

LITURGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL BY A FORGOTTEN CATHOLIC

The Old Catholic Observer's Perspective on the Liturgical Developments at the Second Vatican Council

Introduction

Liturgy played a very important role at the Second Vatican Council, as it expressed the council's direction, both in terms of ecclesiology and in terms of ecumenism, as well as in general.¹ Liturgy was also the topic of the council's first constitution, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December 1963); the document led to some of the most visible changes in ecclesial life following the council, and, because it was produced so early on in the council, it provided a point of reference for further discussions.² Observers,

* I am grateful to Mrs. S.C. Smit-Maan, IJmuiden, for preserving the personal papers of P.J. Maan, on which this paper is based, and for granting me access to them. Thanks are also due to the anonymous reviewers of *Questions Liturgiques*, who suggested a number of improvements, and to Mrs. S.G. Geerlof-van de Zande, who was kind enough to correct my English, and to the Rev. Ole van Dongen, MA, who offered many suggestions concerning style and content.

1. See for sketches of the debate at large, on which much has been written: Mathijs Lamberigts, "The Liturgy Debate at Vatican II: An Exercise in Collective Responsibility," *Questions Liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy* 95 (2014) 52-67, and Maria Paiano, "Sacrosanctum Concilium: La costituzione sulla liturgia del Concilio Vaticano II sotto il profilo storico," in *Rileggere il Concilio: Storici e teologi a confronto*, ed. P. Chenaux – N. Bauquet (Città del Vaticano: Lateran University, 2012) 9-40. On the liturgical life of the council, in particular on the daily Eucharist: Peter De Mey, "The Daily Eucharist at the Council as Stimulus and Test Case for Liturgical Reform," *Questions Liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy* 95 (2014) 28-51.

2. See, e.g., the comments of Louis van Tongeren, "Liturgical Renewal Never Ends," in *Vatican II and Its Legacy*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts – Leo Kenis (Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 2002) 365-384, noting that "The most outstanding impact of Vatican II on the life of the church in the last decades is evidenced in the liturgy" (365).

especially when they were from “liturgical” traditions themselves,³ were often keenly aware of this and commented on both the council’s liturgical life, which had a paradigmatic value,⁴ its discussions and decisions about liturgical matters, as well as on their own liturgical participation. In this essay, an initial exploration of the comments on these matters of an often overlooked observer, the one representing the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht,⁵ Prof. Peter J. Maan (1913-1993; Professor of New Testament at the Old Catholic Seminary in Amersfoort, rector of the Cathedral of St. Gertrud, Utrecht, The Netherlands), and his two substitutes, Prof. Werner Küppers (1905-1980; Professor of Old Catholic Theology at the University of Bonn),⁶ and Fr. Herwig Aldenhoven (1933-2002; vicar of the Old Catholic parish of Obermumpf-Wallbach, Switzerland),⁷ who would become an influential liturgical scholar himself,⁸ later on. In order

3. See, e.g., the contribution of Massey Shepherd: “The Liturgy,” in *The Second Vatican Council: Studies by Eight Anglican Observers*, ed. Bernard C. Pawley (Oxford: Oxford University, 1967) 158-164, as well as the various remarks quoted by De Mey, “Eucharist.”

4. See: De Mey, “Eucharist.”

5. See, e.g., De Mey, “Eucharist,” but also recent studies such as those by Washington Christopher Thomas, *The Participation of Non-Catholic Christian Observers, Guests, and Fraternal Delegates at the Second Vatican Council and Synods of Bishops* (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2015) 92, 103, and Mauro Velati, *Separati ma fratelli: Gli osservatori non cattolici al Vaticano II (1962-1965)* (Bologna: Mulino, 2014), mentions the published reports and an incidental intervention of the Old Catholic observer (Maan) and his substitutes (Küppers and Aldenhoven), but only once in relation to the liturgy: on 147, he notes that the Old Catholic observer recognized that the draft for the council’s constitution on the liturgy contained elements that would be in agreement with the Old Catholic tradition. Lack of access to the (unpublished) papers of this observer and his substitutes might be a partial explanation, although all three men did publish reviews of and reports on the council as well.

6. On him, see, e.g., Mattijs Ploeger, *Celebrating Church: Ecumenical Contributions to a Liturgical Ecclesiology*, Netherlands Studies in Ritual and Liturgy, 7 (Tilburg – Groningen: Liturgisch Instituut – Instituut voor Liturgiewetenschap, 2008) 195-199.

7. On him, see, e.g., Ploeger, *Celebrating*, 215-223. See on Aldenhoven’s view of the council also his review: Herwig Aldenhoven, “Was bedeutet das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil für uns Alt-Katholiken?,” in *Was bedeutet das zweite Vatikanische Konzil für uns?*, ed. Werner Schatz (Basel: Reinhardt, 1966) 97-136.

8. For a general study of these observers, see Peter-Ben Smit, “Oud-katholieke waarnemers op het Tweede Vaticaanse Concilie (1962-1965),” *Trajecta* 22 (2013) 29-56. Here, it is also noted that the Old Catholic observer and his substitute needed to take an effort to make clear that they did not belong in the box of Western and therefore Protestant observers, but were, in fact, observers from (another) Western catholic church. – On the invitation of an Old Catholic observer, see also: Velati, *Fratelli*, 96, concerning the diplomacy between the secretary of the Pontifical Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Johannes Willebrands, and the Old Catholic vicar Marinus Kok (The Hague). For the preparations of the ecumenical dimension of the council in general, see: idem, *Dialogo e Rinnovamento. verbali e testi del segretariato per l’unità dei cristiani nella preparazione del Concilio Vaticano II, 1960-1962* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011).

to do so, their comments on, consecutively, the council's liturgical celebrations, its liturgical decisions, and their own liturgical life, will be surveyed thus paving the way for a number of systematizing observations, which will also form this essay's conclusion. In doing so, the essay is contributing to the ecumenical history of the Second Vatican Council, and outlining how precisely its liturgy was perceived by observers from a church that followed a rite very close to the Latin rite within the Roman Catholic Church.⁹ The main source that will be used for this purpose consists of the personal papers of the leading observer, Prof. Maan. These papers contain his letters to the Old Catholic International Bishops' Conference (IBC), usually to its president, archbishop Andreas Rinkel of Utrecht,¹⁰ and to his family, while they also include copies of the reports by Küppers and Aldenhoven, and collected newspaper clippings, largely of contributions by Maan himself.¹¹ They permit a view at the observers' experience of the council's entire course, but are also somewhat fragmentary in character, which is due to their occasional nature. Nonetheless, it may be assumed that what they entail is representative. The relevance of all of this – and the observers' interest in it – is well expressed in Maan's own words (the translation is, on all subsequent occasions, provided by the author):

Whenever liturgical matters are being discussed in our church, everyone is happy to participate in the discussion. Here in Rome, it is no different. I do not reveal a secret, when I say that we've already heard sixty speakers on the subject and the series of speakers has not been exhausted yet. You will also understand that the observers gain excellent insight into all the considerations and developments that are going on in the Church of Rome in this respect.¹²

9. On the development of the liturgy of the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands, see, e.g. the studies collected in: Koenraad Ouwens – Adrie Paasen (eds.), *Liturgievernieuwing in de Oud-Katholieke Kerk* (Amersfoort: Stichting Centraal Oud-Katholiek Boekhuis, 1999), as well as Wietse van der Velde: "Maria in der liturgisch-devotionellen Praxis der niederländischen altkatholischen Kirche von 1900 bis heute," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 99 (2009) 67-81.

