cheeks), spontaneous rejoicing spread through the whole Church. Suddenly the Pope laid his hand on the shoulders of Bea and the Patriarch, as if to confirm the new "covenant".

At this moment the applause became even louder. It seemed that all present wanted to give a final ovation to the Cardinal, bent with age, to thank him publicly once again for all he had done, because this kiss of peace in St. Peter's would not have been possible without the courageous and careful preliminary work of Bea. It was surprising how this old, weak and bent man was able to set such great things in motion. But he was only the earthly "artifex" of this historical event. Behind him stood the heavenly "acteur"—the Holy Spirit, invisible but somehow present.

The Patriarch had come to Rome as a pilgrim and as such he visited the holy places of the city. the grotto of St. Peter, the Sistine Chapel, the Basilica of St. Paul, the Church of St. Maria Maggiore, the catacombs of St Priscilla, the Greek Orthodox National Church, and the Colosseum. He received the Greek Orthodox community in the Royal Chamber of the Vatican, as the host given the palace for an hour by the Pope.

The president of the Secretariat held a reception in honor of the Patriarch in the Appartamento Borgia, to which all Cardinals, Bishops of the Synod, and the leaders of the Church offices were invited. He greeted the Patriarch

Ecumenism in Focus, Italian edition Ecumenismo nel Concilio, pp. 348-349.

The next day was filled with sightseeing and conferences. A very meaningful gesture of the Patriarch should be reported on the grave of John XXIII he placed three small golden stalks of wheat ears of corn with the following quotation.

A grain of wheat remains a solitary grain unless it falls into the ground and dies, but if it dies, it bears a rich fruit harvest. John 12 24

On the last day the Patriarch, with the Metropolitan Meliton and Cardinal Bea—the two "Foreign Ministers for Ecumenical Affairs", was invited to lunch with the Pope. No secretary, journalist or photographer will be able to report how this "summit meeting" went. Then Bea accompanied the Patriarch to the airport

The visit of Athenagoras in Rome was part of an extensive travel program which brought the Patriarch to the autocephal churches in Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria, to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, and later to Vienna, in order to coordinate the work of the Orthodox Churches in general and the work for reunification in particular.

Ecumenism in Focus, Italian edition Ecumenismo nel Concilio, pp. 354-355.

### 3. The Synod

The visit of the Ecumenical Patriarch coincided with the assembly of the first Bishops Synod, which met from the twenty-ninth of September to the twenty-ninth of October in the Vatican. Bea, in the short nine years of his cardinalate, had experienced everything associated with his office the death of a pope, a conclave, the coronation of a pope and now the synod, in which he participated as the director of a curial office, the Secretariat. No non-Catholic observers were invited to this synod. Nevertheless, it had an ecumenical significance, as Bea liked to emphasize

The ecumenical significance of the Bishops Synod can be shown in the discussion of various topics (e.g., dogmatic problems), especially atheism. But we prefer to mention the extensive and instructive discussions on the delicate and complex problem of mixed marriage. It is very important that the different situations and the questions associated with them have been discussed in the synod in the name of all bishops conferences throughout the world. Although, unfortunately, no satisfactory solution for the complete scope of the problem was found, the discussion clarified the situation and provided important clues for its solution .. The majority of the participants voted for the continuation of the canonical impediments to marriage, although they demanded facilitation of their application. With few exceptions, the members of the synod expressed the opinion that mixed marriages require greater pastoral care, not merely before the wedding, but after as well. (La Documentation Catholique, Paris, 3 March 1969, col. 441-442)

Despite the earlier "instructio" of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith on the eighteenth of March, 1966, the discussion on mixed marriage was

not concluded. The Pope had established a new committee, to which Bea belonged, for the formulation of a new schema on mixed marriage. (During the Council there had been a votum with the same intention by the Council Fathers.) Bea was not in favor of the removal of the "canonical" impediments (i. e., established by the law of the Church) to marriage, as he declared in his intervention before the synod on the twentieth of October, 1967. By these, the Catholic partner would be warned of the dangers of mixed marriage. One should not demand anything of the Catholic partner which might endanger marital peace and harmony. He therefore is obliged only to do what he is able in order that the children are educated in a Catholic manner. Bea emphasized that the demands of the conscience of the non-Catholic partner and the peace of the family must be considered. The non-Catholic should not be forced to act against his conscience. Uniform laws cannot be applied since the situation differs greatly from country to country, especially in missionary regions. Therefore, it should be left to the Bishops Conference to define the appropriate application of the basic regulation, in respect and love for the separated brothers. Thus it is necessary that the local offices cooperate with appropriate authorities of non-Catholic churches. The only way out of this conflict of conscience is respect for the natural right of man to marry. All attempts to solution which in fact prevent this natural right or destroy peace and marital harmony must be excluded, Bea declared decisively (cf. G. Caprile Il Sinodo dei Vescovi, Rome 1968, pp. 415-418).

Mixed marriage, however, is not the best way to re-establish the unity of Christians, Bea pointed out. On the contrary, mixed marriages only intensify the existing conflicts between the churches and transfer them to the "home-church" which the family should be (cf. Caprile, op. cit., p. 433).

When the discussion in the synod concerned heresy, Bea said, with his practical and positive viewpoint, that it is more useful to speak of the

remedies than of errors. The remedies must come from either the curia or the bishops conference, depending on the particular circumstances. He made several proposals an international theological commission in Rome and an analogous commission within each bishops conference, not only to prevent error but also to promote the investigation and the propagation of true doctrine. The bishops themselves have the duty to defend pure doctrine and to take a position without waiting for Rome. (Cf. Caprile, op. cit., pp. 188-189)

The synod was the last great church event which Bea could witness. Thereafter he retired to his study, from which he had appeared eight years before, near the end of his life, just in time to participate in the new movement which spread through Christianity, breaking and maintaining barriers at the same time. Now he discontinued his lectures and official visits. He had to spare his weakened physical condition in order <sup>to</sup> maintain his health as long as possible, since he had to fulfill many new obligations in Rome after the Council. Aside from his directorship of the Secretariat, he held membership in five other offices of the central government of the Church (the Congregations for the Doctrine of Faith, for the Eastern Churches, for the Christianization of the Peoples, for the Rites, and for Catholic Education), in three papal commissions (for Biblical Studies, for the Revision of Canon Law, for the Neo-Vulgata) and in the Committee for the Execution of the Council <sup>S</sup> Constitution on Holy Liturgy. (The proper English names of these commission must be researched.) Here it was important to guard and execute the ecumenical concerns of the Council. These tasks were more important to him than his lecture activity, since he had accomplished his aims of interesting the public in the problems of reunification and of improving the atmosphere among Christians.

At that time Bea wrote in his diary 1966, IV, 3.



In the calmness of his study in the Brazilian College, the biblical scientist, the lecturer, the organizer, became an author. "Are there two Father Beas?" Pope John had asked in amazement when Father Bea had been introduced to him in two different capacities. There are not only two Father Beas, there are at least four the professor, the ecumenist, the Church leader, the author.



## CHAPTER VI

The Author

Bea did not begin writing at the age of eighty. At the time of his nomination as Cardinal in 1959, he had already published twelve books and pamphlets and 127 articles, inspired by his studies and lectures or by controversies with Protestant colleagues. Many were scientific certificates, commentaries on papal promulgations, or obituaries for his deceased brethren.

With the foundation of the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, the theme, style and tone of his writings changed. Now the public had to be familiarized with the ideas of ecumenism and the Council. No longer did he write in an abstract scholarly way. Latin was replaced by modern languages, primarily Italian, written fluently with metaphors and examples ~~with~~ from daily life, for example

To distinguish true unity from false

Rush hour in a city represents an example of a certain kind of unity. Everyone is travelling hurriedly by bus, car or train and therefore each is related in a certain sense. But this association is purely external, because each pursues his own interest and goal. (Das Wort Gottes und die Menschheit, Kath Bibelwerk Stuttgart 1968, p. 4 — could not be found in the English edition.)

Or, when Bea speaks of the "treasure" of the word of God

...this gift of God seems almost too beautiful to be true and real, and we are astounded, like a man who has just heard he has come into an enormous fortune and cannot believe it. (The Word of God and Mankind, Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago 1967, p. 10)

It seemed that his great theological knowledge, his acquaintance with Holy Scripture, his multi-faceted experiences, his deep human wisdom, his daily meditations, everything which had been buried as a hidden spring, burst forth suddenly, vivid, continuous, not a mighty waterfall but pure refreshing

well water, which (to extend the metaphor) streams from the first well, the word of God in Holy Scripture. Bea's books are completely formed by the spirit and language of the Bible and filled with Bible quotations, which demonstrates a great familiarity with Holy Scripture, reminiscent of a Protestant preacher.

