»I left Lahore by plane for the Council«: Mgr Marcel Roger Buyse O.F.M. CAP Conciliar Journal (1962-1965)

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Zusammenfassung
Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem Konzilstagebuch von Mgr Buyse, Bischof von Lahore (Pakistan). Das Tagebuch dieses Kapuzinerbischofs liefert eine Innenperspektive seiner Konzilsbeteiligung. Vor allem aber ermöglicht es uns einen Überblick über die Herausforderungen und Anliegen eines Missionsbischofs, der sich um seine eigene Diözese und um die prekäre und durch den Indisch-Pakistanischen Krieg verschärfte Situation, eine christliche Minderheit in der Republik Pakistan zu sein, ebenso sorgte wie um die neuen Perspektiven und Spannungen, die durch die Erfahrung der Zugehörigkeit zu einer globalen Kirchengemeinschaft in einer Zeit der Entkolonialisierung hervorgerufen wurden. Daher kann dieses Tagebuch als ein *anderes* Tagebuch betrachtet werden: Ein Tagebuch, das aus einer weniger augenfälligen und zentralen Perspektive des konziliaren *Prozesses* geschrieben wurde. Dennoch ist die Perspektive dieses Missionars eine Stimme, welche in diesem europäisch ausgerichteten Konzil (und seiner Rezeption) zu hören ist.

Schlüsselbegriffe
→ Mgr Marcel Roger Buyse
→ Diözese Lahore (Pakistan)
→ Konzilstagebuch
→ Missionsgeschichte der belgischen Kapuziner

Abstract
This contribution presents the conciliar journal of Mgr Buyse, Bishop of Lahore (Pakistan). The journal of this Capuchin Bishop gives an insight in his conciliar involvement. But most of all this journal provides us with an account of the challenges and the preoccupations of a missionary Bishop concerned with his own diocese, with the precarious situation of being a Christian minority in the Republic of Pakistan, exacerbated even more by the Indo-Pakistani War, and with the new perspectives and tensions that were brought about by the experience of belonging to a global Church community in an age of decolonialisation. As such, this journal can be seen as *another* journal: A journal written from a less obvious and central perspective in the conciliar process. Yet, this missionary's perspective is a voice to be heard in (the reception of) this European-centred Council.

Keywords
→ Mgr Marcel Roger Buyse
→ Diocese Lahore (Pakistan)
→ Second Vatican Council Journal (1962-1965)
→ Mission History of Belgian Capuchin Friars Minor

Sumario
El artículo trata del diario conciliar de Monseñor Buyse, obispo de Lahore (Paquistán). El diario de este obispo capuchino ofrece una visión de su participación en el concilio. Sobre todo nos permite obtener una visión de conjunto de los desafíos y temas de un obispo misionero, que se preocupaba por una parte de su propia diócesis como minoría cristiana en Paquistán y de la situación precaria y de crisis a causa de la guerra indo-paquistaní, y por otra de las nuevas perspectivas y tensiones causadas por su pertenencia a una Iglesia global en un periodo marcado por la descolonización. Por ello, este diario puede ser considerado como *otro* diario: como un diario escrito desde una perspectiva del proceso conciliar menos visible y central. Sin embargo, la perspectiva de este misionero es una voz que debe oírse en ese concilio tan europeo (y en su recepción).

Palabras clave
→ Monseñor Marcel Roger Buyse
→ Diócesis Lahore (Paquistán)
→ Diarios conciliares
→ Historia de la misión de los capuchinos belgas

1 Introduction

Its fiftieth anniversary led to a renewed study of the history of the Second Vatican Council and a reconsideration of many of its themes, including its importance for mission history. At the same time the question can be asked if these themes were developed at length. Histories of the Council indeed remain mostly written from a largely Western perspective. However, this increased interest in the Council has also resulted in the discovery of a number of new sources enabling ›another‹ perspective on the Council. One of these is certainly the journal of Mgr Marcel Buyse, Bishop of Lahore and Belgian Capuchin. His journal provides an insight in Mgr Buyse's involvement in the Council, as well as in his government of the Lahore diocese, his relation to the state of Pakistan and his position in the Pakistan bishops' conference. It thus offers a view on the multifaceted activities of a missionary Bishop participating in a gathering of the global Church. Overall, this ›other‹ perspective on the conciliar process highlights in a pressing manner themes such as the relation between theological and political conflicts, the role of missionary bishops in representing the global Church and the significance of the Second Vatican Council in a global perspective. This journal thus points to the value of these sources for both conciliar studies as well as mission studies.

To most, Mgr. Marcel Buyse will be a rather unknown figure. He was a Belgian Capuchin, born in 1892 in the Belgian province of West Flanders.[1] He entered the novitiate of the Order of Minor Capuchin Friars in 1910, where he was given the religious name Roger. In 1917, during the First World War, he was ordained a priest. After the war he wished to go to India, but his order first sent him to Rome, where he obtained a doctorate in theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University. In 1922, he was sent to Lahore. He first worked as parish priest. In 1925 he was appointed Theology Professor at the Barlowgunj Major Seminary of the Capuchins in the archdiocese of Agra. In 1928 he was appointed secretary to Mgr. Catry, Bishop of Lahore, three years later his vicar-general. On 12 June 1947 Pope Pius XII[2] appointed Buyse the new Bishop of Lahore. Only two months after his appointment, on 14 and 15 August, the British Indian Empire was divided into the State of Pakistan and India. The new partition line also divided the diocese of Buyse. Some mission stations would remain part of India and were entrusted to the English Capuchins. The diocese of Lahore, however, became part of Pakistan under the Archdiocese of Karachi. As Bishop of Lahore he took part in the Second Vatican Council. Two years later, he was succeeded by Mgr. Alphonse Raeymaeckers,[3] who had been his auxiliary Bishop since 1963. Buyse continued to work in the diocese until 1973 when he returned to Belgium. One year later he died.

His journal is currently kept in the Centre for the Study of the Second Vatican Council at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, where the conciliar part of Mgr. Buyse's papers are kept with the approval of the Capuchin Province of Flanders. It had four sections, dealing with the four conciliar periods, respectively. This forms a total of ninety-eight hand-written pages. (i) The first section has forty-three numbered pages (21 x 27,5 cm) and contains his notes between 8 October 1962

1 For biographical information on Buyse, see N.N., Obituary Roger Buyse, in: Vox minorum 28 (1974) 212-220.

2 Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli (1876-1958), was elected Pope in 1939.

3 Alphonse Raeymaeckers (1915-1978) was born in Westmeerbeek (Belgium). He was ordained a priest in the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in 1939. He became Auxiliary Bishop of Lahore (Pakistan) in 1963 and Titular Bishop of Aperlae. He succeeded Mgr. Buyse in 1967. He resigned in 1975. He participated in the last two periods of the Council.

and 9 December 1962. Additionally, there are two non-numbered pages containing a letter to the Commission on the Liturgy. (ii) The second section has twenty-one numbered pages (22 x 30 cm). This section starts on 29 September 1963 and ends on 4 December 1963. (iii) The third section is limited. This section only has three numbered pages (21 x 27,5 cm), starting on 30 July 1964 and ending on 14 September 1964. (iv) The last period is encapsulated in thirty numbered pages (21 x 27 cm). It starts on 13 September 1965 and goes up to 4 November 1965. The language of the journal is English, but it is clear Buyse was not a native English writer. His notes are written during the Council itself, without later revision. Nevertheless, Buyse often deleted words or parts of sentences while writing. The majority of his notes consist of descriptions of the conciliar events and his own activities during the conciliar periods; other parts consist of hand-written copies and drafts of letters. In particular the fourth section is characterised by letters to the faithful in his diocese.

This contribution pays attention to four aspects of this conciliar journal. First of all, the value of this journal for conciliar studies is considered. It is indicated how it contains information on certain conciliar topics and discussions, how it evaluates the conciliar proceedings, and the way in which it gives witness of the Second Vatican Council as the first Council in a modern world marked by its progress. This journal holds however a greater significance for other areas of study. This becomes clear in the second part where it is shown that this journal gives also much information on the local situation of the Lahore diocese, namely as a witness of the tensions in the Pakistan bishops' conference or Buyse's interest in the diocesan educational system. Thirdly, the journal gives an insight into Buyse's dealing with the Pakistan political situation, the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965, and the relation between Catholicism and Islam in Pakistan. Finally, as a witness to the experience of a missionary Bishop partaking in the Council, this journal offers a perspective on an age of internationalism, missionary commitment with its double belonging, and the process of (de)colonisation.