10. On whom, see, e.g., Peter-Ben Smit, "Recht doen aan jezelf en de ander: Aartsbischop Andreas Rinkel en oecumenische theologische vernieuwing binnen de Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland," *Trajecta* 23 (2014) 201-218.

11. The papers of Prof. Maan are in private possession and contained in a set of sequentially numbered folders, to which reference is made as "Maan papers 1-5." As always, I am grateful to Mrs. S.C. ("Fiete") Smit-Maan, IJmuiden, for having carefully preserved the papers of Prof. Peter J. Maan, her father, and granting me access to them, as well as for supplying additional information on a number of details. During the council's third period, she also visited her father at the council, together with one of her younger sisters.

12. P.J. Maan, "Brieven uit Rome II," *De Oud-Katholiek* 78:2129 (10 November 1962) 213: "Als het in onze kerk over de liturgie gaat, praat iedereen graag mee, en het gaat hier in Rome al niet anders toe. Ik verklap geen geheim als ik zeg, dat we al zestig sprekers over dit onderwerp gehoord hebben en de reeks is nog niet ten einde. Ge begrijpt ook dat de

As this paper focuses on the perspective of the Old Catholic observer and his substitutes, this paper does not contain much detail on the general liturgical life of the Second Vatican Council, or cross references to reports by other observers, council fathers, their theological experts, or council staff. For the same reason, references to literature dealing with these subjects in general – and not with the perspective of the Old Catholic observer and his substitutes – have remained relatively limited.

Observations on the Council's Liturgical Celebrations

The Council, itself officially “celebrated,” had a rich liturgical life, into which study has been done before.¹³ What is at stake here, is what the Old Catholic observer and his substitutes thought and wrote about the appertaining services, rather than these services as such.¹⁴

A first instance that is of liturgical relevance, given the liturgical character of the council itself, when taking its documents at face value, is the place that the observers received at the council meetings. Though they were originally intended to literally take a back seat, at the request of Pope John XXIII, they were seated differently and much more prominently. Maan is informed of this after his travels to Rome,¹⁵ and reports about it in his very first letter to his bishop, dated 11 October 1962, voicing his general impression as well:

Das Konzil ist nicht grossartig organisiert und wird wahrscheinlich erst langsam in Bewegung kommen. So erhielten wir (und nicht die Beobachter allein) erst Mittwoch die Schemata Constitutionum et Decretorum. Unsere Glaubensbriefe waren erst Donnerstag kurz vor dem Eröffnungsgottesdienst bereitgestellt.

waarnemers hierdoor een uitstekend inzicht krijgen in alle gedachten en bewegingen, die er in dit opzicht in de kerk van Rome leven.” – See on this subject also the report “Het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie,” *De Oud-Katholiek* 78:2129 (10 November 1962) 212.

13. See De Mey, “Eucharist,” and the references in that contribution.

14. Another topic would be the choreography of other gatherings, such as meetings of the observers with the pope; John XXIII received the observers at the beginning of the council, seated on a throne, but on something simpler, and greeted all observers personally, which is recounted with much warmth by Maan. See: P.J. Maan, “1. Bericht des altkatholischen Beobachters über das Vatikanum II,” *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 52 (1962) 278-282, 280, see also Velati, *Fratelli*, 129.

15. Maan had enjoyed a good journey by way of Switzerland, the country of origin of his wife, where he visited his sister-in-law; in Rome, he was met by a key Anglican observer, the bishop of Ripon, John Moorman, see: Maan-Family, 10/10/1962 (Maan papers 4).

Ein Journalist hat mir am Mittwoch erzählt, dass in letzter Minute die Plätze der Beobachter geändert waren. Wir sassen erst am Ende des Mittelschiffes. Jetzt hatte der Papst angeordnet: wir sollten ihm so nah als möglich sitzen. So sassen wir in der Tat auf Schemeln in nächster Nähe der Konfessio.¹⁶

Maan is not entirely clear as to what course the council will take, given that many factors contribute to its development; his reference to the pope's address in the council's opening service as a relatively vague statement is expressive of this.¹⁷ Quite soon after these first remarks on the (liturgical) order of the council, Maan again mentions liturgical matters again. Having narrated how the first *congregatio generalis* was cut short in order to give the council fathers opportunity for consultation within country groups of episcopal conferences with an eye to the elections to the council's ten commissions,¹⁸ he comments on the votive Mass for the Holy Spirit at the council's start,¹⁹ during which the participating bishops spoke the various liturgical responses in an audible way and audibly prayed the Lord's Prayer together with the presider, the archbishop of Florence (Ermenegildo Florit, 1901-1985; in office: 1962-1977). Maan regards this as a "Sieg für die liturgische Bewegung."²⁰ Such comments will return later on in the corre-

16. Maan – IBC, 12/10/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1). Prior to the council, Maan does receive all sorts of practical information, as is apparent from a number of "Information sheets" preserved in Maan papers 3.

17. For his impressions of this service, see, e.g., Maan-Family, 11/10/1962 (Maan papers 4).

18. Maan – IBC, 14/10/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1), see also Maan-Family, 16/10/1962 (Maan papers 4).

19. See also P.J. Maan, "Brieven uit Rome," *De Oud-Katholiek* 78:2128 (27 October 1962) 209: "De dienst in de St. Pieter was een indrukwekkend schouwspel. Wat mij echter daarbij het meest getroffen heeft, was niet de pracht en de praal, het licht en de schittering, die ten slotte een verleiding kunnen vormen, maar het begin van de dienst met de aloude hymne: 'Kom Geest des levens en der kracht', waarop het gebed volgde, waarmee bij ons ook de kapittelvergadering worden geopend: 'God, die de gelovigen onderwezen en verlicht hebt door het licht van de Heilige Geest, dat Gij in hun harten gestort hebt. Geef ons door diezelfde Geest een ware wijsheid, die ons doet kennen en beminnen hetgeen heilig is, opdat wij, smakende de vertroosting van die Geest van heiligheid, altijd verheugd mogen zijn'. In dit gebed was een ware eenheid, want waar gebeden wordt om Gods Heilige Geest en door allen gebeden wordt, zal het aanschijn des aardrijks vernieuwd worden." – See also the further report: "Het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie," *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk* 78:2128 (27 October 1962) 210.