The approximately 250 articles which appeared from 1960 until the end of his life in 1968, cannot be comprehended. Many have been translated into other languages. In addition, thirty-five prefaces to publications of other authors, presentation<sup>s</sup>, interviews, etc., should be included, as well as fifteen smaller publications of less than one-hundred pages and nine books. In the course of his work on the tenth book, Christ and Mankind, he died.

Alone, Cardinal Bea never could have accomplished so much in only eight years. But he knew how to employ his assistants, especially Father Schmidt, his private secretary. While Brother Burth took charge of the German writings, others handled the Italian manuscripts and still others their translations. The work was organized best in his office, which was furnished with all technical equipment. This does not diminish Bea's effort. On the contrary, the arrangement of his work must be admired.

His topics were right at hand, presented by the great events in which he participated. Who could be more competent than he to explain the great decrees of the Council, their background, relations and aims?

It would be completely impossible to review his nine larger editions within a short biography, but it is feasible to refer to their content and to quote occasional passages in order to interest the reader in these books. They will be highly estimated for a long time after the author's death, as long as Vatican II is discussed.

His first book, The Unity of Christians (1962), a collection of speeches, articles and interviews, deals with the work of the Secretariat and the preparation

of the Council.

The second book, Unity in Freedom, with the subtitle "Reflections on the Human Family," appeared first in England and the United States in 1964. Up to this time Bea had been concerned with the concept and the realization of "unity". "Freedom," the concept highlighted by the work on the Schema on Freedom of Religion in the Secretariat and Council, was now added. Bea had first referred to it in several addresses (for example, to Italian Catholic Lawyers and at the Agape celebrations of the Pro Deo Organization).

Unity in Freedom is the shortest and best formula of Bea's program. "To build the unity of the human family in freedom is a great and urgent task." This is also an essential aspect and concern of the Council which he chose as an illustration "of one source of energy and good will...of one group of men who are aware of the tumult of problems which press on mankind today, and are trying to cooperation in solving them" (Unity in Freedom, p. 79). Bea selected as a signpost <sup>to</sup> for this unity in freedom the last two popes and their encyclicals<sup>15</sup>. In an appendix, he quotes as examples the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" of the U.N., the prayer of the Astronaut Major Gordon Cooper, and the "Revised Report of the Commission on Christian Witness, Proselytism and Religious Freedom" of the World Council of Churches.

Some extracts from this book

The true worth of freedom springs from the dignity of each human person, endowed with intelligence and free will. This is the basic safeguard of human liberty, and that safeguard can be weakened and lost through exclusive interest in material goods and earthly enjoyments, through a materialistic technical progress which leads to selfish forgetfulness of the high dignity and worth of each individual person. real freedom can be lost by reducing human persons to the status of mere parts in the machine of progress, and assessing their worth by the exclusive standard of technological, scientific or even financial "advance". Freedom is a value in the spiritual order, not to be measured in terms of wave-lengths, or the composition of atoms, or by means of statistics or graphs, and far less by financial balance-sheets. If esteem for moral worth declines, freedom inevitably suffers...

But equally with freedom, the human race needs unity. It is clear that this need for human unity is insufficiently realized. The threats of war—indeed, the continuing existence of armed conflict in various parts of the world, the condition of underdeveloped countries by comparison with the more developed and wealthier, the troubles and ferment in race relations, which take differing forms in different regions, ideological oppositions in the philosophical, economic and religious fields—all these tend to insufficient appreciation of the unity which ought to exist among all men. There is a fundamental equality of all peoples, without distinction of country, race, culture or religious faith, and this unity transcends all the differences. Right estimation and affirmation of this fundamental equality is an essential step towards the universal peace which all men desire. Consciousness of particularism in race, nationality, ideology, religion, has tended to blunt the sense of common human unity, and to overlay the awareness of the duty, on the part of individuals and peoples, to foster the common interests of all mankind and to work for the construction of a true community of all peoples, and this to attain, not merely avoidance of war, but a truly international community fused together by a harmony of rights and duties, in brotherhood and love. (Op cit, p. 69-70)

As an example of unity in freedom, Bea refers to the Catholic Church.

This clearly gives the Church a manifest unity. This unity, however, is not static, nor is it merely external, nor is it merely legal, it is dynamic, it is internal to the mind and the hearts of men, and it is caused and maintained not merely by regulations but by the action of the Spirit of God on the spirits of living people. It is a unity which persists amid the various changes in the outlooks and activities of the people who make up the Church, and so it is a living, even a moving unity. In short, it is a unity among living human people.

Like other institutions, the Church can grow and develop, and in its growth and development its unity also grows and develops. It is, moreover, a unity in freedom, not a unity imposed by force and by fear, and hence, too, it is a unity, above all, of charity, which is meant by Christ to show mankind that unity among them does not demand an enforced conformity, does not lessen their freedom, but increases it, does not lower their dignity as human beings, but enhances it. (Op cit, p. 80)

As we said, the unity of all men flows from possession of the same nature as free and intelligent beings. As such they are reflections of God, in the image of God, who is the infinite Intelligence and the utter Freedom. Moreover, men are also linked together by their relationship to God their creator, to whom—whether they understand it or not—they owe their being and existence, their intelligence and their freedom. God loves all men, the work of his desire to share his goodness and a fatherly providence over them.

The Christian teaching, however, while accepting this natural unity of mankind holds that God, without in the least lessening or harming this natural unity, has lifted to a higher plane. God has



freely given to mankind a new vital principle of unity, a transfusion into human nature of the very life-blood of God himself—insofar as one can use such language of God

The Christian concept of unity must and does completely depend upon the truth that God himself became man, a truth difficult indeed for everyone to accept, but yet a fundamental truth of Christianity (Cp cit., pp 90-91)

To sum up, then, Catholic unity has elements both visible and invisible. The visible elements include outward profession of the same faith, participation in the same worship of God with reception of the same means of holiness called sacraments, and acceptance of the same visible religious authority, the shepherds with the chief shepherd of the flock. The invisible elements include the action of God's Spirit upon the souls of men, and upon the whole body to insure that the essential message and the essential means of salvation, for this world and for the world to come, will never be corrupted or lost. It is a unity which transcends race, nationality, social position and individual gifts and talents. It is a unity, which is one of the signs making the Church not only visible but recognizable as Christ's Church, "that they also may be one in us, so that the world may believe thou hast sent me" (John 17:21). Because the Church is made up of sinners as well as of saints, this unity may shine forth more conspicuously at some periods than at others, but Catholics believe that it never has failed nor ever will fail. It is a unity flowing from the Son of God becoming man, and therefore exists for the good of all mankind. (Cp cit., pp 98-99)

The right, then, to religious liberty is inalienable, and no human law can take it away. The truth and the law of God are too great to be fit only for slaves or to be imposed by compulsion. They are meant to be accepted consciously and freely, by men who grasp something of their grandeur and magnificence. God wills the free service of his creatures, and this, too, excludes external coercion. (Cp cit., pp. 103-104)

This liberty includes two elements equally essential. It excludes any compulsion by other men or society, and it enables a man to follow, conscientiously and freely, the laws of God, according to the norm of his own honest conscience. This liberty involves not merely the right to worship God, but also the right to profess his faith privately and publicly, to bear witness to it and to propagate it, always, however, with due regard for the general good, and for the rights of others. (Cp cit., pp 104-105)

From this right to religious freedom follows the obligation of responsible religious decision. Religious liberty does not imply caprice, lawlessness or indifference to truth. On the contrary, since it is based, ultimately, upon the gifts of intelligence and freedom, it presupposes reasonable use of intelligence about religion and responsible use of freedom. These principles apply to the whole human family and to men of all religions, Christians and non-Christians. (Cp cit., p. 106)

In conclusion, the message of Church has always been a message of freedom, especially of inner freedom, of freedom from all within man which hinders them/giving themselves to the great ideals of truth, justice, love and the service of the neighbor and of God. The unity of the Church is a unity which protects freedom and brings power from God to know "the truth which makes us free" (John 8:32) to curb self-centered pride and to remain firm in humble service to mankind..

Let me repeat we live in a new era, an era full of dangers, full of opportunities. Old ways of thinking are being revised. New horizons are opening (Cp cit., pp 134-135)

Is the Church, then, a failure? Granted all the sins and deficiencies in the Church, is there any other institution which can show such love for men, can give such cogent reasons for sincere concern for the great human family and can offer such founded hopes for peace and true brotherhood among men? Is there any other system of thought which can satisfy the mind and give adequate motives to the mass of men for life in justice and freedom and charity? Is there a real alternative to the Church? (Cp cit., pp 228-229)

Unity in Freedom ends with a chapter on "The Ultimate Consummation".