2 A Conciliar Journal

In 1959 as Bishop of Lahore, Mgr. Buyse was called to Rome to participate in the Second Vatican Council. The Council would last four years, from 1962 until 1965, and could be rightfully named one of the most important events in the Catholic Church in the twentieth century. The discussions of the around 2929 Council Fathers present over the course of four years were not only focused on theological and ecclesiological issues, but were also strongly marked by the historical context in which the Church was placed. It could be considered a process of coming to terms with modernity, but it should also be viewed in light of the global movement of decolonisation and an ecclesial effort for inculturation. For many of the bishops it even proved to be their first experience of being a global Church. In the assembly Buyse had a threefold role. First, he was counted among the 1453 Council Fathers

4 Cf. Eddy LOUCHEZ, Évêques missionnaires Belges au Concile Vatican II: Typologie et Stratégie, in: Doris DONNELLY, e. a. (ed.), The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council: International Research conference at Mechelen, Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve (september 12-16, 2005) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 216), Leuven/Paris/Dudley (MA), 2008, 647-684.

5 The thirteen Pakistanian participants were: Saverio Zupi, archbishop of Serra; Dante Battaglierin, Bishop of Khulna; Francis Cialeo, Bishop of Lyallpur; Joseph Cordeiro, archbishop of Karachi; Lawrence Graner, archbishop of Dacca; Nicholas Hettinga, Bishop of Rawalpindi; Raymond Larose, Bishop of Chittagong; Joseph Obert, Bishop of Dinajpur; Aloysius Scheerer, Bishop of Multan; James Van Miltenburg, archbishop of Hyderabad; Theotonius Ganguly, archbishop of Drizipara; and Felix Raeymaeckers, Bishop of Aperle.

not coming from the West. This should, however, be nuanced. Of this number still a large number were missionary bishops of European or North American origin. In this perspective Buyse was one of the seventy-five Belgian missionary bishops. Nevertheless, they did not function as an organised group.[4] The second group that he was part of already proved more influential. Indeed, he was also one of the fifty-five Capuchins participating, which made them the second largest religious order present. They stood in regular contact with their father general, who also convened meetings for them. Finally, Buyse considered himself truly a Bishop of Pakistan, connecting him to the five Pakistan Archbishops and his seven fellow bishops of the Pakistan bishops' conference.[5]

Logically, Buyse's journal is entirely determined by the rhythm of the Council. Like many Bishops, Buyse felt that he was partaking in a historically important event of the church, but he could not always discern his proper role. He tried his best faithfully to attend the different periods, to stay up to date on the discussions and to form his own opinion to vote faithfully. This was however not always easy. In particular his classical theological education made it difficult to follow the entire process or to grasp the entire depth of certain discussions. Nevertheless, when needed Buyse consulted capable theologians and discussed with his peers. In this regard, Buyse's journal presents first-hand information on his views concerning the topics discussed, his understanding of the conciliar procedures and strategy, and finally the ›novelties‹ of this Council.

2.1 Conciliar Topics

The impression often exists that the Council Fathers had a general interest in all topics discussed over the course of the four conciliar periods. Some (tense) debates were indeed followed by everyone, but most often bishops showed interest in the development of those schemas that were in line with their interest. Buyse's interests were twofold. First of all, the journal of Buyse bears witness to a particular interest in the debates on the main conciliar documents, its constitutions. These debates indeed dominated the conciliar agenda. He closely followed the debate on the schema *De Ecclesia*, what would become *Lumen gentium*. He clearly was aware of all the possible additions of chapters on *De beata Maria virgine, De revelatione et traditione, and De missionibus,* and a special chapter *De populo Dei* proposed by Cardinal Suenens. Especially the addition of the first he followed with great attention, knowing that »*per se* it matters little whether the schema is taken in the schema *De ecclesia* or outside it, because in any case, it will be the object of very hot discussions.«[6] Buyse himself was nevertheless sure that he would, in a certain way in line with 20th century *ressourcement*, follow the Christological argument »since there is no schema *De Christo*, why should there be one on the *B.M.V.*?«[7] Buyse also paid attention to the discussions on *De liturgia*, resulting in *Sacrosanctum concilium*, as is shown especially by his study of Mgr. Callewaert's[8] »beautiful and substantial report«[9] at the end of the first period. While

6 Buyse, 29 October 1963.
7 Ibid.
8 Karel Justinus Marie Ernest Calewaert (1893-1963) was a Belgian Bishop. He was born in Deinze (Belgium). In 1922 he was ordained priest. He was ordained Bishop of Ghent in 1948. He took part in the first two sessions of the Council.
9 Buyse, 5 December 1962.

he had an interest in the discussion on *De fontibus revelationis*, eventually *Dei verbum*, he nonetheless admitted that he »could not judge on the *intrinsic* value of the arguments in favour or against, because [he was] not acquainted with the modern tendencies in theology and Scripture.«[10] He thus strongly relied on speeches of other Council Fathers, such as those of Cardinal Bea[11] and the Benedictine abbot Butler.[12]

Buyse's view on the schema on the Church *ad extra*, *Gaudium et spes*, deserves particular mention. Indeed already early on Buyse was convinced that »it is all very nice, […] to deal with dogmatic and scriptural matters, but our people and the world expect solutions to their social and moral problems, and we have yet nothing to tell them although we are at the end of this session. If they do not ridicule us, at least they will pity us and feel very disappointed,«[13] thus echoing the speech of Archbishop Dwyer of Leeds.[14] Likewise, Buyse gave ample attention to the Message to the World issued by the Council Fathers during the first period.[15] His journal nuances however the strong vote in favour of this message after it was distributed to the Council Fathers on 20 October 1962.[16] According to him this was more a vote simply agreeing with two proposed amendments. Buyse for example, just wished to show that he agreed with Mgr. Morrow[17] of Krishnagar, who »said that since the Message was addressed to the *whole world*, it had to make sense to the whole world and therefore that many things, or sayings, which were specifically Catholic had to be left out.«[18] Buyse only returned to the content of the actual schema 13, also known as the »Ark of Noah because it tried to bring all kinds and species of men and animals,« in the fourth period.[19] While he was convinced that »there are many highlights in each chapter, each chapter also has its shadows,«[20] he kept his great expectations, for »if the bishops have sometimes been called ›the defenders of the commonwealth‹, this Council could be called ›the defender of humanity‹.«[21] This schema indeed was expected »to tackle some of the most vital and most actual problems, which agitate the hearts of men so deeply nowadays. To mention some of them: they are the problems of the family and marriage, atheistic communism and materialism, the socio-economic problems of the workman and of the third-world, of the devastated and hunger stricken people of developing countries like ours, and the problem of war and peace.«[22]

Secondly, episcopal collegiality comes to the fore in Buyse's journal as a schema-transcending topic. His great concern over this topic can probably best be explained by his experiences with the Pakistan bishops' conference, which will be developed later in this contribution. Following the agenda of the Council, he reflects especially on this theme in the context of the discussions on *De episcopis ac de dioecesium regimine*. When asked to proceed he »voted in favour of interrupting all further discussion on it for the time being,«

10 BUYSE, 20 November 1962.

11 Buyse refers to Bea's speech in the 19th session (AS I/3, 48-52). Augustin Bea (1881-1968) was a German Cardinal, Biblical scholar and President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. In 1959 he was created Cardinal. In 1960 he was appointed President of the Secretary for Promoting Christian Unity. He attended the four conciliar periods. Bea was member of the Central Preparatory Commission and led the Secretary in its efforts to hold a true ›ecumenical‹ Council.

12 Butler's speech was given during the 20th session (AS I/3, 107-108). Christopher Basil Butler (1902-1986) was Abbot President of the English Benedictines. He participated in the four conciliar periods. He became a member of the Theological Commission in 1963.

13 BUYSE, 28 November 1962.

14 George Patrick Dwyer (1908-1987) was born in Manchester (UK). He was ordained priest in 1932. He became Bishop of Leeds in 1957. In 1965 he became archbishop of Birmingham and retired in 1981. He attended the four periods of the Council. He was member of the Commission *De episcopis et dioecesium regimine*. See AS I/3, 685-687.