20. Maan – IBC, 14/10/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1). Maan was sympathetic towards the liturgical movement, see e.g., his review of a dissertation on the work of Odo Casel: P.J. Maan, "Christendom en mysterie," *Woord en Dienst* 15:5 (1966) 75; it concerns a review of the doctoral dissertation of J. Plooy, *De mysterieleer van Odo Casel* (Zwolle: Willink, 1964).

spondence. A few weeks later, Maan comments on the Mass on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the papal coronation of John XXIII on 4 November 1962, which was celebrated according to Milanese rite (the following comments):

[V]ery special, because Milan is actually the only city in the world (also the only diocese) that has preserved a liturgical tradition of its own, which in many respects differs from the Roman liturgy that is largely the same as that of our missal.²¹

The rite of Milan is indeed one of the few remaining rites other than the Roman one in the Western Catholic Church (following the Council of Trent all rites, other than the Roman one, that could not show a pedigree of more than 200 years – or be part of the tradition of a particular order – were suppressed).²² In his letter on the same subject to the Old Catholic episcopate, Maan adds that in his homily during this service, the pope emphasized both the existent liturgical diversity within his church and the pastoral genius of Charles Borromeo; Maan considers these to be two programmatic statements.²³ During the first session of the council, Maan also develops a sense of the Italian Roman Catholic approach to liturgy, which he agrees about with the papal sacristan and vicar general of Vatican State, the Dutch Augustinian Petrus Canisius van Lierde (1907-1995; in office:

– On the liturgical movement in the Netherlands and Germany in relation to the Second Vatican Council, see, e.g., Mathijs Lamberigts, “The Liturgical Movement in Germany and the Low Countries,” in *La théologie catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau: La réception des mouvements préconciliaires à Vatican II*, ed. G. Routhier – P. Roy-Lysencourt – K. Schelkens (Louvain-la-Neuve – Louvain: Collège Érasme – Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2011) 91-121. – See also the comment of Van Tongeren, “Renewal,” who notes on 366: “The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy is sometimes considered as the pinnacle of the liturgical movement. It is the manifesto or *Magna Charta* formulating the ideals of the liturgical movement as starting point of a new church polity concerning liturgy.”

21. Maan-Family, 4/11/1962 (Maan papers 4): “heel bijzonder omdat Milaan eigenlijk de enige stad in de wereld is (ook het enige bisdom) dat nog een eigen liturgie bewaard heeft, die in heel veel dingen afwijkt van de Romeinse liturgie, die praktisch gelijk is aan ons misboek.” See also: P.J. Maan, “Brieven uit Rome III,” *De Oud-Katholiek* 78:2130 (24 November 1962) 220-221, 220.

22. Maan-Family, 15/10/1963 (Maan papers 4). For the post-Tridentine liturgical uniformization, see, e.g., the representative remarks of Clifford Howell, “From Trent to Vatican II,” in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. Cheslyn Jones – Geoffrey Wainwright – Edward Yarnold – Paul Bradshaw (London: SPCK, ²1992) 285-294, esp. 285-287.

23. See Maan – IBC, 5/11/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1). The importance that Maan attached to this is evident from the fact that he repeats it in his second public report on the council: Peter J. Maan, “2. Bericht des altkatholischen Beobachters über das Vatikanum II,” *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 53 (1963) 116-120, 116.

1951-1991): Italians treat the liturgical rules and regulations just like they treat traffic rules: the main thing is that they reach the goal.

About a year later, at the start of the second session of the council, Maan comments on the opening Eucharist of the gathering, revealing that he was impressed by Paul VI's address, even if this pope was experienced as more distant than his predecessor.²⁴ Maan also notes that the group of observers had been provided with very good places for this service.²⁵ A little over a week later, Maan comments on a typical feature of the Second Vatican Council that he had not mentioned yet: the use of liturgical rites other than the Roman one for the celebration of the council's daily Mass. In particular, it concerns a liturgy presided over by the (uniate) patriarch of Antioch, cardinal Tappouni (Mar Ignatius Gabriel I Tappouni), which he mentions in a letter to his family of 8 October 1963.²⁶ In a similar way, he mentions the celebration of the Eucharist in St. Peter's according to the Mozarabic rite. Like the Milanese rite, which Maan also attended and commented upon during the council's second session,²⁷ this is one of the few remaining rites other than the Roman one in the Western Catholic Church.²⁸ As a representative of the Church of Utrecht with its own particular liturgical tradition, the visibility and even relative prominence of liturgical celebrations according to non-Roman rites was of ecumenical and ecclesiological interest to Maan as an Old Catholic.

An issue that is just as liturgical as it is dogmatic and ecumenical surfaces a little later in the correspondence, in a letter of Maan to Archbishop Rinkel.²⁹ Maan has been invited to pay a visit to the "Dutch College" in Rome and give a brief presentation on Old Catholicism there. He does so and, in the presence of the dean of the college, a discussion develops, which includes the topic of the *dormitio Mariae*, a contested issue between Roman and Old Catholics.³⁰ As the students of the college argued that whoever commemorates Mary's dormition on 15 August also must believe in

24. Maan-Family, 1/10/1963 (Maan papers 4), Maan-Family, 29/9/1963 (Maan papers 4). See on the opening service also: P.J. M.[aan], "Het Tweede Vaticaanse Concilie," *De Oud-Katholiek* 79:2156 (2 November 1963) 204-205.

25. Maan-Family, 29/9/1963 (Maan papers 4).

26. Maan-Family, 8/10/1963 (Maan papers 4).

27. See: Maan-Family, 30/9/1963 (Maan papers 5).

28. Maan-Family, 15/10/1963 (Maan papers 4). See: Howell, "Trent."

29. Maan – IBC, 29/10/1963 (Maan papers 1). See also P.P.V. van Moorsel – P.J. Maan, 27/10/1963 (Maan papers 2), in which Van Moorsel brings Maan up to speed concerning the situation in the Dutch college. Van Moorsel was a Dutch priest doing his doctoral studies in Rome.