Again Bea asks

Is all this merely the dream of poets and visionaries too good to be true? He knows little of God's omnipotence and goodness who thinks so. His vision of reality is narrowed, his thinking is dulled and his love for humanity is the more limited. The resurrection is indeed a mystery of faith, but is it more mysterious than life itself, is it more mysterious than the mystery of love? Where there is no vision the people perish. From great dreams, from the great vision of the prophets, great realities are effected. Is this prophecy (Isaiah 2:2-5) meant to apply only as an allegory, or only as an expression of a hope which reality inevitably proves to be an illusion? To think so will tend to make it a mere illusion, will tend to produce faith in material swords and spears—which is the greatest of illusions—and to lessen faith in the sword of the Word of God, which is the greatest of realities. Not by bread alone does man live. It is the spiritual forces in God's world which alone can bring the unity in freedom of man on which peace ultimately depends (Cp cit., pp. 230-231)

Third in the chronological listing of Bea's books is The Church and the Jewish People (1966). The book contains remarks on the history, content and goals of the Council's declaration on the relation of the Church to non-Christian religions. It deals extensively with the election of Israel and the origin of the Church, with the Jewish People and the actual events of the passion of Christ,

that is, the question of deicide and collective guilt, it declares that Christ died in freedom and love for the sins of all men, that God has not repudiated his people and that, therefore, antisemitism must be excluded from religious instruction. The book emphasizes man's common heritage, because Christians daily draw life from the Old Testament. Men must cooperate since, as the children of a Heavenly Father, all are brother in the same family.

The final paragraph is quoted to give an example of Bea's biblical language, his love of all men (he addressed the Jews as "my dear Jewish brothers"), and his unshakable optimism.

The Church intends, in this way, faithfully to continue the work of her head and spouse, the Prince of Peace, who by his cross has made one man of both Jew and Gentile in himself, bringing peace by making himself our peace (cf. Ephesians 2:14-16). Under his sway, as the Psalmist foresaw, "In his days righteousness will flourish and peace abound, till the moon be no more" (Psalm 72:7) or, as Isaiah said, "He shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isaiah 2:4), because, as the same prophet says elsewhere, "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" (Isaiah 11:9). It is true that this enchanting prospect of a new human race refers first and foremost to the glorious advent of the messianic kingdom when, as the declaration expresses it, "the elect will be unified in the holy city, the city abaze with the glory of God, and the nations will walk in his light." But it is also true that the way to this must be paved by "agrees here below according to the general law that man must labor for his salvation here on earth" (cf. Philippians 4:12) and thus prepare for the final union in paradise. For this reason the Church herself follows, and exhorts the faithful to follow, in the footsteps of the Son of God, the Prince of Peace. He has shown us how those who wish to be worthy children of the God of peace must conduct themselves and has also revealed to us the happiness—than which there is no greater—of being and behaving as worthy sons of so great a Father. (Cp. cit., pp. 144-145)

In the appendix of the book, Bea publishes his four "relations" (the reports to the Council on the work on the Schema) and the final text of the Declaration on the Relation of the Church to the Non-Christian Religions, as it was finally approved on the twenty-eighth of October, 1965, and promulgated by the Pope.

In the same year a smaller volume, Peace Among Christians, was also completed. Bea, with Dr Visser't Hooft (the secretary general of the World Council of Churches) edited this volume on the occasion of the presentation of the Peace Prize in Frankfurt. It contains a collection of the articles and addresses of these two spokesmen for the ecumenical movement.

The Way to Unity After the Council (English 1967) is a very useful handbook of the most important Council documents of an ecumenical character. The Decree on Ecumenism, the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, the Declarations on the Relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions and on Religious Freedom, and finally the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. The book presents insights into the history of the development of these documents, their arrangement and their significance. The last chapter is the speech which Bea delivered in Philadelphia on the occasion of the "International Fellowship Award Dinner" "Ecumenism and the Establishment of Unity in the Family of Man". For the first time his third keyword can be seen as a subtitle of Unity in Freedom—"Reflections on the Human Family". The concept of the unity of Christians was slowly and quite naturally expanded to include the unity of all men. This care for the re-establishment of unity in the human family through unity in faith and freedom dominates the following books of Bea, as their titles indicate The Church and Mankind, The Lord of God and Mankind, Christ and Mankind (incomplete).

The Church and Mankind (1967) is like an encyclopedia of the Catholic world view, in which all of Bea's great wisdom is reflected.

In the first chapter Bea reports that Pope John, concerned about mankind and world peace called the Council because society is progressing toward a new world order in which the Church should be influential. However, none of



the seventy schemata prepared for the Council dealt with this topic specifically. Only at the end of the first period of the Council, in the new schema "On the Church in the Modern World," was it reflected, as well as in other Council texts such as "On the Apostolate of the Laity," "On the Missionary Activity of the Church," "On Ecumenism," and "On the Relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions". According to Bea, loneliness is the "most tormenting problem of today". "The man of today suffers even more than men of other times the feeling of loneliness, and this often in the middle of a social life of great variety, even including the noisier mass demonstrations" (op. cit., p. 13). The Church can help him to come to a free encounter and interior communion with others, teaching him from his first prayers to pray the 'Our Father', in other words, that he belongs to a large family, the family of God, and therefore to the people of God on earth.

In the second chapter Bea discusses more extensively the essence of this family of God and this new religious awareness which penetrates all Council documents, and which, in his opinion, is ~~in more~~ accordance with the New Testament and the spirit of Christ than the former consciousness which saw God less as a Father than as a Judge, whose commandments must be upheld in order to reach heaven. Here Bea speaks of the significance of baptism, through which man is related to God in a supernatural way, participating in His divine nature

From the first moment of our existence as Christians we are immersed in the rich reality of not a human but divine "family", we are united with Christ and we live with his own life, God himself, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, not only loves us, but has made himself our Father by an unmerited gift of his infinite merciful love, begetting us and making us conformable to the image of his only-begotten Son, and, therefore, sharers of his own nature and his adopted sons. We have received the gift of the Spirit of God and of Christ, we have been, and still are, associated with the mysteries of the life of Christ, God has admitted us to an intimate communion with himself, giving us with the gift of his Spirit the capability of responding to his infinite fatherly love. And all this is only a beginning which, at the resurrection of the dead, when our bodies will be raised and glorified, is destined to become full union of all our being



with God. It is for us to know, to welcome and consciously to experience these immense and free gifts of God. Only thus can the full development of our personality and the profound happiness of our life be ensured. (Cp cit, p. 41)

The third chapter deals with the mystery of the people of God in the old and new covenant, where the Church is bride and mother, where the people of God participate in the prophetic office of Christ, and where this prophetic office is also practiced in family life.

...like the whole of the supernatural life, the people of God is basically a mystery, being founded on the life of God himself. Above all we hope that we have shown what an immense privilege it is to be permitted to become members of the family of God and the people of God. It is only by belonging in this way that every one of us can attain salvation with all its accompanying gifts, it is only in this way that the life of every one of us can attain its full development and become fruitful for the good of mankind. We have already devoted a great part of our discussion to dealing with the significance for the entire human family of the presence of the Church, that is of the people of God, as a leaven, and of the work of the Church, even when and where this is not taken into sufficient account. (Cp cit, p. 76)

The fourth chapter deals with the difficult balance between collectivism and individualism in human society and with the sacred authority and freedom of the children of God in the Church. According to Bea, the Council is a model of this balance

In fact, notwithstanding its distinctively social character, the Council is far from exaggerating the social aspects of Christianity in fact the affirmation of the dignity of the human person is essentially a part of its social doctrine. (Cp cit., p. 78)

Here Bea speaks extensively and informatively on the significance of the College of Bishops, which expresses the universality and unity of the Church. He concludes with the high praise of love which alone can restore the proper balance

In fact charity implies a mysterious willing renunciation of the self so that a man in giving himself "loses himself" and at the same time develops to a highest degree his own personality. Now the "gift of oneself" is nothing other than charity. While such an act expresses man's sociability in a most perfect way, it also constitutes the greatest means of development of the human person.

Therefore since the exercise of charity is the most perfect exercise of sociability, it is also the highest development of man's personality

Let us immediately add, however, that in the Christian concept charity is never merely love for other men, but is always inevitably love for God. So love for men has its profound motive and its source in the love of God. This love is a gift of God to man the sinner. It is poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which is given to us. It is this Spirit of love which gives life to the whole people of God, and rules its life, its structure and its social relations. It is this Spirit which is the soul of the people of God, which animates and moves individuals and the whole Church, those in authority and their subjects, and thus guarantees the continuation of the social structures and with them the proper functioning of the whole social life of the people of God. Just as equilibrium on the doctrinal plane is a gift of God—like all the teaching of Christ—so also the practical realization of this equilibrium is God's gift. Just as the Spirit of God leads the Church in all truth, so also the same Spirit leads the Church to put this teaching into practice. (Op cit, pp. 115-116)

In the fifth chapter, entitled "Beyond the Boundaries of Peoples and Times," Bea speaks of the horizontal universality of the people of God which includes all peoples living today, as well as of the vertical universality which includes all peoples of all times in an organic unity to which all the just in the past and all saints in heaven belong. Among them a true solidarity and brotherly love exists. Here the Council opens new dimensions because

...Besides those members who are united in a visible way and who are in perfect communion with the people of God, the Council shows us the hundreds of thousands of non-Catholic Christians who by virtue of their baptism are gathered together in a real, although imperfect, communion with these people, the Council also acknowledges the work of grace in non-Christians, for which reason those among them who sincerely seek for God, may be brought into contact with the pascal mystery of Christ's death. (Op cit, p. 122)

Around the Church exists "an intermediate <sup>2</sup>zone, to belong to which brings salvation" like "the immense nebula around the nucleus" (op cit, p. 129).