15 Nuntius ad universos homines mittendus, in: AS I/1, 230-234. The approved text can be found AS I/1, 254-256. Cf. Andrea RICCARDI, The Tumultuous Opening Days of the Council, in: Giuseppe ALBERIGO/Joseph A. KOMONCHAK [ed.], The History of the Second Vatican Council: Vol. 2. The Formation of the Council's Identity. First Period and Intersession. October 1962 – September 1963, Maryknoll/Leuven 1997, 50-53; Leo DECLERCK/Claude SOETENS (ed.), Carnets Conciliaires de L'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue, Louvain-la-Neuve 2000, 37.

for he was convinced that »the council is still stuck with the question of the collegiality of the bishops.«[23] He later repeatedly noted that the pending question on collegiality not only obstructed the discussions on this schema, but it »must also have its repercussion on the question of the bishops' conferences.«[24] Indeed, throughout the Council he repeatedly called for a more clear definition of the canonical and juridical nature of the bishops' conferences. These two elements might also explain why Buyse rejoiced so much in the promulgation of the motu proprio *Apostolica sollicitudo* by which Pope Paul VI installed the bishops' synod. Buyse indeed considered this »the predominant event of the first week« of the fourth conciliar period.[25] He was convinced this was a way to »secure [the Council's] lasting results« and a »concrete expression of the feeling of solidarity among the episcopate.«[26]

Another such schema-transcending topic was his sensitivity for matters concerned with the clergy. In the first period, his predilection for highlighting also the universal call to holiness of priests even brought him to submit one of his few written remarks, namely on the ambiguous use of *fideles* in the *De liturgia*. As he pointed out this word referred both to the clergy and the laity, but in common use it was often only used for the latter group: »If only, this Holy Council would not only display the Christian life as something ›between faithful laymen‹, but also, and perhaps even to greater extent, increasingly as ›between faithful priests‹.«[27] He repeated this call in 1963, retaking the words of Cardinal Gilroy:[28] »›If the Council does not succeed to increase the degree of sanctity in the bishops and the clergy, whatever else it may achieve will be a failure‹.«[29] His interest in the conciliar view on the clergy became again apparent when in the second period, on 29 November 1963, the Council Fathers were given a message to the priests that was prepared by Mgr. Renard[30] and some other French bishops. The message was supposed to fill in the gap concerning the priesthood that the Council had left open. Buyse and the other Council Fathers had been given twenty-four hours to react to this message.[31] Buyse was correct in assessing that he »does not expect it to be welcome, and it is certainly not welcome to the religious, and, it is to be voted upon next Monday by means of bulleting votes, I don't expect it to be accepted by the Council.«[32] Buyse was among the sixty bishops to submit remarks. His focused on the general exclusion and misrepresentation of the religious-priests in the message. For instance, »only those religious-priests who exercise the *cura animarum christifidelium* are said to share in the *unitate ejusdem missionis*, but not in that of the priesthood and of holiness. And they are told that they should live in peace with the secular priests and comply with the wishes of the bishops.«[33] Particularly relating to his situation was his remark that »other religious priests who exercise all other types of apostolate, even those who care for the *infidels*, are not considered,« and should be included.[34] Funny enough, both of his

16 The comments of the Fathers can be found in AS I/1, 234-250, as well as the words of Liénart: AS I/1, 250-254.
17 Louis La Ravoire Morrow (1892-1987) was Bishop of Krishnagar (India). He was born in Weatherford, Texas (USA). Morrow was ordained priest of Salesians of Saint John Bosco in 1921. In 1939 he became Bishop of Krishnagar. He retired and became titular Bishop of Valliposita in 1969. He resigned in 1971. He attended the four periods of the Council.
18 See AS I/1, 247.
19 BUYSE, 27 September 1965.
20 BUYSE, 7 October 1965.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 BUYSE, 5-6 November 1963. Buyse's vote was lost, see AS II/4, 505; 522.
24 BUYSE, 7-8 November 1963.
25 BUYSE, 16 September 1965. Apostolica Sollicitudo, motu proprio of Pope Paul VI, in: AAS 57 (1965) 775-780.
26 BUYSE, 25 September 1965.
27 BUYSE, 17 November 1962.
28 See AS II/3, 595-596.
29 BUYSE, 29 October 1963.
30 Alexandre-Charles-Albert-Joseph Renard (1906-1983) was Bishop of Versailles (France). In 1967 he was appointed archbishop of Lyon (France) and was created Cardinal. He attended the four conciliar periods.
31 The distribution of this Nuntius can be found in AS II/6, 306.
32 BUYSE, 30 November 1963.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid. See also Claude SOETENS, The Ecumenical Commitment of the Catholic Church, in: Giuseppe ALBERIGO/Joseph A. KOMONCHAK (ed.), History of Vatican II: Vol. 3. The Mature Council: Second Period and Intersessio: September 1963-September 1964, Maryknoll/Leuven 2000, 318-319.

concerns – that for the universal call of holiness of priests and the relation between secular and religious priests – came together in a reflection on the Republic of India: »In his intervention the Bishop of Hyderabad (Decau) this morning pleaded that the word ›secular‹ be replaced by ›diocesan‹ when we speak of non-religious priests.[35] On our way home in the Bus, Mgr. Evangelisti[36] O.F.M. Cap of Meerut made an allusion to it in public, as I entered the Bus, and I replied: what about the *Secular* Republic of India? ›Yes‹ he said, ›we should try to find another term for it‹.«[37]

2.2 A Conciliar Process

While the journal gives some insight on Buyse's view on conciliar themes, it highlights even more his experience of the conciliar process. Indeed, time and again it shows how Buyse's presence was shaped by the contribution of other Council Fathers, where it was similar to their experiences and the way in which he sought his own position. First of all, Buyse's journal gives an insight into his understanding of the procedures and especially his view on the interplay between the conciliar minority and majority. At the start of the Council he quickly noticed the curial attempts to have the preparatory schemas accepted as quickly as possible. Cardinal Ottaviani's[38] critique on the insertion of the article on communion under both species in the schema on the liturgy is seen in particular as such an attempt.[39] Moreover, the moment the bishops were given the opportunity to elect the members of the different commissions, Buyse rightfully feels that efforts are undertaken by Cardinal Ottaviani and the secretariat of the Council to get their candidates elected. At the same time he noticed that in reaction other groups of bishops came together to compose lists of candidates for the different commissions.[40] Yet Buyse remained uninvolved, not knowing whom to vote for and even considering submiting a blank form. It is therefore no unimportant event, when Cardinals Liénart[41] and Frings[42] successfully pleaded in favour of the different bishops' conferences to submit their lists.[43]

The particularities of a conciliar process even became more tricky the moment the voting started. Sometimes it seems there was general confusion if one was allowed to vote *placet*, *non-placet* or even *placet juxta modum*,[44] other times the significance of votes has to be nuanced, for example the strict divide between *placet* and *non-placet*, because at times for

35 Buyse is referring to the speech of Mgr. Joseph Marcus Gopu: AS II/4, 68-70.
36 Joseph Bartholomew Evangelisti (1908-1976) was archbishop of Meerut (India). He was born in Casa Calistri (Italy). He was ordained priest in the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in 1932. In 1956 he was appointed archbishop of Meerut. He resigned in 1973. Evangelisti attended all four periods of the Council.
37 BUYSE, 31 October 1963.
38 Alfredo Ottaviani (1890-1979) was Cardinal and Secretary of the Congregation of the Holy Office. In 1953 he was created Cardinal and became the Pro-Secretary of the Congregation of the Holy Office. Six years later he became the Secretary of the same Congregation. After the Council was announced Ottaviani became President of the Preparatory Theological Commission. He attended the four conciliar periods in the role of President of the Doctrinal Commission. After the Council he became Pro-Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.
39 See BUYSE, 30 October 1962. The speech of Ottaviani can be found: AS I/2, 18-20.
40 An insight in this process can be found in Mathijs LAMBERIGTS / Leo DECLERCK, Le rôle de l'épiscopat belge dans l'élection des commissions conciliaires en octobre 1962, in: Jean LECLERCQ (ed.), La raison par quatre chemins. En hommage à Claude Troisfontaines (Bibliothèque philosophiques de Louvain, 73), Louvain-la-Neuve/Leuven/Paris/Dudley 2007, 279-306 and Mathijs LAMBERIGTS / Alois GREILER, Concilium episcoporum est: The interventions of Liénart and Frings Revisited, October 13th, 1962, in: Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 73 (1997) 54-71.
41 Achille Liénart (1884-1973) was Bishop of Lille (France) and Cardinal. He was born in Lille. He was ordained in 1907. In 1928 he became Bishop of Lille. In 1930 he was created Cardinal. He was member of the Board of Presidency and of the Coordinating Commission.
42 Josef Frings (1887-1978) was archbishop of Cologne (Germany) and Cardinal. He was born in Neuss (Germany). He became archbishop of Cologne in 1942. He was created Cardinal in 1946. He retired in 1969. Frings attended all four periods of the Council. Before the Council he was member of the Central Preparatory Commission. During the Council he was member of the Board of Presidency and of the Commission for Technical Affairs at Vatican II.