30. On devotion to Mary in the Old Catholic Church, see, e.g., Van der Velde, "Maria." On the Old Catholic protest against the Marian dogma of 1950, see esp. [Andreas Rinkel,],

Mary's bodily assumption, Maan asked the students to produce two missals: one dating prior to 1950 and one of a later date. In this way, he could prove that the proper prayers of the feast, in particular the *secretæ*, had been adapted to suit the dogma of 1950 and to avoid a contradiction with it. Thus, he was able to demonstrate that the liturgical tradition concerning this feast of the period prior to 1950, which was largely shared with the Old Catholics and without doubt more ancient than the one used by the Roman Catholic Church after 1950,³¹ actually supported the Old Catholic point of view. Concerning this discussion, Maan also remarked "Das Interessanteste an dem Abend war das Auseinandergehen der Meinungen unter den Studenten selbst, wobei sie oft eine heftigere Diskussion unter sich hatten als mit mir."³²

In the same letter, Maan also comments on another liturgical celebration of the council itself: the commemoration of John XXIII on the morning of 28 October, celebrated "modo simplice," as Maan puts it.³³ The sermon that cardinal Léon Joseph Suenens preached on that occasion was striking in content and form, given that he preached in French, which was appreciated by many, but not by all compatriots of the deceased pope. Just like the use of liturgical traditions other than the Roman one, such sermons in languages other than Latin (or Italian, for that matter) underlined the cultural diversity within the Roman communion as a whole, which was of ecclesiological and ecumenical importance to Maan and his fellow-observers.³⁴ Küppers, who replaced Maan during the latter part of this session of the council, also shares this view. Küppers, who was much enchanted by the Orthodox tradition, in particular enjoyed the celebration of the liturgy of John Chrysostom, as it was celebrated by uniate Greek Orthodox participants in the council on 13 November 1963.³⁵

Also during the council's third session Maan makes a number of observations concerning the council's liturgical life. The first of these concern the opening service of this session:

De Moeder des Heren: Herderlijke brief der bisschoppen van de Oud-katholieke Kerk van Nederland naar aanleiding van het nieuwe dogma (Amsterdam, 1950).

31. At this point, the Dutch Old Catholic Church was using a missal that was indeed in many ways a translation of the Roman Missal, published in 1909, albeit that it certainly had its own characteristics as well. A discussion of these, however, goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

32. Maan – IBC, 29/10/1963 (Maan papers 1), 1.

33. Maan – IBC, 29/10/1963 (Maan papers 1), 2.

34. A German translation of this speech can be found in Maan papers 5.

35. W. Küppers – Internationale Bisschoppenconferentie, 30/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 1. See also De Mey, "Eucharist," 45-46.

Twenty cardinals and bishops concelebrated with the pope. The prayer for the church was said following the Creed and the words of institution were spoken audibly by all concelebrating bishops. We were able to join in singing the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei.³⁶

The Dutch Old-Catholic periodical, *De Oud-Katholiek*, also reports on this service, presumably based on information deriving from Maan; the author of the report, Henk Verhey (initialing his piece with hV; Verhey served as secretary to the episcopate of the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands), notes that the concelebration of the pope and a number of bishops at this service was a sign of the “essential unity of the pope and the global episcopate” (“wezenlijke eenheid van Paus en wereldepiscopaat”) as well as an expression of the notion of collegiality as it had been emphasized during the council’s second session.³⁷

Somewhat later, Maan notes a detail in the council’s liturgy that strikes him as a Utrecht parish priest: on 11 November, the feast of St. Martin of Tours, the Eucharist was presided over by the bishop of Tours. St. Martin is also the patron saint of the city of Utrecht.³⁸ During the same session, Maan also comments again on the use of rites other than the Roman one for the council’s Eucharistic celebrations. In this case, it pertains to the use of the rite of a uniate Church of the Byzantine tradition, of that of the Syro-Malabar church, and of the Armenian rite, the latter in the pope’s own presence. Whereas he appreciates the intentional expression of the liturgical and cultural diversity within the Roman communion, he also expresses his astonishment that precisely these – lengthy – rites are being used while the council seems to be pressed for time.³⁹

During the fourth and final session of the council, Maan only offers few liturgical observations, but there is one exception to this rule: his review of the concluding service of the council, which was celebrated on 8 December 1965, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.⁴⁰ Maan comments first on the awarding of the title “Mater ecclesiae” to Mary on

36. Maan-Family, 14/9/1964 (Maan papers 4): “Twintig kardinalen en bisschoppen celebreeerden met de paus. Het gebed voor de kerk werd na de Credo gesproken en de consecratie-woorden werden door alle concelebrerende bisschoppen luid gesproken. We konden Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus en Lam Gods meezingen.”

37. hV (= H.J.W. Verhey), “Het concilie in derde zitting bijeen: Ook waarnemers namens het Patriarchaat van Konstantinopel,” *De Oud-Katholiek* 80:2180 (26 September 1964) 181-182.

38. Maan – IBC, 13/11/1964 (Maan papers 1).

39. Maan – IBC, 18/11/1964 (Maan papers 1). See also: Maan-Family, 18/11/1964 (Maan papers 4).

40. P.J. Maan, “Afscheid van Rome,” *De Oud-Katholiek* 82:2213 (15 January 1966) 13-15.

7 December, indicating that he does not think this to be a helpful development,⁴¹ and then on the celebration of the feast and the dogma associated with of the next day it by referring to the orthodox theologians Nikos A. Nissiotis and his remarks on the “western mania of dogmaticising.” Quite in line with this, and taking his cue from the celebration with which it ended, he observes that the Second Vatican Council

[H]as been a council of and for the Roman Catholic Church in the first place. The Roman Catholic Church intended to say certain things differently, but it has also wanted to remain the Roman Catholic Church.⁴²

Maan acknowledges that it might have been too much to expect otherwise, “but initially, people were having higher expectations” (“maar toch had men in de aanvang hoger gestemde verwachtingen.”)⁴³ The conclusion of the council also includes a liturgical celebration that must have been of some significance for Maan: the prayer service of the observers in the presence of the pope in St. Paul-outside-the-Walls, as it took place on the afternoon of 4 December. Without a doubt, this was an event of great ecumenical significance.⁴⁴ Maan mentions it in a letter to his family of 5 December, which is littered with references to the feast of St. Nicholas of that evening (Maan’s youngest daughter is eleven years old at that time).⁴⁵ In this letter he mentions the various presents that the council fathers received and also the prayer service, attended by at least 2000 participants (according to Stransky).⁴⁶ Maan had been commissioned to lead the litany for unity in this service, surely an honorable assignment.⁴⁷ He also mentions that the observers received a certificate of their attendance as well as a bronze bell, decorated with image of the four evangelists.⁴⁸

41. Peter J. Maan, “Weerzien met Rome: Enkele gedachten naar aanleiding van de 4^{de} zitting van het Vaticanum II,” *De Oud-Katholiek* 81:2209 (20 November, 1965) 217-218.

42. Maan, “Afscheid,” 13: “in de allereerste plaats een concilie van en voor de Rooms-Katholieke kerk geweest is. En de Rooms-Katholieke kerk heeft bepaalde dingen anders willen zeggen, maar heeft toch de Rooms-Katholieke kerk willen blijven.”

43. Maan, “Afscheid,” 13.

44. The periodical *De Oud-Katholiek* 81:2211 (18 December 1965) 235, published a report of the service entitled “Paus Paulus en Professor Maan doen samen dienst,” noting “Het was de eerste keer sinds de Reformatie, dat een Paus zich in een Romeinse kerk in gebed verenigde met andere dan rooms-katholieke geestelijken.”