Bea dedicates a complete chapter to the world of spirits, which possibly may surprise many, but he emphasizes:

...if there is something certain in our faith, it is the existence of a world of spirits, good and evil, moreover it is a fact that we

are not dealing with a world separated from ours, but with one which is closely united to it, with the good and evil spirits continually intervening in our lives, and playing a very important part... (Cp cit, p. 167)

No theology of the people of God of the Old and New Testaments, no theology of history can ignore it without it the already mysterious events would become simply unintelligible. But we are not dealing with knowledge alone, we are talking about the Christian life itself, of the individual as well as of the whole people of God. This cannot be lived in truth and with success without a living faith in the world of spirits and without the profound influence they exercise on the life of the individual and of the whole Church. Without this faith the Christian understanding of life would lose much of its realism and would be neglecting the very great part that the evil spirits play in the life of the individual and of the people of God. Also it would lose one of its most beautiful and fruitful friendships the joy of knowing that we are carried and sustained by a whole invisible, but nonetheless real, world, a sublime world, and sublime first of all because these other beings are full of God and are happy with him, looking for nothing for themselves except God who is love, they seek only to do good. (Cp cit, p. 177)

These sublime and profound realities must be experienced daily in the sacred liturgy of the Church. Christianity is not a system of thought but a ministry. The liturgy is a dialogue between God and his people, an act of the people of God, for the good of all mankind, a "remembrance" to realize the unity of the Church with the heavenly Church. (These phrases are the headlines of the paragraphs in this chapter!) Referring to the sacrament of Penance, Bea explains its double effect as reconciliation with God and at the same time with the Church, an aspect which is too often obscured, because sin as well as offending God wounds the whole organism of the Mystical Body.

Through the participation in the sacred liturgy, the faithful...

.. will continually feel the pulse of the life of the Church, he will share her profound and divine joys, but he will also feel the profound preoccupations and sorrows of the Church and her anguish, he will contemplate in faith the uncounted truths and achievements of the kingdom of God, and will rejoice in them, but he will become aware of its great needs, of the boundless numbers still to be gathered, and of the small number of the laborers. Besides, if it is true that the work of the redemption is carried out by means of the liturgy, then the conscious, active and fruitful participation of the members of the Church at liturgical celebrations, constitute the first, the most basic and the most

effective contribution to the realization of the Kingdom of God in mankind, so that it may become the family and people of God. (Cp cit, 212)

In the ninth chapter Bea discusses his favorite topic, "Living with Mankind and for Mankind" This is possible for every Christian.

The whole Christian life, offered to God in union with Christ, like the sacrifice of the Cross and in the power of this sacrifice, becomes a source of grace for the world and therefore an effective means for the fulfillment of the redemption of the world. (Cp cit, p 229)

In the tenth chapter Bea speaks about "a Continual Intermingling of the Church with Mankind", about the

.. continuous exchange, a "mingling" between the heavenly city in pilgrimage here on earth and the earthly city, an exchange which covers the whole of their lives, since the Church "goes forward together with humanity and experiences the same earthly lot which the world does." (Cp cit, p 260)

The final chapter deals with "The Final Secret God" who reveals himself in his creation, in his written word and in Christ, in the life and action of the people of God, and who nevertheless remains a "revealed but always new secret". This secret will be revealed only at the final revelation when man will know God as man is known by God

Also the whole of redeemed mankind together with the whole of creation will be an indescribable revelation of God, of whom only our heavenly fatherland will be able to give us a true conception, and the whole of eternity will not be long enough to enjoy all its infinite riches Obviously the great joy of heaven is and will always be the intuitive vision of God and love in union with him But the manifestation of God in the new mankind which has been wholly redeemed and unified in Christ, will also play an important and wonderful part. This will be, so to speak, the book, in the reading of which we shall discover ever new horizons and aspects of the infinite beauty of God without ever coming to an end

Will the whole of the ultimate secret then be revealed? Yes and no Certainly by seeing God manifesting himself in glorified mankind and in the whole of creation, now sharing the glory of the sons of God, and above all seeing God face to face, we shall certainly know the secret. It will be a secret that is known, but ever new, since it is infinite, and therefore inexhaustible for created beings The whole of eternity will not be long enough to study it, understand it, to measure its depth, and love it. It will be the end without an end. (Cp cit, p. 280)

This vision ends the book which of all Bea's books has possibly the most enduring value for a broader circle of readers, since it unifies all Council texts into a magnificent vision of the Church on earth and in heaven.

The Word of God and Mankind (1967) is a first-hand commentary on the Council doctrine of revelation. Bea, as chairman of the commission, participated actively in the formulation of the "Constitution on Divine Revelation". With this book on Holy Scripture, Bea returned to his original field of study. When he was professor and director of the Bible Institute, his first writings dealt with the doctrine of inspiration, the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Song of Songs. This book, as the author says in the preface, "is a sequel to the author's two previous books, The Way to Unity After the Council and The Church and Mankind. The connection is apparent in the titles, both books consider these questions from the point of view of mankind as a whole, and wish to be of service to all men .. It is an aspect of supreme importance because it forms the basis and starting point of all that the Church can offer in God's name to the human family, that is, the 'word' by means of which God has revealed himself to men, 'so that he may invite and take them into fellowship with himself'" (Introduction).

Here familiar thoughts on literary forms, the history of language forms, the doctrine of inspiration, the authenticity of the Gospels, are seen in broad perspective, certainly of great use and interest for the specialists.

Table of Contents A great treasure entrusted to mankind, God reveals himself, The history of Salvation before the coming of Christ, Christ the Mediator—the Fullness of Revelation, Man's response, Revelation handed on to all generations, Sacred Scripture, our inspired and infallible guide, The interpretation of Holy Scripture, The Old Testament, The New Testament, Holy Scripture in the life of the Church, God's kindness and love for men.



The conclusion is quoted

God has therefore not only bestowed divine gifts on man, but has also shown his great trust in him, offering him the opportunity to share with him in creating his own "divine" greatness—his temporal and eternal destiny. And it is not surprising that God should put such trust in man, for he had created and renewed him in his own image, he had made him in the likeness of his own Son and had sent his own divine Spirit into his own heart, to dwell therein as in his temple, to make him aware of his own divine sonship, to give him filial love for his heavenly Father, to guide him, to pray within his soul and to inspire him. Surely man, with all these gifts, was truly enabled to collaborate with Christ, the 'first-born among many brethren' (Rom 8 29), with the divine Spirit and with the heavenly Father himself, and all the more so as this collaboration is all illumined, inspired and permeated by the constant activity of Christ and of his Spirit in man, because of which a man can say with St. Paul "by the grace of God I am what I am" and again, about his own labors 'It was not I (who worked) but the grace of God which is with me' (I Cor 15 10)

So in the wonderful, truly divine gifts of eternal life which God offers to men and in the way in which he guides them so that they may accept them, are revealed the supreme goodness and wisdom of God and his kindness and great love for men. In revelation and in the fulfillment of the mystery of his purpose of salvation we see "the goodness and loving kindness of God in our saviour" (Titus 3.4). It is this love which leads God to make man a sharer in his own life and to honor him by enabling him to cooperate in the realization of divine glory and happiness. Therefore 'the Church constantly moves towards the fullness of divine truth until the words of God reach their complete fulfillment in her' (no 8). Why the Church strives towards this goal: sacred tradition and the sacred Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments are like a mirror in which the pilgrim Church on earth looks at God, from whom she has received everything, until she is brought finally to see him as he is, face to face (no 7) and so to live in perfect fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ (cf. no 1) in the Holy Spirit. Then his servants shall worship him, they shall see his face, and his ~~shall~~ ~~name~~ be on their foreheads, and night shall be no more, they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they shall reign forever and ever' (Rev 22 3-5). (Cp. cit., pp 309-310)

This book also concludes with a heavenly vision in the hope of an eschatological consummation.

Here the "Ecumenical Guidelines" which appeared on the fourteenth of May, 1967, must be mentioned. It is indeed not a personal work of Bea, but a work to which all ~~works~~ members and consultants of the Secretariat contributed

Signed by Cardinal Bea as the president of the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, it contains instructions for the implementation of the decisions of the Council on ecumenism.