Buyse *placet* »meant nothing more than *transeat*,« because »all the amendments are of little or no consequence.«[45] This feeling was also shared by others, for when Buyse »met a Maronite ArchBishop (Mgr. Khoury Joseph[46]) in the Refreshment Room, he expressed the same opinion as mine and made a sign with his thumb and index finger to say they were of no consequence whatsoever.«[47]

This also urges researchers, be they church historians, systematic theologians, or others, not to overestimate the organic character of the conciliar event. At times it could be very chaotic and precarious, as Buyse notes in 1963: »the council seems to get into another impasse.«[48] Things got even worse, because »as the days went by, the confusion increased. The debates are not being guided and coordinated in any way. Most bewildering statements, suggestions and demands are being advanced, and the ›moderators‹ do not seem to be any more capable of conducting the sessions than the ›praesides‹ of last year were.' And when the proposal to close the debates on the second chapter was made, it met (as happened last year in similar circumstances) with a tremendous applause.«[49] This even led Council Fathers such as Buyse to think that not much was going to happen: »Mgr. F.B. Cialeo[50] had written me that he expected big decisions being taken during this session. I replied that, looking through the latest schemata, I didn't expect any. These schemata round off the sharp edges and rend them to post-conciliar commissions and the like.«[51] Moreover, the organisation of the different commissions and the establishment of secretariats even pushed cynical remarks that these bodies were there »to help to solve the problem of unemployment in the Church!«[52]

Not only were the different procedures sometimes a factor of demotivation for the bishops, but also the general development of the conciliar event was experienced as being »boring« by times.[53] As his discussion with his fellow Capuchin Mgr. Léon Delaere[54] made clear, Buyse was certainly not alone in this feeling.[55] He was however quite unique in his interest for the attendance of Council Fathers, for he was convinced that »it cannot go on like that much longer, or else many will absent themselves or even leave Rome.«[56] This impression was indeed underscored by the declining number of attendees. Looking at Buyse's numbers – 2363 (23 October 1962), 2279 (29 October 1962); 2193 (5 November 1962); 2214 (7 November 1962); 2172 (10 November 1962); 1941 (31 October 1963) – one can imagine this feeling of a gradual decline. Moreover, it evidently aligns with his impression

43 AS I/1, 208.
44 See BUYSE, 17 November 1962.
45 BUYSE, 30 November 1962.
46 Joseph Khoury (1919-1992) was the Maronite archbishop of Tyr (Lebanon). He was born in Bekassine. In 1942 he was ordained priest. He became Titular Bishop of Ptolemais in Phoenicia dei Maroniti in 1956. In 1959 Khoury became archbishop. He attended all four periods of the Council.
47 BUYSE, 30 November 1962.
48 BUYSE, 16 October 1963.
49 BUYSE, 17-25 October 1963. Around the same time Schillebeeckx noted: »Between 20-30 October, there were claims that the ›moderators‹ […] had little to direct and that the Council had reached dreadlock« (Karim SCHELKENS [ed.], The Council Notes of Edward Schillebeeckx 1962-1963, Leuven 2011, 33).
50 Francesco Benedetto Cialeo (1901-1985) was Bishop of Lyallpur (Pakistan). Cialeo was born in Calitri. He was ordained priest in the Order of Friars Preachers in 1924. In 1937 he was appointed prefect of Multan (Pakistan) and Bishop in 1939. In 1960 he was appointed to the see of Lyallpur of which he retired in 1976. He took part in the four periods of the Council.
51 BUYSE, 30 July 1964.
52 BUYSE, 5 October 1965.
53 BUYSE, 24 October 1963.
54 Léon Théobald Delaere (1898-1983) was Bishop of Molegbe (Congo). He was born in Gullegem (Belgium). He was ordained priest in the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in 1923. He became Apostolic Vicar of Ubhanghi Belga (Congo) and Titular Bishop of Fesseë in 1958. In 1959 he became Bishop of Molegbe. He resigned in 1967 and became Titular Bishop of Rusibisir. He resigned again in 1976. He attended all four periods of the Council.
55 Hermaniuk also noted that »the discussion was once again long, unpleasant« (The Second Vatican Council Diaries of Met. Maxim Hermaniuk: C.SS.R. [1960-1965], Translated by J.Z. SKIRA, annotated by Karim SCHELKENS, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2012, 74).
56 BUYSE, 24 October 1962.

that »everyone is becoming fed-up and there are widespread demands for a change in the procedure.«[57] Listening to all the speeches proved to be especially challenging. Buyse for instance noted: »I still fail to see why we should have to listen to all these speeches! There are some good ones, but it remains a tiring job to pay continued attention and to follow the arguments and there seems to be no way out«.[58] This feeling was even stimulated by the interactions among the Council Fathers, when for example »[Mgr. Sigismondi] asked whether [Mgr. Buyse] was not yet tired, and he dropped his arms in lassitude«.[59] It was thus understandable that at times the Council Fathers »did not seem to be in a mood to pay attention. They seemed to have their thoughts more on the All Saints' holidays and their excursions outside Rome than on Council matters.«[60] This might explain why at the start of the last period, bishops such as Buyse were convinced that »we better break up soon and go home before more nonsense is talked at the Council,«[61] since it was feared that this period too would pass »uneventful in the old fashion of us sitting down to listen to any amount of speeches contradicting each other.«[62] And indeed, towards the end of his journal Buyse concludes that »it is a good thing that this will be the end of the Council. Everybody had got enough of it.«[63]

2.3 A Council in the Modern World

While the conciliar procedures took place in a century's old tradition, it was undeniable that this was a Council in the twentieth century, the age of progress. This became apparent in the media coverage of the Council on the one hand, and the possibilities of keeping the faithful up to date on the conciliar proceedings on the other. Indeed, first of all, the importance and role of the new media is clearly present in Buyse's journal. From the start of the first period – when Buyse was seated in the plane next to Louis Meerts,[64] Chief Editor of the Flemish newspaper *Gazet van Antwerpen* – up to the last period – when he gave an interview to Argentine television – the Council received ample media coverage.[65] Even more, Buyse himself relied on this news coverage to be and remain fully informed on the Council: it was an opportunity to reconsider moments where he had been present, and those he had missed, as for example the Pope's ›speech to the moon‹.[66]

At the same time, Buyse's journal also proves the influential character of the media. They indeed played an important role. In the debates concerning the dissolving of marriages for instance an article of ArchBishop Roberts[67] was widely read and used: he had »told a reporter of the (Lahore) Times that it took Rome 10 years before deciding a matrimonial case *De rato sed non-consummato* marriage. I happened to read the same news this evening in the Lebanon Catholic Herald of 1/11. But I also found a letter in the correspondence columns of this same paper and later from the office of Southwark in which he refers that there had been eleven cases presented from his diocese between 1958 and 1963, which had all been answered by Rome. This is an average of 5 ½ months per case; but that is the kind