45. Maan-Family, 5/12/1965.

46. See Thomas Stransky, “The Observers at Vatican Two: A Unique Experience of Dialogue,” *Pro Unione Bulletin* 63 (2002) 8-14.

47. See *ibid.*, 14, as well as: Maan-Family, 3/12/1965 (Maan papers 4).

48. The bell is still in the possession of Maan’s family.

Finally, the following should also be noted. For the observers and others, the liturgical life of the council also includes invitations to (Roman Catholic) services that take place in the context of the council, without necessarily being part of it. These include relatively unproblematic invitations, such as to the episcopal ordination of Eugenio Cardinale, who was to serve as an apostolic delegate to Great-Britain (carrying the title of Archbishop of Nepte, i.p.i.), on 20 October 1963,⁴⁹ but they also include more problematic ones. One of these is mentioned by Küppers: the commemoration of the fourth centennial of the Council of Trent. For the observers, notably the protestant ones, attendance of this commemoration was anything but self-explanatory, given the council's divisive effect. A number of the observers argued in favor of not attending the ceremonies. Küppers reports on this as follows:

Diesen letzten Standpunkt (*sc.* des Fernbleibens) nahmen vor allem die Lutheraner Schlink, Skydsgaard und Vajta sowie Dr. Lukas Vischer ein. Mit ihnen sind dann auch einige andere ferngeblieben, was nicht zu sehr auffiel, da es ja nicht im eigentlichen Sinne eine Konzilsveranstaltung war. Trotzdem wäre ein geschlossenes Fernbleiben der Beobachter sehr peinlich aufgefallen. Die Ortskirchenvertreter, die Anglikaner und die Vertreter des freieren Protestantismus haben ohne Bedenken teilgenommen wie auch ich selbst.⁵⁰

Observations on Liturgical Decisions of the Council

Apart from the liturgical life of the council, the liturgical decisions of the council also played a role in the correspondence of the Old Catholic observer and his substitutes, both in their private correspondence and in their public reports. A first instance of this occurs during the first session of the council, when Maan brings the discussion of the constitution on the liturgy, the later *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December 1963) to the attention of the Old Catholic bishops. Maan finds the first draft (Schema Constitutionis "De Sacra Liturgia") striking, but does not elaborate on it much, although he indicates that he has discussed it with the group of German observers and that the elections to the commissions responsible for the further drafting process have not been completed yet. He does note, though, that it looks like the Italian bishops will not be all that heavily represented in these commissions, which would typically bode well for those in favor of

49. See the invitation, dated on 7 October 1963, in Maan papers 2.

50. Küppers – IBC, 30/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 4.

renewal (along the lines of the liturgical movement).⁵¹ When the discussion of the *schema* progresses, Maan again reports on it quite positively, underlining in that context the contribution of the Maronite patriarch, Moran Mor Paul II Peter Meouchi, on Latin as liturgical language and the desirability of space for other language (such as Syriac) in the Roman communion.⁵² Maan will return to the importance of the self-confident presence and participation of the council fathers from the uniate churches, who underlined time and again the autonomy of their churches and the venerability of their traditions, which were oftentimes older than the Roman ones, which can therefore not be used as the norm and standard for the entire Roman communion. Also, even if only for the latter reason, the union of the uniate churches with Rome cannot be regarded as a return to the “Mother Church” – some of the children are older than the mother.⁵³

In his last letter from the first month of the council, Maan returns to the subject of the constitution on the liturgy, noting a number of points of discussion and their proponents.⁵⁴ In particular, he focuses on the discussion about the introduction of communion *sub utraque specie* (even in the case of the distribution of communion to the homebound) – this topic was, at this moment, also a point of discernment within the Old Catholic Churches, just like the topic of a frequent reception of communion was –, concelebration, which was resisted by more conservative voices (concerned about the possible loss of Mass stipends and the spiritual benefits of the *missa privata*; on other grounds, the Maronite bishop Joseph Khoury also considered concelebration to be a “scandalum”) – Old Catholics would never introduce the post-Vatican II form of concelebration –,⁵⁵ the question of the sacrificial character of the Mass, and the issue of whether or not the sermon in the Mass should be made mandatory, rather than to be recommended (a point made by cardinal Bea).

A few days later, Maan again has the opportunity to return to the subject of the constitution on the liturgy again. In particular, he highlights the contribution to the discussion of the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Montini,

51. Maan – IBC, 19/10/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1). It is important to underline the ecumenical character of this movement as such, as it is emphasized by and apparent from the contents of, e.g., Ploeger, *Celebrating*.

52. See Maan-Family, 23/10/1962 (Maan papers 4).

53. See also Maan, “2. Bericht,” 116-117. In this context, Maan also underlines the importance of the contributions or inspired by missionary bishops.

54. Maan – IBC, 31/10/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1). See also Maan-Family, 29/10/1962 and 30/10/1962 (Maan papers 4), in the latter letter, Maan also writes about his Anglican, Armenian (bishop Karekin Sarkissian), and Syrian Orthodox (Ramban Zakka B. Iwas; later patriarch of his church) contacts.

55. See on this topic especially the contribution of Cor Tol, *Concelebratie* (Amersfoort: Oud-Katholiek Boekhuis, 1988).

the later Pope Paul VI, concerning the place and integrity of the Milanese rite (which was also used for the council's Eucharist on 2 November of that year, in the presence of the pope).⁵⁶ In the same period – and not by chance, it seems –, Maan also attended a lecture by a Dutch Jesuit liturgical scholar, Herman Schmidt and had a discussion with him. Schmidt, who would publish a commentary on *Sacrosanctum Concilium*,⁵⁷ was very much interested in the Old Catholic liturgical tradition and listened regularly to Old Catholic services that were broadcast on the radio. Like Maan himself, Schmidt was of the opinion that the constitution on the liturgy provided new opportunities for ecumenical rapprochement with, besides the Old Catholic churches, protestant and orthodox churches.⁵⁸ Maan also mentions the conclusion of the discussion about the constitution on the liturgy, which had been surprisingly fast – Maan attributes this to the fear that the council might last too long.⁵⁹ Before he leaves, however, Maan writes one final time, reporting on the vote on *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, he actually does so on the feast of St. Ambrose, as he underlines in his letter (9 December), quite in line with his earlier remarks on the Milanese rite.⁶⁰ On that day, the constitution's preface and first chapter had been accepted with a large majority, according to Maan. In particular he stresses the larger role for episcopal conferences concerning the renewal of the liturgy, including the introduction of the vernacular, and expresses his appreciation for the creation of a service of the word (“*celebratio Divini Verbi*”) as a way of preparing for feast days; in the absence of a priest, such services can be led by a deacon or a lay person, authorized by the bishop.⁶¹ In his report on this first session of the council, Maan highlights a series of items that were discussed in relation to this *schema*, all of which have counterparts in Old Catholic liturgical life, in fact: most of them were a reality there already, as Velati seems to indicate:

Wichtige Diskussionspunkte in Bezug auf dieses Schema waren : die Anpassung der Riten an die Kultur und Mentalität verschiedener Völker, die Vermehrung der biblischen Lesungen, die grössere Aktivität der Gläubigen, die Notwendigkeit und das Mass der Einführung der Muttersprache,

56. See Maan – IBC, 5/11/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1). – See also above, on Maan's remarks on the council's liturgy.