In order to care (for the restoration of unity) more efficiently and to direct it properly, these guidelines for ecumenism were edited so that everything promulgated in the decrees of Vatican II might be practiced throughout the Catholic Church. All these shall be enacted in the spirit of the Church. The Holy See and the bishops must decide in which way these guidelines shall be applied to ecumenical activity. Since, however, this movement is a work of the Holy Spirit, the following regulations have the intention of serving the bishops in the realization of the Decree on ecumenism so that no obstacle will obstruct the intentions of Providence and that the plan of the Holy Spirit will not be anticipated".  
No reference

Then follow guidelines on the institution of ecumenical commissions, on the validity of baptism by officials of non-Catholic Churches, on the promotion of the ecumenical spirit in the Catholic Church, on common services (communicatio in spiritualibus), on intercommunion (communicatio in sacris).

The second part of the guidelines, dealing with ecumenical education, appeared in 1970, after Bea's death.

Five months before the Cardinal's death, the book Ecumenismo nel Concilio—tappe pubbliche di un sorprendente cammino (1968), i.e., Ecumenism in Focus, appeared. It is primarily a <sup>collection</sup> of dates and/speeches of the Pope, Cardinal and observers, as well as previously published articles which cover the progress of ecumenism in the Council from session to session. It is therefore a very useful reference book. However, since the same events are often reported several times, repetitions aggravate the reader. The numerous quotations of his own words have a somewhat painful effect, although Bea was, without doubt, one of the spokesmen of ecumenism in the Council.

In September 1968 the German edition of Zum Dienen Gerufen—Überlegungen zur Lehre des Konzils und der Schrift über das Dienen was published. (The Italian original was only later released.) Here Bea explores new territory.

Thus far no one had combined the notion of service, to which the Council documents occasionally refer, with a systematic presentation to develop a theology of service.

Bea had been occupied with the concept of service even before the Council (cf his lectures at the International Congress for Pastoral Liturgy in Assisi and at the Eucharistic Congress in Munich on the priest as "servant of the word and servant of the sacrament", his various articles on the theme "the priest as servant of unity"). It is also significant that on a memo he had written shortly before his death and placed in his prayer book was the resolution "to serve all people without differentiation". That was his concept of the priestly profession and office. His keywords (unity, freedom, mankind, service) are related, since the unity of the family of man can be established only through selfless service to the freedom of each.

In his book Zum Dienen Gerufen, he shows the role of the notion of service in the Council documents. It becomes obvious through See Chapman edition, p. 9. Quotation which follows, p. 8.

It is characteristic that Bea walks the middle path, trying to balance the extremes. The same is true of this book. In the chapter on "The Hierarchy Shall Serve—Not Be Served" he writes. pages corresponding to Chapman edition, pp. 41, 33, 46. in the German ed.

After Bea had spoken on the ministry of bishops and priests, he dealt more extensively with the ministry of the laity, because pages corresponding Chapman edition, to Ger. pp. 51, 63, 185, 72.

The Council did not deal with the topic of service systematically, but touched only upon certain aspects in different documents, in which the concept was applied to the various categories of the members of the Church. Therefore Bea attempted to represent the biblical bases of the doctrine of service in the second part of this book. He began with an analysis of the concept of the Prophet Isaiah, who described the Messiah as "servant of God".

Quotation from the Chapman edition, pages corresponding to the German edition pp. 105-106.

Bea now explained what it means to serve God See Chapman edition, pages corresponding to German edition, pp 115-116

What Bea said to the word of Paul, "Because you are justified through grace because of faith and not because of deeds (The translators strongly suspect that this is a misquotation of Rom. 21, although no reference is given.), sounds 'quite Protestant' and proves how much the languages of denominations become similar when used in the spirit of the Gospel. Quote See Chapman edition, pages corresponding to German edition, pp 138, 179.

It is remarkable that the book Zum Dienen Gerufen closes with the same words as Bea's book The word of God and Mankind Revelations of John 22 4f. Intentional or not, it is significant for Bea It shows that, preparing for death at age 87, he directs his view more and more toward heaven, where the just do not need light or sun because "God the Lord will give them light".

Death called the Cardinal home when he had completed only one half of his tenth book. A systematic collection of St Paul's quotations in the Council documents and with commentary, it was to be called Christ and Mankind.

Because

..possibly not many are conscious to what extent the Church in the Council learned from the Apostle Paul, and how much it was directed by his principles. His thoughts and his theology have become so familiar to us in the modern Bible movement that we do not think of their origin But it is the great Apostle Paul from whom these thoughts come, the principles of the Council cannot be separated from pauline theology The Constitution on the Church is something decisively new in that which it offers, completely formed by pauline ecclesiology . The same is true of ecumenical thought, the basis of which must also be sought in Paul. In general one can say that universality and open-mindedness are basically pauline attitudes ..

wrote Bea in the preface to the booklet "Von Christus Erfasst , which discusses the personality of the Apostle Paul and some aspects of his theology.

Paul was Bea's favorite New Testament author. In his first lectures as

Cardinal, Bea spoke on the occasion of the nineteen-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Paul in Rome. ( "Paul Seized by Christ," "Paul and Christian Freedom," "The Way of the Church in the World After St. Paul," "The Significance of St. Paul for Modern Man," etc. ) These speeches are reworked in various articles and booklets. The observant reader realizes that Bea is filled with St. Paul. In all his writings Bea refers to Paul and quotes him. Bea, who had made pauline language and piety his own, is similar to the apostle in his universality and open-mindedness, in his christocentricity, in his emphasis on grace and freedom, in the ministry of the membership in the mystical body of Christ, and finally in the joy of the glory of the children of God on earth and in the world to come.

### The Spiritual Diary

A few days after the death of the Cardinal, Father Schmidt, his private secretary and the executor of his last will and testament, was putting the deceased's estate in order when he found fifty-two small old notebooks in the last drawer of Bea's desk. In them Bea had accurately and thoroughly recorded the meditations he was accustomed to practice during his annual retreats. They begin in 1902 with the young novice on his first retreat in the <sup>seminary</sup> monastery. Even as Cardinal he observed the rule of the Jesuits to make an annual retreat of eight days. This was usually scheduled for August or the beginning of September—sometimes at home, but mostly in the Jesuit retreat house in Neuhausen and later in a cloister in Switzerland. It was out of need rather than habit that he made these retreats, which he called "days of grace." Although there was no <sup>obligation</sup> need to write down these reflections, he was thorough in all his undertakings. Apparently he enjoyed recording his thoughts, because he often underlined words and punctuated them with exclamation marks. In the course of the year he would



reread one part or another and ponder. Then he would date the meditation in the margin of the section. For each retreat he wrote the date and the place, using Roman numerals for the date and Arabic numbers for each paragraph or train of thought. Thus he made it easy for his future readers.

Besides these, Father Schmidt found another little booklet which Bea himself had cut and bound in an old envelope—another proof of his moving simplicity and modesty. On the first Sunday of each month he had noted in this booklet the intentions which he, as a good Jesuit, was accustomed to practice (recollectio mensilis).

With the exception of a recollectio which is written in old Gabelsberger shorthand, Father Schmidt could easily read Bea's notations because they were written very neatly, without corrections, as one learned to write in school in the last century. Even at 87 years of age, Bea possessed an amazingly beautiful, clear and even handwriting.

The further<sup>er</sup> Father Schmidt investigated his discovery, the more joyful<sup>and excited</sup> he became. He had enjoyed for twenty five years, as he says. See the Chapman edition of the diaries, p. 15., but Bea had never mentioned this diary or spoken of his religious feelings. Now he suddenly could see Diary, p. 456. To be sure Father Schmidt experienced with this diary. Diary (Chapman ed.), p. 332 and p. 16.

Father Schmidt did not find any instructions concerning the disposal of these booklets. Did Bea forget to destroy them or did he deliberately keep them for eventual publication? In any case, Bea certainly would have destroyed the notebooks if he had wanted to prevent their discovery and publication. Therefore Father Schmidt thought. Diary, p. 17.

Not all the diaries have been published, only those of the last ten years which are of special interest to a wider range of readers, because Bea had played a great role in the Council. These few notes have become a book of

nearly five hundred pages. Besides an introduction, Father Schmidt has written an "historical frames" for each chapter and added detailed footnotes to verify the innumerable Bible quotations and other reference to St. Ignatius, the liturgy and the Council documents. Quotation Diary, pp 30-31.

The last part of the book, a commentary of the editor, is equally important. Here he has collected and interpreted the different thoughts and remarks of Bea on certain issues, in order to characterize the "spiritual profile of the author". Quotation Diary, p 331

There is a remarkable parallel, even conformity, with Pope John, which extends to this point. Both kept a spiritual diary, discovered and published only after death. At first both diaries are a disappointment for those unacquainted with these persons. Both show a deep and true but simple and old-fashioned piety. They do not disclose the hidden recesses of their souls. They report neither dramatic crises of faith nor tragic conflicts of conscience, no new religious speculations, neither mystical ecstasies nor secret revelations which would have prepared them for their great historical roles. Quote Diary, 1963, VI, 3.