57 BUYSE, 27 October 1962. Charue also noticed this fatigueness: »Les Pères ont marqué plusieurs fois leur fatigue« (DECLERCK / SOETENS [ed.], Carnets [see n. 15], 40). Hermaniuk wrote on the same day: »Again, a lot of repetition, eloquent words and exhortations« (The Second Vatican Council [see n. 55], 75).
58 BUYSE, 2-4 October 1963.
59 BUYSE, 4 November 1962.
60 BUYSE, 31 October 1963.
61 BUYSE, 13 October 1965.
62 BUYSE, 25 September 1965.
63 BUYSE, 13 September 1965.
64 Louis Meerts (1920-2007) was Chief Editor of the Flemish newspaper *Gazet van Antwerpen* between 1949 and 1985.
65 See BUYSE, 22 September 1965.
66 Speech to the moon, allocution of Pope JOHN XXIII, 11 October 1962, in AAS 54 (1962) 820-821; AS I/1, 202-203.
67 Thomas Roberts (1893-1976) was Titular archbishop of Sugdaea. He was born in Le Havre (France). He was ordained Priest of the Society of Jesus in 1925. He became archbishop of Bombay (India) in 1937. In 1950 he resigned and was appointed Titular

of propaganda that is going round in the Council and outside.«[68] The media played a similar role in the debates surrounding the question of celibacy. In 1965, around the time the Pope decided to intervene with regards to the question on debating celibacy or not at the Council,[69] Buyse reported that »all kinds of rumours go round on this topic.«[70] *The Rome American Daily* for instance noted, according to Buyse, the disposition of 10.000 petitions. This added to other rumours Buyse heard ranging from 15.000 petitions from Italian priests alone to a Congolese petition, signed by 80 percent of the Congolese priests. Buyse was however strongly aware that news coverage on the Council or Church matters was not infallible. After Mgr. Van Cauwelaert for instance was quoted on the concelebration and adaptation of the liturgy to the needs of the people in Fesquet's *La Croix Journal du Concile*,[71] it was said that he rather wished »to hear his own voice!!!«[72] Or, when he remained in Pakistan during the second period, he noticed that »four hours after the event had concluded, the Vatican radio bulletin of 16 hours G.M.T. (9 p.m. Pakistan Time) spoke of the event ›which *will* take place tomorrow morning at 9 a.m.‹! […] It then gave a lengthy description of the rite of concelebration as it will happen ›tomorrow morning‹!!!«[73]

The media was not only a source of information on conciliar matters, it also allowed the bishops to remain informed on the situation in the local dioceses, ranging from trivial matters, such as Justice Cornelius'[74] views on the state of cricket in Pakistan,[75] to more important aspects. For the Pakistan bishops it was even often their only source of information concerning the situation in their dioceses in periods of war. Thus when »the bishops of Pakistan, met for the first time in the Basilica of Saint Peter on Tuesday the 14th September [1965] for the opening ceremony of the fourth Session of the Vatican Council we asked each other with anxious looks in the eyes: ›What news have you got?‹ Alas! No one had any to give; we only knew the sad stories which the Press, Radio and Televisions report. I for my part knew that the Sisters of Jesus and Mary from Sialkot had been brought safely to Lahore.«[76]

The Second Vatican Council was also unique in the almost simultaneous feedback to the local communities of faithful. Buyse appealed in this regard to his *Roman greetings*: regular updates to his faithful on what was happening in Rome. On the one hand it was a way to keep them informed on conciliar decisions. The discourse makes clear that as a Bishop, he especially tried to rouse interest in the Council. Note for instance Buyse's description of the penitential procession on the Council's opening day, which he claimed »made a profound impression on thousands of people who witnessed it and joined in the singing and praying.«[77] At the same time he tried to connect the daily life of his Church community with the Council. This becomes clear when Buyse recommended Eucharistic adoration as a means »to join us in Rome by means of paying frequent visits to the Blessed Sacrament in your churches and chapels, and there to pray fervently for the final success of the Council.«[78] This particular discourse also resulted in a sometimes overly positive reporting on the Council, contrasting with his personal evaluation in his journal.

archbishop of Sugdaea. He resigned again in 1970. He attended the four conciliar periods.

68 BUYSE, 7-8 November 1963.

69 One can find this text in the form of a letter to Tisserant (AS IV/1, 40). See also Mauro VELATI, Completing the Conciliar Agenda, in: Giuseppe ALBERIGO / Joseph A. KOMONCHAK (ed.), The History of Vatican II, Vol. 5. The Council and the Transition. The Fourth Period and the End of the Council. September 1965 – December 1965, Maryknoll/Leuven 2006, 185-273. 231-237.

70 BUYSE, 13 October 1965.

71 Henri FESQUET, Le journal du concile, Le Jas du Revest-St-Martin: R. Morel, 1966, 70. Van Cauwelaert's speech was given on the 31st October during the eleventh congregation, see: AS I/2, 94-96.

72 BUYSE, 4 November 1962.

73 BUYSE, 14 September 1964.

74 Alvin Robert Cornelius (1903-1991) was Chief Justice of Pakistan between 1960 and 1968. He was also Chairperson of the Pakistan Cricket Board between 1960 and 1963.

75 See BUYSE, 30 October 1962.

76 BUYSE, 16 September 1965.

77 BUYSE, 19 September 1965.

78 Ibid.

On the other hand, these *Roman greetings* also gave Buyse the opportunity to express his sharing in the life of his ecclesial community. They were indeed more often concerned with other matters than the Council, for instance the death of missionaries or the political situation and the Indo-Pakistani war ahead. Thus it is no surprise that Buyse related his conciliar participation with this situation to the best of his abilities. Note for instance his first *Roman greetings* from 1965: »For us, the bishops of Pakistan (and of course also for our Indian Colleagues) this session of the Council opened in an atmosphere of gloom and anxiety; and, together with His Holiness the Pope and many Bishops, we fervently prayed during the inaugural Mass that God may keep you safe, protect you from all harm, and bring this war to a speedy and peaceful end.«[79]

In similar terms Buyse made it clear that the »solemn inauguration of this session of the Council […] was definitely in keeping with the anxious times the world, and particularly you and me, are passing through.«[80] He even pointed out that the Pope himself had made reference to the Pakistan situation when he said that »it is our ardent wish and prayer that the violent conflicts between peoples which are so much in need of living in brotherly love and peace may soon come to an end, and that peace may soon reign supreme among all nations and for all times.«[81]

3 Bishop of Lahore

3.1 Brief Note on the History of the Diocese of Lahore

The Christian presence in Punjab had a rich history before the arrival of the Capuchin missionaries.[82] While the presence of Thomas-Christians remains disputed, a first official activity of Christian missionaries in the region can be situated in the sixteenth century when emperor Akbar invited Jesuits to his court. The position of Christianity remained precarious under the subsequent emperors, but there was always a Christian presence in Lahore. This came to an end in 1752 when the Durrani king Ahmed Shah Abdali overran the province of Punjab. Only in the mid-19th century did Christian missionaries return in the wake of the English army invading Punjab. In 1846 the Roman Catholic apostolic vicariate of Agra included the region of Punjab and a first church was erected in Lahore under the guidance of apostolic vicar Gaetano Carli.[83] Ten years later, in 1856, the Sisters of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary of Lyon founded their first school for English Catholic families at Sialkot. A second school was opened in Lahore in 1876. While the first two missionaries were secular priests, the Capuchins had taken over responsibility in the whole region by 1860. In 1880 the apostolic vicariate of Punjab was erected, separate from Agra. In 1886 this vicariate became a diocese with Lahore as episcopal see. The first Bishop was still a Frenchman,[84] but after the diocese was entrusted to the Belgian Capuchins in 1888 they started their mission actively. Only two years later the first Belgian Capuchin Bishop was appointed.[85] An almost centenarian Belgian Capuchin tradition of apostolic succession had begun.

79 Buyse, 16 September 1965.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid. See AAS 57 (1965) 803; AS IV/1, 133-134.
82 On the history of the Christian and more in particular the Capuchin mission in Lahore, Pakistan, see Emmanuel Masih, Belgian Capuchin Mission in Punjab (Pakistan) 1888-1994 (License Thesis at the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2010-2011); Fidentian Van den Broucke / Daniel Suply, Capuchins Missionaries in the Punjab (India and Pakistan) 1888-2011, Lahore 2011; Thomas Van Laer / Emmerich van Izegem, In het land der vijf rivieren: vijftig jaar missie-arbeid in Panjab (Engelsch-Indie) 1888-1938, Antwerpen 1938; Lahore diocese, in: D. D'Souza, Capuchin Missions in India, Karnataka, s.d., 113-122.
83 Gaetano Carli (1811-1887) was an Italian Capuchin. He was appointed apostolic vicar of Tibet-Hindustan in 1842, and apostolic vicar of Agra in 1846. In 1856 he resigned and was succeeded by Angelicus Bedenik.
84 Symphorien Mouard (1828-1890) was a French Capuchin. He was first appointed apostolic vicar of Sychelles in 1882. In 1888 he was appointed Bishop of Lahore.