57. Herman Schmidt, *Constitutie over de H. Liturgie: Tekst, genese, kommentaar, dokumentatie* (Bilthoven: Nelissen, 1965), also published in German translation.

58. See Maan-Family, 23/10/1962 (Maan papers 4).

59. Maan – IBC, 22/11/1962 (Typescript, Maan papers 1).

60. Maan – IBC, 9/12/1962 (Maan papers 1).

61. Maan – IBC, 9/12/1962 (Maan papers 1).

die Notwendigkeit der Predigt, die Kommunion unter beiden Gestalten und die Konzelebration.⁶²

A year later, during a period when Maan is being replaced by prof. Werner Küppers, a major event takes place: the enthronization of Pope Paul VI as successor of the deceased John XXIII. Küppers highlights the fact that the observers had excellent places during this celebration on 10 November 1963 in *San Giovanni in Laterano*. The observers were quite impressed by this, Küppers continues, even though no one desires a “return” to the Roman Catholic Church. Personally, he feels very much connected with the sacramental life of the Roman Catholic Church, but also experiences a lot of distance towards her, given her absolutizing of her own tradition.⁶³ – A feeling of proximity vis-à-vis the Old Catholics is also expressed by the council, as Küppers notes, commenting on the passage of the decree on ecumenism (the eventual *Unitatis Redintegratio*) about “communitates” in the West that had preserved a valid ordained ministry that, as Fr. Thomas Stransky had assured him, was aimed at the Old Catholic churches.⁶⁴ In a later report, Küppers notes concerning the proceedings of the council itself that it is now occupied with the draft of “de mediis communicationis socialis” and that he is concerned with reading the text of and documentation pertaining to *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, which he, at times, thinks is “ganz und gar ein ‘Alt-Katholisches Schema’,” even if it suffers from Roman limitations now and then. He considers the text to be a challenge to the

62. Maan, “1. Bericht,” 282; to be sure, Maan does not make an explicit comparison, but it seems to be implied. See also: Velati, *Fratelli*, 147.

63. Küppers – IBC, 16/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 2.

64. Küppers – IBC, 16/11/1962 (Maan papers 1), 2: Stransky had told him “daß der schon von mir erwähnte Passus über die ‘communitates’ im Westen, die ein gültig geweihtes Amt hätten und nicht zu vergessen seien, tatsächlich wesentlich auf die Alt-katholiken zielten. Es sei nur nicht ‘üblich’ dabei auch den Namen zu nennen.” – Earlier, Küppers had written to the Old Catholic bishops that he was not entirely pleased with the section in the decree on ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio*, in which the Old Catholics might be referred to, as it left room for the recognition of communities which he considered to be of a questionable character as well, see: Küppers – IBC, 2/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 3: “Übrigens geschieht hier ohne Namensnennung auch der Alt-Katholiken Erwähnung, wenn es Caput III § 19 Abs. 4 im Blick auf die nicht-katholischen Christen im Westen – ohne jede besondere Anspielung auf ein anglikanische Sonderstellung – heißt: *Communitates autem illae propter diversitatem originis, doctrinae et vitae spiritualis inter se adhuc non parum differunt; immo obliviscendum non est, in Occidente quoque regionibus adesse Communitates quae etiam mediis salutis, e sacerdotio valido promanantibus, gaudent. Dies können ja m.E. allein die Alt-Katholiken sein, wenn man nicht eine Anerkennung Heilerisch-hochkirchlicher ‘communitates’ darin suchen wollte, was ich nicht tun möchte. Ich werde darüber noch Aufklärung zu erhalten suchen.*” – On the appertaining intervention of Küppers in the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, see Velati, *Fratelli*, 306.

ecclesial life in Old Catholic Churches and their parishes as well, in particular it constitutes a challenge “zu leben und zu tun, was man in der römisch-katholischen Kirche immer noch nur unter großer Einschränkung tun kann.”⁶⁵ In the same report – Küppers writes more formal reports, rather than Maan’s sometimes quite informal letters – he also mentions a discussion of 26 November at the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, at which the decree on ecumenism had been discussed quite controversially, in particular due to contributions of the observers Edmund Schlink (Evangelical Lutheran), Nikos Nissiotis (Greek Orthodox), and Vitalij Borovoj (Russian Orthodox). The first person mentioned asked about both about the way in which conciliar documents would be treated and interpreted after the council and about the tension between practice of rebaptizing Christians when joining the Roman Catholic Church and Roman Catholic theology on this point that recognizes baptism performed by non-Roman Catholics. Borovoj raised different issues, in particular the point that it did not concern the Orthodox churches in the least whether the Roman Catholic Church saw them as churches or not – that was something they decided upon themselves and their ecclesiological self-confidence was strong enough. He was more critical, however, of a liturgical matter: he considered it “ein Schlag ins Gesicht von Annäherungsbemühungen, wenn man einen Hl. Josaphat als Heiligen der Einheitsbestrebungen feiere, der gerade eine traurige Berühmtheit als fanatischer Bekämpfer der Orthodoxie im ruthenischen Raum gewonnen habe.”⁶⁶ With this, Küppers’ remarks on liturgical matters come to a conclusion, even if he does mention the overwhelming acceptance of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

In between the second and third sessions of the council, Maan delivered a lecture on it at the yearly synod of the Old Catholic Church of Switzerland (21 June 1964 in La Chaux-de-Fonds),⁶⁷ the bishop of which was much interested in the council, but had so far been unable to commit one of his clergy to go as an observer.⁶⁸ In this lecture, he also refers extensively to the council’s attitude towards the liturgy, while also noting that

65. Küppers – IBC, 26/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 2.

66. Küppers – IBC, 26/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 3 (see also 5) – In this context Borovoj was ordered to leave the council by his church, but decided to stay, in order to attend a requiem Mass for the repose of the soul of John F. Kennedy on 25: the (notable) absence of the Russian (Orthodox) observer could have been interpreted as a contentious political statement; here liturgy and secular politics met. See Claude Soetens, “The Ecumenical Commitment of the Catholic Church,” in *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo – Joseph A. Komonchak, III (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000) 257-345, 294n144.

67. Maan, “Das Vatikanum II. Vortrag anlässlich der Synode der Christkatholischen Kirche, Chaux de Fonds 1964,” (21 June 1964), 5pp., Maan papers 5.