The great events of Church history in which both participated so greatly were not reflected in Bea's "Diary of a Cardinal" or Pope John's "Diary of a Soul". Whoever expects these events (the elevation to Cardinal, the foundation of the Secretariat, the Council, the Bishops Synod, the visits in Geneva and Constantinople) to be mirrored there, or commented upon, even though they filled Bea's last ten years, will be disappointed. It seems that the public life of Bea had no relation to his spiritual life. Cardinal Willebrands himself, in his preface to Bea's diary, expresses this amazing fact and tries to explain it, writing Diary, p. 11

Actually his retreats were exactly what might be expected from a man of

Bea's piety, education, and position His diaries are as modest and true, as kind and deeply spiritual as he himself was in his daily encounters. Therefore they are the proof of what he taught and lived his whole life, the mirror of his life, the certificate of his teaching. In that alone lies the significance of these diaries and their publication.

In his spiritual devotions Bea, as a good Jesuit, naturally followed the example of St. Ignatius. Quote Diary, p 22, declared Father Schmidt. The devotions of Ignatius began with a meditation on God as the aim of man and as the salvation of his soul, followed by reflection on creation which serves both goals, then one on the three sins—the sin of the angels, original sin and actual sin; on hell, and often on death and the Last Judgment After that, he meditated on the life and sufferings of Jesus, on his Kingdom and on his imitatio through the three degrees of poverty insult, dishonor and humility. Mostly he added a meditation on the Mother of God and on the special duties of his position, in order to arrive at the awakening of perfect love for God.

The first diaries published by Father Schmidt were written at the end of August 1959 about three months before Bea's elevation to Cardinal. Father Schmidt has included them because Bea, as Father Schmidt explains, lived through the first year of his Cardinalate on the spiritual force he had acquired in these retreats, and because they characterize Bea's attitude shortly before his step into the public eye. At that time Bea thought he could await death quietly Quote Diary 1959, II, 4

Bea wished nothing more than the quiet life of retirement according to the example of the hidden but industrious life of Jesus in Nazareth Quote Diary 1959, IV, 1.

Yet even at this age, Bea possessed this open-mindedness for all concerns of the world, this continual longing for greater progress and an eagerness to learn more Quote Diary 1968, I, 4.

The next entries in his diary were made in August 1960 during his retreat. Eight months had passed since his elevation to Cardinal, three since the foundation of the Secretariat. Now Bea set up the religious program for his cardinalate. Quote Diary 1960, II, 3.

Despite the events of the previous year which completely changed his lifestyle and his duties, the style of the devotions remained the same, as though nothing had happened, as though he had not been elevated from a simple man of order to a "Church dignitary," equal to the Pope, kings, and heads of state. Only because he always speaks of his duties as Cardinal and exhorts himself to simplicity and modesty, does it appear that the author is not an average pious priest but elected. Diary 1963, V, 2 and 1959, IV, 4.

Meditating on the temptations of Christ in the desert he writes Diary 1960, V, 2.

In the same way the call to holiness in the eight Beatitudes gave him an occasion to look at his program as Cardinal again. Diary 1962, V, 4.

His devotions always begin with the contemplation of God as origin and goal, as creator and source of all grace. Quote Diary 1959, II, 1, 1964, I, 1, 1961, I, 1, 1964, VIII, 4, 1966, I, 2, 1964, I, 1

That sounds like the overzealous piety of a novice. The amazing fact is that Bea, even in his old age, wrote with such an energy and such devotion. Father Schmidt points to the fact that no word is found more often in the diaries than "love". It is not a sentimental love, but an intentional love of the mind and will. Quote Diary 1965, V, 4, 1959, I, 4, 1960, VIII, 3.

Another "Leitmotiv" in the diaries of Bea is grace. Diary 1959, I, 2, 1964, II, 4, 1965, III, 4.

This frequent emphasis on the undeserved grace of God should please the Protestant reader. The many expressions of his love for Christ and of his completely personal relationship to Christ (whom he always called his "Saviour")

would allow the unsuspecting reader to guess that the author is a Protestant pastor and not a prelate of the Roman Church. These expressions of Christ also show that Protestant and Catholic piety meet in the heart/and his followers.

Quote Diary 1959, IV, 4

Bea's Christ-devotion, however, is not individualistic or disassociated from other relationships, but it works within the Church founded by Christ, through its sacraments and in its order Diary 1961, VIII, 3, 1964, VIII, 2.

When Bea speaks of the primacy and hierarchy in this way, he is recognized as a Roman. This unconditional allegiance to the Pope belongs to his office and being. But : Diary, 1964, III, 1.

And Diary 1968, V, 2

This openness of the Church to the world and an understanding of the world is a demand which he <sup>makes</sup> expresses several times Diary 1965, IV, 1.

On the other hand, he attempts to fight the spirit of the time which is wrong Diary 1968, IV, 1 and electio, 1968, op cit, p 318.

The diaries also show a little-known side of Bea his prayer. Despite his superhuman workload, his many interests, and his great obligations, and despite his age, he still found the time and energy to dedicate three and a half hours a day to prayer, the dialogue of his soul with God. His ideal was to be a 'praying Cardinal' Quote Diary 1964, III, 4, 1965, III, 3.

Therefore Bea always emphasizes what the Mass means to him Diary 1960, VI, 4.

The last retreats end with the intention to cultivate special devotion to the Holy Spirit, to the Eucharistic Saviour and to the Mother of God.

Mary, the "first and most noble co-worker of the Saviour," is also Bea's great example and his intercessor. Quote Diary 1960, VII, 4.

From sin ("which is a power in my/also, so that I am really a restrained heart



sinner"), he turns to the Last Judgment, which will be especially difficult for him, because Diary 1962, III, 1

Quote Diary 1964, III, 3. On the contrary, he always reminds himself not to be mediocre, not to live like a "worldly prelate" and in the "satisfied middle-class," because Diary—rec. mens., 17, IX, 1967

Bea was by no means mediocre. He did not want to be mediocre, he wanted to be a saint and even an "example of holiness" Until his last breath he worked toward this ambition. Quote Diary 1968, I, 4, 1962, V, 4, 1963, VI, 4.

If he has reached this goal (i.e., to be "an excellent model of holiness") only God knows.

In the personal prayerbook of the Cardinal, Father Schmidt also found a slip of paper dated September 29, 1968, seven week's before Bea's death, possibly during his last day of contemplation (cf. Diario, op cit, pp. 319-320). On this slip Bea's last intentions are written

- 1) To do the will of God according to the situation,
- 2) To pray from the heart (Holy Mass, visitations),
- 3) To serve all without differentiation,
- 4) To try to bring joy to all.

These intentions sound so simple and modest, like those of a novice. They disclose that Bea, despite his position and fame, remained in his heart as he had been sixty-six years before, when he had begun the diary In this possibly his greatest greatness lies.

## CHAPTER VII

The Last Year of His Life

The last 'year' of the Cardinal's life began on the sixteenth of July, not twelve but sixteen months before his death. He stood at his grave to give the third burial sermon for his parents (The first, on November 21, 1912, had been for his father, who had been too ill to participate in the procession for his son's first Mass. Bea's mother died six years later and was buried on the twelfth of February 1918. Bea had attended her as she died )

Now the coffins were brought from the cemetery into the Church, where tombs for Bea and his parents had been prepared in the presbyterium. The priest and mayor of Riedböhringen had asked the Cardinal to have his grave in his hometown. Bea agreed, as he explained in his remarkable burial speech

Because I am sure that there will be more prayers for me over a grave in my hometown than in the large Roman cemetery where some Cardinals are buried in tombs that are usually closed. But I have set one condition that my family grave be built and that in this tomb the remains of my parents be reburied. This condition was accepted with pleasure and thus the tomb on which we stand today has been built. I naturally had to ask the Holy Father to permit my interment here, which he did on the condition that the occasion would be a long time in coming. But that we shall leave to God to decide. Now you will ask why I wanted to be buried with my parents,

the Cardinal continued, explaining to the community what his parents meant to him, what they had given to him, that his house was really a "church" in which the praise of God was proclaimed and the word of God taught. It was moving to see this famous Church dignitary, who, at 86, once more delivered a memorial speech for his parents, modest, uneducated peasants.