The Belgian missionaries were characterised by their active involvement in missions among the non-English colonists. After the conversion of the Indian Rallia Ram to Catholicism other members of the class of the untouchables of the Sialkot district converted as well. Interesting to note is that they had previously been converted to Presbyterianism. Many others followed suit. By 1889 the Capuchin missionaries had already visited fifty villages in order to catechise them. On 22 September 1889 the first 75 Catholics were baptised. The missionaries went further and started to establish permanent mission stations in Daoke, Adha, and Manpur as well. Yet these apparent first successes were confronted with opposition from the Protestant missionaries,[86] but also with rejection by the early converted. In December 1891 only 282 Catholics remained. The mission seemed to have failed. Only in 1893, after Godfried Pelckmans[87] was appointed third Bishop of Lahore, did the mission find a new start and was organised more strictly. The Capuchins founded Christian colonies (Mariabad, Khuspur, and Franciscabad), reinvested in previous missionary stations, and constructed buildings (e.g. a Cathedral, an Episcopal residence, and St. Anthony's school). Furthermore, a study house for young missionaries was founded in Alverna as well. The decision to send students to the missions was a novelty within the order and was strongly supported by the Propaganda Fidei. Their efforts resulted in a mass movement of conversions of the lower classes to the Catholic Church.

The period between the two world wars was marked by a development from crisis, to a firmly established Church, to crisis again. During the First World War no new missionaries had arrived and the financial problems had accumulated. Nevertheless, the remaining missionaries had continued to invest in the diocese: a first indigenous congregation for women was founded at Rahmpur, a new mission station was opened in Narowal and a program for the first communion of the faithful was set up. With the appointment of Bishop Cartry[88] the Punjab mission was strengthened. As a result, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Capuchin presence in Lahore, the diocese consisted of thousands of Catholics. The Second World War ended the fruitful prospects for the diocese. The situation was troubled even more by the Independence of Pakistan. In this tense context Marcel Roger Buyse was appointed sixth Bishop of Lahore. In this same tensed context the interplay of the Pakistan bishops at the Council happened.

3.2 Pakistan Bishops' Conference

One of the most striking features of Buyse's notes is the developing story on the organisation of the Pakistan bishops' conference during the Council. If the journal proves one thing, it is that the organisation of this conference was involved with many tensions throughout the four conciliar periods. While at the start of the Council it was felt that the Pakistan bishops had to meet – certainly to compose their lists to elect members of the commissions – an actual convention was only possible after the Indian Bishops, under guidance of Cardinal

85 Emmanuel van den Bosch (1854-1921) was Bishop of Lahore between 1890 and 1892. In that year he was appointed archbishop of Agra, which he remained until 1897.
86 For a critical account of these protestant missions see Jeffrey Cox, Imperial Fault Lines. Christianity and Colonial Power in India. 1818-1940, Stanford 2002.
87 Godfried Pelckmans (1854-1904) was Bishop of Lahore between 1893 and 1904.
88 Hector Catry (1889-1972) was Bishop of Lahore between 1928 and 1946.

Gracias,[89] invited them to their meeting together with the Burmese and Ceylon bishops.[90] Despite this joint effort, Cardinal Gracias still decided at the meeting of 14 October 1962 that the different conferences still had to draft their own lists.[91] Now it finally was the time for Mgr. Graner,[92] the chairman of the conference, and Mgr. Cialeo to come into action. Thus, already the next day the eleven Pakistan bishops had their first autonomous meeting to prepare their list of eligible candidates.[93]

It proved however hard to make this into a permanent cooperation. Around five days later Mgr. van Miltenburg[94] and Buyse were indeed convinced that they had to come together again to discuss the schema *De liturgia*. When Buyse addressed the chairman of their bishops' conference, Mgr. Graner, he told him to »tell Mgr. Cordeiro,« to which Buyse evidently replied he »wouldn't since he (Graner) is the chairman of our conference.«[95] Not that this mattered much, for Mgr. Cialeo made it clear too »that he did not think we should« have a meeting. A last appeal of Buyse to Mgr. Cordeiro and Cialeo turned out negative for »both replied that they had nothing to say« on the matter.[96] Two days later, 22 October 1962, the minds began however to shift: While Mgr. Graner was still »of the opinion that Mgr. Cordeiro was not at all interested in having a meeting,« the latter »told [Buyse] on our way out of the session that [they] might have a meeting later on.«[97]

The moment the meetings were organised in a more or less organized way it became however clear that the bishops had to face strong differences. Buyse nevertheless made an effort to stimulate their cooperation, but his suggestions were not received with great enthusiasm. His suggestion to Graner to invite an American Bishop to talk on the organisation of their bishops' conference was not heeded.[98] The same was true for other topics Buyse considered ready for discussion: »none of the items I had sent in to ArchBishop Graner were even mentioned by him.«[99] Even worse, the weekly meetings were delayed and »no reasons were assigned!«[100] As such, Buyse could only look with a certain jealousy to the Indian bishops who came together every ten days during the Council.[101]

The second period started nevertheless in a better way. Already in the first week a meeting was arranged.[102] Unfortunately, the meetings turned out not to be anything more productive than the year before: »The first time we were all there, but there was no agenda.«[103] While they had agreed to meet every week, the meetings were soon witnessed by the same failures as the year before: »It is a waste of time, there is no agenda.«[104] This however turned out not to be by accident, for around the same time Mgr. Cordeiro wrote a note in the name of the bishops of Pakistan to indicate that they »didn't want any juridical powers to their conference except on matters referred to them by the Holy See and on matters decided

89 Valerian Gracias (1900-1978) was born in Karachi. He was ordained priest in the diocese of Bombay (India) in 1926. He became Auxiliary Bishop of Bombay and was made Titular Bishop of Thennesus in 1946. He was appointed archbishop of Bombay in 1950. In 1953 he was created Cardinal. He participated in all four periods of the Council.

90 See Buyse, 13 October 1962.

91 Paul Pulikkan (Indian Church at Vatican II: A Historico-Theological Study of the Indian Participation in the Second Vatican Council [Marymatha Publications, 1], Trichur 2001, 202-203) mentions this meeting, but gives no further indication about the exclusion of the Pakistanian bishops.

92 Lawrence Leo Graner (1901-1982) was born in Franklin. He was ordained priest of Congregation of the Holy Cross in 1928. In 1947 he became Bishop of Dacca (Bangladesh). In 1950 he was appointed as archbishop of Dacca. In 1967 he resigned and became Titular archbishop of Vazari-Didda and resigned from this position in 1971. He attended the first two periods of the Council.

93 Mgr. Graner: *De sacramentis*; Mgr. Cordeiro: *De liturgia*; Mgr. Cialeo: *De religiosis*; Mgr. van Miltenburg: *De missionibus*.

94 James Cornelius van Miltenburg (1909-1966) was born in Harmelen in the Netherlands. He was ordained priest in the Order of Friars Minor in 1935. He became Bishop of Karachi (Pakistan). In 1950 he became archbishop of Karachi. He was appointed archbishop of Hyderabad (Pakistan) in 1958. He attended the four periods of the Council.

95 Buyse, 20 October 1962.

96 Ibid.

97 Buyse, 22 October 1962.

98 See Buyse 10 November 1962.

99 Buyse, 23 November 1962.

upon by the Council.«[105] In opposition, Buyse did precisely not see the point of having a bishops' conference without this juridical authority.

The last period of the Council the Pakistan bishops engaged again in meeting on a weekly basis.[106] There even was a certain goodwill to organize the meetings in a better way. On the suggestion of Buyse, the third meeting was even supposed to discuss the constitution and nature of the bishops' conference. This was a sensitive topic, because of the existing tensions between the bishops of East and West Pakistan. This tension was already present from the second conciliar period onwards, during which the establishment of a new ecclesial province in West Pakistan had been a main point of discussion. While it may be true that Buyse proposed to install »a permanent Council of bishops and a Secretary General with definite functions«[107] to overcome these tensions, his suggestion was dismissed for it was felt that these functions were already given shape by Mgr. Graner, president of the conference, and Mgr. Cordeiro, who acted as a kind of secretary general. Thus, despite the Council's turn towards episcopal collegiality, the Pakistan bishops' conference had according to Buyse still had a long way to go.