68. Much to his own frustration, see on this the relevant sections of: Peter-Ben Smit, *Vrienden in het bisschopsambt: De correspondentie tussen Andreas Rinkel en Urs Küry*

the liturgical movement was one of the catalysts for the convocation of the council as such.⁶⁹ Reflecting on council, Maan notes that “das romantische Bild der römischen Kirche, das auf sentimentalisch angehauchten Gemütern immer Eindruck machte: die eine Kirche, mit einem Haupt, mit einer Lehre, einem Recht, einer Liturgie und einer Sprache” has changed quite a bit, due to factual liturgical changes (e.g., the emphasis on inculturation, the introduction of the “Laienkelch”) and through the celebration of liturgies according to the rites of a variety of churches that are part of the Roman communion and not just according to the Western Latin rite. From the perspective of Maan, the development of liturgical rites and ecclesiological self-understanding are mutually intertwined.⁷⁰ Such developments were of importance to Old Catholics as well, as is also apparent from reporting in the periodical *De Oud-Katholiek* following the council.⁷¹

During the council’s third period Maan is partially replaced by a much younger colleague from Switzerland, Herwig Aldenhoven, a parish priest and a doctoral student in liturgy and systematic theology at the Old Catholic Faculty of Theology at the University of Bern. According to Velati, he was nicknamed the “giovane-cattolico” due to his youthful appearance and age.⁷² He also takes up the tradition of Maan and Küppers to pay attention to the liturgical aspects of the council, both in terms of its decision and of its (paradigmatic) liturgical life. In this context, Aldenhoven also mentions the significance of contributions to the discussion by Patriarch Maximos IV Sayegh of Antioch (Melkite Greek Catholic Church), who made a point of speaking French, not Latin, and emphasized the proper position of the Eastern churches in the Roman communion, noting that it is not very helpful to contrast the “Catholic Church” with the “Eastern Churches” in speeches and documents, as is the identification of the patriarchate as just

1955-1970, to be published in the *Publicatierieks Oud-Katholiek Seminarie* (Amersfoort, 2016).

69. One reason for this is that the liturgical movement was even more an ecclesiological than a “ritual” movement. See for this, e.g., Mattijs Ploeger, “Het ‘onliturgische’ karakter van de Liturgische Beweging,” in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 61 (2007) 109-122. The interrelationship between liturgy and ecclesiology is illustrated nicely by the Dutch translation of the series *La vie liturgique* as *Het kerkelijk leven*, which were produced by the Abbey of Affligem from 1909/1910 onwards (see Van Tongeren, “Renewal,” 367 and Paul Post, “Boekjes, microfoons en banken: Over dingen, ritueel en ruimte,” in *Materieel Christendom*, ed. Arie L. Molendijk [Hilversum: Verloren, 2003] 167-191, 176).

70. As is generally recognized, see, e.g., M. Faggioli, *True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012).

71. See, e.g., [A.J.] G[lazemaker], “Vernieuwing van de liturgie: Vastenbrief der Rooms-Katholieke bisschoppen,” *De Oud-Katholiek* 80:2166 (29 February 1964) 50.

72. Velati, *Fratelli*, 426. No comments by Aldenhoven on the liturgy are recorded by Velati, only on ecclesiology as such.

an eastern phenomenon.⁷³ In a similar vein, Aldenhoven underlines the plea for openness for the liturgical and other customs of the churches of non-Roman rites in communion with Rome, e.g., in relation to the blessing of marriages between Greek Catholic women and Eastern or Oriental Orthodox men, which were hitherto considered invalid by Rome, which led to much incomprehension and irritation in areas where such Christians lived together.⁷⁴ Much of the sentiment expressed by the Greek Catholic council fathers and their supporters is summed up in Aldenhoven's account of a speech by the Melkite patriarchal vicar of the See of Alexandria, the ecumenist Elias Zoghby:

[D]ie wahre Katholizität dürfe nicht mit der künstlichen Universalität verwechselt werden, die die lateinische Kirche im Gefolge des Karolingerreiches nach einer kanonischen Spaltung durch Unterdrückung der von den ersten Konzilien feierlich bestätigten Konzilien erlangt hat. Die geringen Teile der Ostkirche, die mit dem Stuhle Petri wieder vereint worden sind, seien auch der Struktur der abendländischen Kirche angegliedert worden. Demgegenüber haben die Orthodoxen die alten Formen bewahrt.⁷⁵

In the ongoing discussion on this topic, Aldenhoven underlines the controversial nature of the (liturgical) Latinization of the uniate churches and their resistance against it at the council, noting proposals for seminaries and courses of study that would prepare students better for the liturgical life of these churches.⁷⁶ Aldenhoven is the last of the Old Catholic observers to comment on the council's liturgical course, doing so in the context of ecclesiological and cultural considerations. He does look back on the council in a reflection published in *Una Sancta* 21 (1966),⁷⁷ noting that he agrees with much of what the council has achieved, although quite a bit remains to be done, most certainly also in the field of liturgy.

The Liturgical Life of the Observers

While the council had its own liturgical, notably: Eucharistic, life, the council observers also took care of their own liturgical life, apart from their

73. Aldenhoven – IBC, 26/10/1964 (Maan papers 1), 2.

74. Aldenhoven – IBC, 26/10/1964 (Maan papers 1), 3.

75. Aldenhoven – IBC, 26/10/1964 (Maan papers 1), 3.

76. Aldenhoven – IBC, 26/10/1964 (Maan papers 1), 3.

77. Pp. 207-208. This is Aldenhoven's response to a questionnaire that was answered by a number of people from outside of the Roman Catholic Church. The questionnaire itself is printed on pp. 203-273.

attendance of the conciliar services. For Maan, this consisted of three parts. First, there was his participation in (and leading of) services for and by the observers in a number of different Roman churches, which he mentions occasionally.⁷⁸ Second, Maan participated in and presided over services at the two Anglican communities in Rome: both the Episcopal St. Paul's-within-the-Walls and All Saints Church, which resorts under the Church of England.⁷⁹ The road for Maan's active involvement in the services held at these churches had been paved through contact of Maan with one of the Anglican observers, canon Bernard C. Pawley.⁸⁰ Third, frequently together with other observers and often accompanied by staff members of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Maan engaged in a kind of paraliturgical tourism and/or pilgrimage. Maan's involvement – and that of his substitutes – in the latter two activities will be surveyed in some more detail now.