That winter he spent writing in Rome. During the "Chair of Unity Octave" he celebrated Mass in the Church Del Gesù on the day dedicated to Lutherans

(January 22), as every year

In March 1968, the Apostolic Constitution, Regimini ecclesiae, was enacted to begin the reform of the Curia. Since the Secretariat had become a curial office two years before, this reform applied also to Bea's department. To be sure, it did not involve a change in personnel but referred only to their titles and to regulations concerning working hours, the positions of the employed, clothing, etc. Monsignor Arrighi and Father Duprey received the status of "delegatus" but retained the title undersecretary. A "Secretarius Adjunctus" was created: the Belgian Dominican, Jérôme Hamer (who, after the death of Bea, became secretary, when the former secretary, Bishop Willebrands, was elected Cardinal and named president of the Secretariat in March 1969). At that time the rumor spread that Bea would resign from his office as president or be dismissed by the Pope. In fact, Bea was far beyond the age of service defined by the Apostolic Constitution, although this document does not apply to Cardinals of the Curia. Then the rumor circulated that the Pope would allow him to stay in office, since Bea had built up the Secretariat and was so personally involved with it. Until his serious illness in the summer of 1968, Bea participated in the annual meetings of the Secretariat with all its members and consultants, as well as in the bi-monthly sessions ("Congressi") of the Secretariat staff. He was a chairman with amazing circumspection, attentiveness and patience. However, when the discussion involved new topics and arguments, Bea obviously had difficulties to follow them. When Willebrands congratulated Bea on his <sup>eighty</sup>eighty-fifth birthday in 1966, wishing him another ~~eighty~~-five years, Bea retorted:

Then I would no longer be able to understand the ideas and spirit of the new generation.

Bishop Willebrands argued: "But Your Eminence understands the present generation very well." Bea replied: "But you have no idea how much it costs me to follow the problems and difficulties of the present generation." This confession

shows his openness and sensibility, his effort to understand new ideas, and his longing to keep pace with spiritual trends, evident in his diaries (cf. Osservatore Romano, Vatican, 17 November 1968)

Bea appeared in public for the last time on June 28, 1968. In the press room of the Holy Office, where he had addressed the journalists many times, he presented a book he had published at the request of the Holy Father on the occasion of the 1900th anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter. Bea addressed the journalists as "dear friends." They were his friends; no other Cardinal had received such favorable press coverage.

Today I speak to you not as the ecumenist, nor as the president of the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, on the contrary, I am happy that after such a long time I appear as in former times, as a Biblical scientist. Today I would like to present an important book to you: the edition of the two epistles of St. Peter in the oldest text we have..

He referred to the papyrus P 74 named Bodmer VIII for its owner. Written in Greek for the private use of a Christian in Egypt in the third century, this manuscript is the oldest existing. It proves that already in the third century the second epistle of St. Peter (as well as the first) was regarded as Holy Scripture, a fact often doubted by scientists! This manuscript shows an amazing conformity with later manuscripts and with the Latin Vulgate, which indicates the reliability of the Bible used in today's Church. This edition in two volumes with an extensive appendix of text criticism shall not only honor the memory of St. Peter, but also give scientists the opportunity to compare this text with others by means of photographic reproduction and to augment their knowledge about the oldest tradition of scripture, as Bea explained. Bea seemed to feel quite comfortable in the role of the scholar, he was happy to return to his original field, biblical science.

To the Fourth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (July 4-20, 1968) Bea sent fifteen observers in the name of the Secretariat, with a long address in which, despite his eighty-seven years, he spoke with youthful energy

of the "dynamics of Christian hope based on the conversion of hearts and on the rejuvenation of institutions .

He spent his vacation in Menzingen, Switzerland, where he made his last retreat. From there he made a trip to his homeland. Even the Federal Chancellor of that time, Dr. Kiesinger, came to Paderborn to pay a personal visit to the Cardinal. when Bea/bid farewell to his niece Rosa, who was almost as weak with age as he was, he said consolingly, "I hope we meet again next year, but when one is eighty-seven years old a year passes very slowly."

Bea celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the vows of his order on August 18 with the Sisters of Menzingen. His faithful private secretary, assistant and travel companion, Father Schmidt delivered a beautiful speech. A letter of congratulations from the Pope was read. Bea answered with a telegram which said, in part "We have prayed especially that the new encyclical be accepted by all people in the Church with humble faith and great trust in God." The reference is to Humanae Vitae, with which Bea agreed completely. But he saw with anxiety that far from all Catholics would share his agreement. Therefore his wish and prayer was that it might be accepted "humbly and faithfully".

Shortly after that, on the twenty-fifth of August, the anniversary of his ordination, he became ill with a lung oedema and was taken in the Bürgerspital in Zug. But he recovered enough to fly back to Rome on the twelfth of November, accompanied by his private physician and secretary. He continued work on several articles which dealt with his greatest concern, the word of God (La "Dei Verbum" nel Concilio, in Il Riformatore spirituale, Trento, November 1968), and on a broadcast feature "Das Bibelrundsprechen Divino Afflante Spiritu und seine Bedeutung im Lichte der vergangenen 25 Jahre". The latter he read over Radio Vatican on September 20, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the encyclical's publication, to which he contributed personally. On Mission Sunday, the twentieth of October he gave an interview to the periodical Mission in Nürnberg on the question



"Have the Mission; a Right to Exist Today?".

Bea, however, had begun to feel weak. In the middle of October he came down with influenza. The fever came and went. Finally it was decided to bring him to the hospital in the Villa Stuart in Rome, where his personal physician, his secretary and the nurses took care of him day and night. Bea was not able to take part in the General Assembly of the Secretariat (November 4-16). He could only send a written address

The task is to proceed decisively but with prudence. Only thus can a movement be influenced and directed. Damming brings the danger of a development which overflows into error. Let us listen to the exhortation of St. John which the Pope took as the theme of his speech in St. Peter's Cathedral when he received the Patriarch Athenagoras "Whoever has ears, listen what the Spirit says to the Churches". No reference.

This exhortation sums up the complete wisdom of Bea's life. One shall be prudent and careful, but courageous and attentive to the Holy Spirit.

When the participants of the general assembly were received by the Pope, in a special audience on the thirteenth of November, he expressed regret at the absence and indisposition of the Cardinal. The world listened attentively and anxiously.

Soon pneumonia and a heart attack weakened his condition. Slowly one organ after another ceased to function. When there was no longer hope, the Pope was informed. At once, on the morning of the fourteenth of November, he came to bid farewell to the critically-ill Cardinal privately. Later others were admitted. All prayed the Our Father and the Hail Mary. At the end, the Holy Father kissed Bea's forehead, blessing him and giving him absolution. Both seemed to be very moved as Father Schmidt reported in his circular letter to all friends, in which all the details of the last days and of the interment are recorded. All members of the Secretariat, the General of the Jesuit Order, and several Cardinals came on the fourteenth and fifteenth of November to bid

farewell to Bea. To Bishop Willebrands, he said with his last strength, "I am infinitely grateful". He really could be, because seldom is a life and work blessed by so much grace and crowned with such success.

At midnight when the hospital matron on watch asked Bea how he felt, he answered in a completely subdued and humble manner "I am dying" Brother Burth brought the old prayer book of the Cardinal, in which there were several hand-written notes with his favorite prayers. These were prayed by all present until the Cardinal drew his last breath. On Saturday morning, November 16, 1968, at 2 37 a m , he "expired like a candle," as Father Schmidt said. He later explained that Bea always had wished a quick and quiet death. If he was unable to work, then Bea did not want to be a burden but rather to "disappear".

The corpse was dressed in the pontifical violet robe with mitra and laid out in a room of the clinic, surrounded with candles and flowers. In the same room there was an altar on which for three days Masses for the dead were celebrated. Men of all positions, countries and languages were there to see their Cardinal. It was apparent how "ecumenically" (in the real sense of the word), how universally Cardinal Bea had worked and was now honored.

On Monday afternoon the coffin was closed. Father Schmidt explains the special ceremony for Cardinals.

One of the Apostolic Protonotaries<sup>?</sup> is instructed to write a document with the life and work of the deceased. This is read, signed by those present, put into a tin box and placed in the coffin. Then the Secretary has the sad duty of covering the face of the deceased with the chalice cloth of the same color as the deceased's vestment. No reference.

In the pouring rain the coffin was brought to St. Peter's Cathedral.

Here on the following morning (November 19) at ten o'clock, the Requiem was held in the right transept, where once the first Vatican Council had met. Until now it was customary that the coffin of a cardinal lay on a high catafalque covered with black velvet and surrounded with one hundred candles. These candles

had to be purchased by the Cardinals at their creation, since most became Cardinal at a rather advanced age and they died within a short while. He actually deserves a refund, because in his case, for the first time, it was decided (by Monsignor Arrighi of the Secretariat and Monsignor Bugnini of the Liturgical <sup>Commission</sup> Council, with the permission of the Pope) to eliminate these candles and to place the brown wooden coffin on the floor, as a sign of penance and humility. Everyone was shocked to see this undecorated wooden coffin on the carpet. But this also was very impressive. At the foot of <sup>lay</sup> the coffin/the "galero rosso"; the great red hat of the Cardinal, received on December 17, 1969 from Pope John in St. Peter's Cathedral. It was the only indication that in this coffin a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church would be buried. At the head of the coffin stood a single candle—a paschal candle. This was doubly meaningful: the candle is the symbol of the resurrection of Christ and of all who believe in him, but it also had a special significance because Bea, as consultant for the Congregation of Rites, had participated in the reform of the Easter Liturgy, which began the complete liturgical <sup>renewal</sup> reform. The vestments were not black but violet, the benches were not covered in the usual black. The celebration did not have the appearance of a funeral service.