3.3 Education

The expansion of the education system in his diocese proved to be one of the main focal points of Buyse. This became clear first of all in Buyse's contacts with representatives of different religious orders specialized in education. Being in Rome proved to an advantage in making contacts with all possible stakeholders. Take for instance a lunch in 1962 during which Buyse talked with the Superior General of the Eudist Fathers, Armand Le Bourgeois.[108] One of the main topics in their conversations was Buyse's unsuccessful request for sending teachers for the Lahore Seminary ten years earlier. This resulted in the uncomfortable situation, where the Superior General had to admit that his refusal was explained because he had just accepted a request of an archbishop of the Ivory Coast. By coincidence another archbishop of the Yvory Coast, Yago Bernard,[109] was present at this same lunch.[110] His interest in teachers is also highlighted in his contacts with the Jesus and Mary Sisters.[111] They had a convent in Lahore, but were planning a new foundation in Lebanon and would thus leave Sialkot and their educational project there.[112] They wanted to go to Lebanon to set up English-speaking schools for after the French had given up their mandate over the State of Greater Lebanon in 1943 and left in 1946, English had gained ground and Protestant churches took advantage of this situation by establishing English-speaking schools.

100 BUYSE, 30 November 1962.
101 See BUYSE, 30 September and 1 October 1963.
102 See BUYSE, 2-4 October 1963.
103 BUYSE, 13 November 1963.
104 Ibid.
105 BUYSE, 14 November 1963. The note can be found in AS II/5, 284.
106 See BUYSE, 21 September 1965.
107 BUYSE, 11 October 1965.
108 Armand François Le Bourgeois (1911-2005) was member of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary. In 1966 Le Bourgeois became Bishop of Autun. He retired in 1987. He participated at the Council being the Superior General of the Eudist Fathers since 1953. He was the Secretary of the Union of Superior Generals.
109 Bernard Yago (1916-1997) was archbishop of Abidjan (Ivory Coast). He was born in Pass. He was ordained Priest of Abidjan in 1947. He became Archbishop in 1960. In 1983 he was created Cardinal. He retired in 1994. He attended the four periods of the Council. He was a member of the Commission *De missionibus*.
110 See BUYSE, 22 October 1962.
111 The religious Congregation the Sisters of Jesus and Mary was founded in 1818 in Lyon. They started their missionary work in the region of Punjab in 1842. Since their apostolate focused on education, they founded two schools in this region: one in Sialkot (1856) and one in Lahore (1876). Their knowledge of the country, the people and their language was of great help for the missionaries.
112 See esp. BUYSE, 25 October 1962; 26 October 1962.

Mgr. Elie Farah[113] thus felt the need to compete and establish also Catholic English-speaking schools. The Sisters of Jesus and Mary seemed the best candidates to organise this. Buyse was not opposed to this idea – maybe partly explained by Mgr. Cordeiro's[114] remark that he was »very disappointed […] about their Clifton school *[in Karachi]*.«[115] Finding another congregation to take over this project seemed thus the right way to proceed. The first that came to mind were the Christ the King nuns from Mgr. Cordeiro's diocese. Buyse however had to assure Cordeiro that they had enough staff to support both schools and that Cordeiro did not have to invest any finances of the diocese. Soon a compromise was found: Although a number of the Sialkot sisters of Jesus and Mary would go to Lebanon. They would make sure that a number of other sisters would be installed in Sialkot.

Secondly, Buyse was strongly concerned with the seminaries under his supervision. He was a main promotor of the expansion of the Lahore Major Seminary.[116] Here again he was constantly in search of capable teachers. For instance, when Mgr. Le Brie Napoleon[117] came over for lunch, Buyse was quick enough to ask him, as National Director of the Propaganda Fidei for the francophone region of Canada, if there was any possibility to have priests of the Holy Cross Fathers of Cittagong to come to teach at the Lahore Seminary.[118] Buyse was also constantly concerned with the different minor seminaries as well.[119] At the request of the Pakistan bishops' conference Mgr. Cialeo had conducted a visitation of this seminar in the middle of August 1963. It took however much convincing of Mgr. Buyse to bring this topic to discussion at their weekly meetings. When it was finally discussed, it turned out that one of the main problems in the Karachi seminaries was the lack of Latin knowledge by the students. Professors could thus not possibly teach all of their courses in Latin. The Pakistan bishops easily agreed – in line with global developments – not to insist on the use of Latin. This introduced however a new problem: if the professors would be allowed to teach in the vernacular, which language would be used: English or Urdu? Seemingly unanimously the first was preferred. Mgr. Cialeo would write a letter to the professors, but »three weeks further,« Buyse wrote down that he had not »heard of it yet.«[120]

4 Between Rome and Pakistan, Between Christianity and Islam

When Buyse arrived in Rome on 8 October 1962 to attend the first period of the Second Vatican Council, he clearly felt torn between this global gathering of the Church and the situation of his own diocese. The rising tensions between Pakistan and India were clearly felt in Lahore. After the partition of British India in 1947 into the Dominion of India, a secular nation with a Hindu majority, and the Dominion of Pakistan, an Islamic republic with a Muslim majority, all princely states chose which newly founded nation they wanted to

113 Elie Farah (1909-2003) was Maronite archbishop of Cipro (Cyprus). He was born in Kafar Berhem (Cyprus). He was ordained priest in 1935. He became Archbishop in 1954. He retired in 1986. He attended the first, third and fourth period of the Council.

114 Joseph Marie Anthony Cordeiro (1918-1944) was archbishop of Karachi (Pakistan). Cordeiro was born in Bombay (India). He was ordained priest of Karachi in 1946. He became archbishop of Karachi in 1958. In 1973 he was elevated to Cardinal-Priest of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte. He took active part in the four periods of the Second Vatican Council and was member of the Conciliar commission *De religiosis*.

115 BUYSE, 26 October 1962.

116 See BUYSE, 27 September 1965.

117 Napoléon-Alexandre La Brie (1893-1973) was Titular Bishop of Hilta. In 1922 he was ordained priest in the Congregation of Jesus and Mary. Le Brie was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Golfe St.-Laurent, Québec (Canada) in 1938. In 1945 he became Bishop of Golfe St.-Laurent. He resigned in 1956 and became Titular Bishop of Hilta. He attended the first, second and fourth period of the Council.

belong to. As a consequence, a massive emigration of minority groups took place and riots broke out: up to 12.5 million people migrated and up to 1 million deaths were accounted. If this was not sufficient yet for years of frictions to come, the troubles surrounding the accession of the states of Junagadh and Kashmir only stirred up the existing disputes. Especially the Kashmir conflict, where an accession to India was signed after an accumulation of violent interventions against both parties, remained a source for regular uprisings of frictions. While a ceasefire was declared with a United Nations arbitration, control over this region was at stake in all subsequent conflicts.[121] The gathering of an ecumenical Council also introduced these topics in Rome. The contribution of the missionary bishops was in this regard not limited to the integration of the themes of mission activity in *Ad Gentes* or liturgical inculturation in *Sacrosanctum concilium*. The sub-commission *signa temporum*, for example, was established to include the voices of the worldwide community in conciliar teaching. Indeed, the insights of the emerging countries were a precious contribution to documents such as *Gaudium et Spes*. In particular this document's view on war and peace could be linked to the daily experience of many bishops. The promulgation of *Pacem in Terris*, the development of Schema 13, or Pope Paul VI's speech to the United Nations, were all listened to with great interest.

For Buyse the topicality of these documents was maximised after the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistani War in 1965. While Kashmir had remained the most disputed region, the origin of this conflict could be found in the Rahn of Kuthch, in Gujarat. After Pakistani forces had entered the India controlled region, skirmishes broke out between the two countries. In June an agreement was found, which led to Pakistan gaining territory over India. General Ayub Khan[122] wanted to repeat this success by invading Kashmir through a covert infiltration. This was, however, revealed by Kashmiri locals and as a result the Indian Army crossed the ceasefire line to push back the Pakistani forces. On the sixth of September India crossed the International Border and started an official war between both countries. Already the same day Lahore was made the centre of the military campaigns. Both countries suffered over 3,000 losses. On 23 September a ceasefire was announced after a resolution calling for this had been unanimously accepted by the United Nations Security Council the previous day. The ceasefire and the Tashkent Declaration, signed by President Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri on 10 January 1966, were in particular negotiated by the United States and the Soviet Union to avoid further escalation. For the Christian population in the region this conflict proved to be a heavy burden. In an atmosphere of nationalistic enthusiasm they too had to prove that they were loyal patriots hoping for Pakistani military successes. It was thus no surprise that Mgr Buyse felt trapped between the conciliar call for peace and the day-to-day experience of his faith community in Pakistan.