As noted above, as part of his preparations for his duties at the council, Maan inquires with one of the senior Anglican observers, Can. Bernard C. Pawley, whether he can celebrate the Eucharist every now and then in an Anglican Church in Rome.⁸¹ Pawley did in fact for this and already on 23 October 1962 he can write to his family that he presided over the Eucharist in an Anglican service (as he also did, occasionally, in the Anglican chaplaincy in Utrecht [Holy Trinity Church]).⁸² Maan will continue to both preside over the Eucharist at the two Anglican (Church of England and Episcopal Church) churches in Rome and to go there as a member of the congregation on Sundays, as well as on holy days, such as All Souls in 1962 and All Saints in 1963; in both cases he goes to the Episcopal Church of St. Paul's-Within-the-Walls at the Via Nazionale.⁸³ Otherwise, he seems

78. See, e.g., Maan-Family, 30/9/1963 (Maan papers 5), on this day, Maan attended a service for observers in a Baptist church and his liturgical leadership in this service; he mentions the same in Maan-Family, 11/10/1965 (a service for English speaking observers in an unidentified church).

79. For Maan's presidency over services at these churches, see: Maan-Family, 1/10/1963 (Maan papers 4).

80. See P.J. Maan – B. Pawley, 2/10/1962 (Maan papers 3). The contact between Maan and Pawley had been suggested by the then secretary-general of the "Church of England Council on Inter-Church Relations," the later Bishop of Fulham (and subsequently: Gibraltar in Europe), John Satterthwaite; see J. Satterthwaite – P.J. Maan, 19/9/1962 (Maan papers 3).

81. See Maan – Pawley, 2/10/1962 (Maan papers 3). The suggestion that Maan contact Pawley was made by the then secretary-general of the "Church of England Council on Inter-Church Relations," the later bishop of Fulham (and subsequently of Gibraltar in Europe) John Satterthwaite; see Satterthwaite – Maan, 19/9/1962 (Maan papers 3).

82. As he had forgotten his glasses, he was forced to do part of the service by heart and in Dutch, see Maan-Family, 23/10/1962 (Maan papers 4).

83. Where he also goes on 9 October 1965, see: Maan-Family, 9/10/1965 (Maan papers 4).

to go the Church of England chaplaincy most often;⁸⁴ this includes a visit to this church on 20 September 1964, when Maan's two eldest daughters are visiting him in Rome.⁸⁵ Occasionally Maan also attends other services, such as a Greek Orthodox one during the council's final session,⁸⁶ or the Angelus at St. Peter's Square on a Sunday.⁸⁷

Finally, Maan also engages in ecclesial and liturgical "tourism" (partly on trips organized by the Secretariat for Christian Unity),⁸⁸ by visiting key churches and places of both historical and devotional importance, thus engaging in a kind of ecumenism that often has strong liturgical or para-liturgical aspects, to the extent that elements of pilgrimage are involved. Such excursions include, of his own accord, a visit to the Church of St. Caecilia in Trastevere, where St. Willibrord, the Apostle of the Frisians, of key importance for the identity of the Dutch Old Catholic Church *qua* Church of Utrecht, had been ordained to the episcopate on 21 November 695 by pope Sergius I, as well as a visit to San Clemente, a church dedicated to the saint whose name Willibrord took upon his episcopal ordination.⁸⁹ Maan makes this visit on 2 November 1962, while the council is enjoying a break due to the solemnities of All Saints and All Souls. Other such excursions include a visit to the excavations under St. Peter's church,⁹⁰ and a visit to Assisi, which makes a strong impression on Maan, even more so because he was in the company of the senior Anglican observer, Bishop John Moorman of Ripon, who was a specialist on St. Francis of Assisi.⁹¹ Furthermore, Maan's first substitute, Küppers, engages in this kind of activities and attends a number of services, including for example the one during which the beatification of Leonardo Murialdo

84. See, e.g., Maan-Family, 19/10/1963 (Maan papers 5), Maan-Family, 28/10/1962 (Maan papers 5), Maan-Family, 13/10/1963 (Maan papers 4), Maan-Family, 19/9/1965 (Maan papers 4), Maan-Family, 1/10/1963 (Maan papers 4), Maan-Family, 3/10/1965 (Maan papers 4). Also close to the conclusion of the council, Maan attends a service there, presided over by the senior Anglican observer, bishop John Moorman of Ripon, see: Maan-Family, 5/12/1965.

85. Maan-Family, 21/9/1964 (Maan papers 4).

86. Maan-Family, 19/9/1965 (Maan papers 4).

87. See Maan-Family, 9/10/1965 (Maan papers 4).

88. On which, see, e.g., Stransky, "Observers."

89. Maan-Family, 2/11/1962 (Maan papers 4), see also Maan-Family, 18/10/1962 (Maan papers 4), as well as: P.J. Maan, "Brieven uit Rome II," *De Oud-Katholiek* 78:2129 (10 November 1962) 213: "Van groot belang vond ik in dit verband aan San Clemente, de kerk, die gewijd is aan de heilige, wiens naam Willibrord ontving toen hij tot bisschop werd gewijd." See further: P.J. Maan, "Brieven uit Rome III," *De Oud-Katholiek* 78:2130 (24 November 1962), 220-221, 220.

90. Maan-Family, 10/10/1963 (Maan papers 4).

91. Maan-Family, 13/10/1963 (Maan papers 4).

(founder of the “Padri Giuseppini”) took place.⁹² While he is impressed by their aesthetics, he considers them to be “weinig Zeitgemäß” and also shares the following impression: “Man hat auch nicht den Eindruck, daß Papst Paul VI sich dabei so recht in seinem Element fühlt.”

Concluding Observations

Concluding on the above considerations, the following may be maintained.

First, the Old Catholic observers are attentive to the kind of services that are being celebrated at and around the council and seek to participate both in the council’s own liturgical life as well as in the services offered for the observers, and in services and (para-)liturgical offerings beyond this. The same is the case for the council’s discussion of liturgical matters, which occupies a significant place in the correspondence of the Old Catholic observers and his substitutes.

Second, the observers are all keen to look at the liturgical services at the council as performed ecclesiology: what the Roman Catholic Church wishes to be and how she wants to understand herself is expressed through the liturgical life of the council, both in terms of the kinds of liturgical rites that are being used in the council’s daily Eucharist (e.g., the use of rites other than the Roman one) and in the way in which these are performed (e.g., Eucharistic concelebration of the pope and other bishops as a sign of collegiality). In general, the Old Catholic observer and his substitutes can see a growing convergence here with what they hold dear ecclesologically (and therefore: liturgically) themselves. This also applies to the decisions concerning the liturgy that the council takes – at least concerning their general spirit. Thus, they consider both the liturgical praxis of the council as well as its pronouncements on the liturgy to hold considerable ecumenical potential. Their attitude is generally one that tries to see similarities, rather than to emphasize (remaining) differences (e.g., in terms of liturgical style, or concerning Marian dogma’s). At times, they also consider the developments at the council to be a cause for rethinking the own liturgical practices, or, at least, to continue the work of liturgical renewal in the Old Catholic Churches.

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92. Küppers – IBC, 7/11/1963 (Maan papers 1), 1.