Bea's significance for the Ecumene can be seen from the non-Catholic mourners. His friend and colleague, the former secretary general of the World Council of Churches, Visser't Hooft, had come from Geneva. The Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople sent the Metropolitan Meliton to represent him in Rome, the patriarchate in Moscow sent Bishop Vladimir von Zveringorod with two arch-priests. Canon Findlow, the personal representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was present, as well as the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Allison. Representing the Lutheran World Union, the associate secretary general, Dr. Karl Mau was in attendance. For the American Jewish Committee, the European representative was present. Naturally the prior of Taizé, Roger Schutz, whose

white robes always belong to ecumenical festivities in Rome, could not be absent either. Even a woman was among the guests, Mrs. Roberts Dodda, who represented the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, in her husband's place.

All these representatives of non-Catholic Churches and communities were received by the Pope in a private audience after the funeral service. It was surprising that the Pope himself did not participate in the Mass, and that the ceremony at the coffin was conducted by Cardinal Aloysi Massella, Chamberlain of the Holy Church. But the participation of the Pope is not provided for by protocol, because, as it was explained, too many Cardinals die in Rome ('). Well, after all, Cardinal Bea was not one of the many

The cars of the German Embassy at the Vatican, of the Secretariat and of the Brazilian College accompanied the hearse to the city limits. It was a melancholy sight. It seemed that the spirit of Bea, together with the funeral procession, would leave the Eternal City forever. Outside Rome, only the car of the "Cardinal family" followed (with Father Schmidt, Brother Burth, and Monsignor Arrighi of the Secretariat). In the study center of the Jesuits in Gallarate, north of Milan, they spent the night. The Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, G. Colombo, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Turin, I. Pellegrino, arrived to pray at the coffin and to celebrate Mass. On the next morning, they drove via the Gotthard Pass to Ingenbohl to the Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross, who were indebted to the Cardinal, since he had been the official representative at the process of beatification for the foundress of their community, Teresia Scherer, and her sister, Ulrike Nisch. From there they travelled to the Mother House of the Sisters of Menzingen where Bea, three months before, had celebrated the anniversary of his vows. Around seven p.m. the funeral procession crossed the German-Swiss border to which the relatives

of the deceased came ~~There they had always come to meet Bea when he~~  
~~this they had always done when Bea visited his~~  
hometown. With a police escort, the funeral procession arrived in Ried-  
bohringen at 7 30 p m . There it was met by the mayor and the parish priest  
with the whole community A guard of honor stood day and night at the coffin  
until the solemn pontifical requiem on Friday afternoon, November 22, 1968  
The Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Freiburg, Dr H Schaufele,  
assisted by the parish priest and the Dominican Odilo Kaiser, a distant rela-  
tive of the Cardinal. The memorial addresses were given by Cardinal Jaeger,  
Archbishop of Paderborn, and by Bishop Willebrands, Secretary of the Secretariat  
for Unity, who within a short time would become Bea's successor. Professor  
Edmund Schlink from Heidelberg, an observer-delegate of the Protestant Church  
in Germany at the Second Vatican Council, knew Bea well and wished to speak in  
the name of the Protestant Church Unfortunately, through an oversight, he  
did not have the opportunity Cardinal Döpfner appeared as president of the  
German Bishops Conference, Minister Krone as representative of the Federal  
Chancellor, and Minister Gleitsch as representative of the state Baden-  
Wuerttemberg The gratefulness of the Jews for what Bea had done in the Council  
to improve relations with the Jewish people, can be seen in the presence of the  
rabbi of Karlsruhe The crowd of clergy, former colleagues, school friends and  
neighbors could not find a place in the small parish church In quiet prayer  
they filed pass<sup>t</sup>~~ed~~ the tomb in which the coffin was placed after the Mass. This  
tomb has been sealed with a bronze plaque with his crest. Its inscripti<sup>n</sup> was  
chosen by the Cardinal " whatever you are doing, whether you speak or act, do  
everything in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Col 3 17) Below it was written  
"May they all be one as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee...that the  
world may believe"(John 17 21).

Augustin Bea  
Born May 23, 1881, in Riedbohringen  
Died November 16, 1968 in Rome  
Member of the Society of Jesus  
Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church



## EPILOGUE

With the interment of Cardinal Bea <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~/biography is actually ended. But yet we wish to add a word. Certainly Bea was unique. This combination of warm humanity, great scholarship and deep piety, which distinguished him, demonstrated that the unity he preached was incorporated in his person, and that he, therefore, was the Symbol of Unity. Bea possessed the spirit of an Old Testament prophet, the courage of a young pioneer, the temperance of a sage, the humility of a saint, and the joy of a child of God. In short, to say it with the words of Pope John XXIII, he was a "special gift of God"—not only to him (Pope John) but to all Christianity.

But we also have to admit that Bea's time has passed. Neither the Council nor the ecumenical movement are sensational any longer, but the daily spiritual air which the Christian breathes. Therefore a purple standard bearer such as Cardinal Bea is no longer needed. But the movement <sup>initiated</sup> he has started in the Catholic Church will continue to grow according to its inner dynamics. His spirit will live through his disciples and writings, and in his Secretariat. His memory will live in his hometown Riedbohringen with his tomb and the Cardinal Bea Museum, in the places, schools and institutes which are named after him, in the "Cardinal Bea Award for the Promotion of the Progress of Human Society and Especially Peace" granted every other year by the International Foundation humanum, and in the books written about him—beginning with this first modest biography.

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## Important Dates in the Life of Cardinal Bea

1881	May 28 Born in Heubohringen (Baden, Germany)
1888-93	Attended Grammar School in Heubohringen
1893-1900	Attended Lendersche Realschule in Sasbach
1900-02	Studied Theology for Three Semesters in Freiburg, Germany
1902	April 6 Entered the Society of Jesus in Blyenbeek, Holland
1902-04	Novitiate
1904-07	Studied Philosophy at Ignatiuskolleg in Valkenburg, Holland
1907-10	Teacher at the Jesuit College in Bittard, Holland
1910	Studied Classical Philology for one Semester in Innsbruck
1910-12	Studied Theology in Valkenburg
1912	August 25 Priestly Consecration in Valkenburg
1913	Doctor of Theology, Studied Eastern Literature in Berlin for the Summer Semester
1913-14	"Tertiat" in Valkenburg
1914-17	Superior of the Jesuit House in Vienne
1917-21	Professor of Old Testament and Prefect of Studies in Valenbourg
1921-24	Provincial of the Oberdeutsche Jesuit Province in Munich
1924-28	Superior of the Jesuit House of Doctoral Scholars in Rome and Professor of Biblical Theology at the Gregoriana
1924-59	Professor of Old Testament at the Bible Institute
1929	Tour to Japan via Russia and the Orient
1930-49	Rector of the Bible Institute
1945-59	Confessor of Pius XII
1949-59	Consultant of the Holy Office
1959	December 14 Elevation to Cardinal Deacon with the title of San Saba
1960	June 6 Nomination as President of the Secretariat for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians in Preparation of Vatican II

- 1960-62 Lecture Tours in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, Austria
- 1960 December 2 Archbishop Fisher of Canterbury in Rome
- 1962 April 19 Consecration as Titular Archbishop of Germania in Auxidia
- 1962 August 5 visit to Archbishops Ramsey in London  
October 11- December 8 First Period of the Council
- 1963 Lecture Tours in Denmark, United States (Harvard), Germany,  
June 19-21 Conclave  
September 19-December 4 Second Period of the Council
- 1964 Lecture Tours in Italy, Germany, Portugal (Fatima), Spain, United States,  
September 1- October 21 Third Period of the Council,  
September 20-26 Inquiries and Actions
- 1965 February 10 to the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Geneva,  
April 2-5 Visit to Patriarch Athenagoras in Constantinople,  
Fourth and Last trip to America (Philadelphia),  
September 14-December 8 Fourth Period of the Council,  
December Revocation of the Edicts of Excommunication between Rome and Constantinople
- 1966 March 23-25 Visit of Archbishop Ramsey of Canterbury in Rome  
September 25 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade in Frankfurt
- 1967 September 29-October 2 First Bishops Synod
- 1968 November 16 Died in Rome  
November 21 Buried in Friedbohringen

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