The first conflict drawing the attention of the Council Fathers and Buyse was the Sino-Indian war between 20 October and 21 November 1962. It was the Indian Cardinal Gracias

118 See BUYSE, 22 October 1962.
119 See BUYSE, 13 November 1963.
120 Ibid.
121 Cf. ›India‹, in: Encyclopaedia Britannica (http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/285248/India: last access 23.03.2018); ›Pakistan‹, in: Encyclopaedia Britannica (http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/438805/Pakistan: last access 23.3.2018); ›Kashmir‹, in: Encyclopaedia Britannica (http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/312908/Kashmir?anchor=ref673530: last access 23.3.2018).
122 Ayub Khan (1907-1974), Army Commander-in-Chief, came to power in Pakistan after a military coup in 1958. In 1960 he was elected President and led the country to a secular constitutional state. In 1959 he had to give up his position.

who had the opportunity to address the assembly pointing out that this was a »question of life or death,«[123] an exclamation that left the Pakistan bishops dazzled, wondering if for them too this would become a question of life or death. Mgr. Buyse was even asked by Mgr. Graner if he wanted to make a speech on Pakistan and president Ayub in similar terms.[124] The speech of Cardinal Gracias articulated perfectly one of Buyse's main concerns as well the following years: »to be here, or to be elsewhere.« This became all the more pressing the moment for the Indo-Pakistan conflict broke out.

At that moment, Buyse tried on the one hand to align the conciliar message on peace with the situation of his faithful: »I and Mgr. Raeymaeckers will pray for you that peace and prosperity may soon return to Pakistan and free you from all anxiety which we are sharing with you.«[125] Similarly, Pope Paul VI's »pilgrimage of peace to the United Nations« resonated strongly with the situation in Pakistan. Buyse thus informed them on the Pope's »most passionate appeal for world peace, yet in a sober and most dignified manner, which created a most favourable impression upon the whole world.«[126] Pope Paul VI repeated his call for peace when he returned to Rome, where he went immediately to the Council hall and addressed the Council Fathers. He told them that »this voyage marks and ought to mark only the beginning of a new and united effort on the part of the Church and the Christian people to redouble their work for peace. Any means of working for justice, for the poor, for ecumenism in close collaboration with all men of good will,«[127] a message which Buyse prayed would »receive a warm welcome« among his faithful and would encourage them to work »in the same spirit and together with the peoples living on the territory of the diocese of Lahore for peace, now in this hour of our trial, and always thereafter.«[128]

On the other hand, Buyse at the same time presented himself as a patriotic citizen of Pakistan, calling his faithful to a similar position: »I wish to thank you all for the wonderful spirit of patriotism, which you are displaying in helping our brave soldiers and the victims of war.«[129] The lunch in 1965 between the Pakistani bishops and Begum Ra'an Liaquat Ali Khan[130] can probably be understood in similar terms. It remains however the question to what extent these expressions of patriotism were also inspired by the many concerns of being a Christian minority in Pakistan. Indeed, it must be said that in light of the political situation Buyse had other concerns as well. First of all there existed many rumours that the missionary schools would be nationalized.[131] Secondly, Buyse was also concerned with his own diplomatic status. Indeed, the emergency state in Pakistan made Buyse's travels between Europe and Pakistan increasingly difficult. It even urged him to inquire at the embassy if the visa agreements between Pakistan and Belgium were still in place when he would return to his diocese,[132] which luckily remained the case.[133] Thirdly, there was also the constant concern of the further existence and rights of the Pakistani Christians. This is for instance illustrated by the interesting comparison Buyse draws between the tiresome speeches of the Council Fathers and the strong language used in the Pakistan National

123 See AS I/2 12-14: »Today in this time, the political situation in India is very serious. Today, we, the 72 bishops of India have to take a decision: to be here or to be elsewhere. Being here in the conciliar aula, ejoying the delicia of speeches without rushing and of debates. Or to return at once to India and be with our people in this critical time. […] It is a question of existence here and now or not, of life or death, because, as our leader, Nehru, said, the situation in this very hour for India is as it was for England in the last war, called ›*de banco*‹. And now, Nehru, in my view, wants to act in the same way as Churchill did back then to save England«. According to Lamberigts this speech made a profound impression on the Council Fathers (Mathijs LAMBERIGTS, The Liturgy Debate, in: ALBERIGO/KOMONCHAK [ed.], History of Vatican II: Vol. 2 [see n. 15], 107-166, 126).

124 BUYSE, 31 October 1962.

125 BUYSE, 25 September 1965.

126 BUYSE, 7 October 1965. Paul VI entered the Council hall the fifth of October (AS IV/3, 402-403) and gave his speech (AS IV/1, 36-38).

127 BUYSE, 7 October 1965.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid.

Assembly against the Christian minority: »When the attention of the Holy Father was drawn to the great number of speakers, he is reported to have replied: ›Let them talk till they will exhaust themselves!‹. That reminds me of the saying of our President Ayub in Pakistan during the National Assembly. One day he sent his son to Fr. Byrne with his compliments that we should not worry over the many speeches in the assembly against Christian missions.«[134] The presence of Christians in Pakistan seems not only to have been questioned in Pakistan, but also »many of the Indian bishops are quite sceptical about the Church in Pakistan because it is a Muslim state, and it is quite a job to make them understand our position and prospects.«[135]

As Christian minority in a Muslim country, Buyse was also strongly concerned with the relation between Christianity and Islam. It for sure explains his interest in the situation in other countries, like Lebanon where he is surprised to see »many conversions from among the higher classes and [that] Muslims are in no way molested on account of their converting to Christianity,«[136] or Iraq, where he sees that »[Mgr. T. Nercès Tayroyan[137]] was almost in despair about the conditions in Iraq: overwhelming Muslim population and a hostile government.«[138] One of the pressing topics for his own diocese was in this regard the teaching of Islamiyat, the study of Islam and the Quran, in Catholic classrooms. This matter seems to have split the Pakistan bishops' conference, introducing an opposition between the West- (incl. Buyse) and East-Pakistan bishops (incl. Mgr. van Miltenburg, Mgr. Graner).[139] Buyse's reaction to this opposition was interesting for he diverted the discussion from the topic itself, but blamed this split on the unclear nature of the bishops' conferences, since »all over the world [they] have no binding force on the collectivity of the member bishops.«[140] He thus returned to his wish that the canonical and juridical position of bishops' conferences would become clearer throughout the Council (cf. *supra*). Up to the last conciliar period this tension over the teaching of Islamiyat would continue in the Pakistani bishops' conference.

In this particular discussion it became clear that Buyse was one of the few who was actively interested in studying the role of Islam in Pakistan and its relation to Christianity. At their meeting on 20 November 1963, it moreover became clear that Buyse was even the only one who was aware of the actions of the Pakistan Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology.[141] Finally, in the conciliar discussion over interreligious dialogue, Buyse brings in his knowledge of Islam to question the all too easy acceptance of certain teachings. Buyse thus asks the Secretariat for the Non-Christians, to study particularly where in the Quran »the prophet demands an *absolute* and exclusive faith« and where »it rejects the incarnation and the resurrection of Christ,« and if it was possible then »to say that the Quran and its prophet are an aide willed by God […] to lead the nations to Christ.«[142] In a way, this question reflects his experiences of 1956 when Mgr Buyse had been involved in an interreligious conflict. After having prayed the Act of Consecration of the Human Race to the Sacred

130 Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan (1905-1990) was one of the leaders of the Pakistan Movement. She was married with Liaquat Ali Khan, who was the first prime minister of Pakistan.
131 See BUYSE, 21 September 1965.
132 See, BUYSE, draft of a letter to the Pakistan embassy, 6 October 1965.
133 See BUYSE, 11 October 1965.
134 BUYSE, 29 October 1962
135 BUYSE, 1 October 1963.
136 BUYSE, 26 October 1962.
137 Nersès Tayroyan (1895-1986) was the Armenian-Catholic archbishop of Baghdad (Iraq). He was born in Mardin (Iraq). He was ordained priest in 1919. In 1940 he became archbishop of Mardin and in 1954 he was appointed archbishop of Baghdad. In 1972 he retired and was given the titular diocese of Melitene degli Armeni. He attended the four conciliar periods.
138 BUYSE, 12 November 1962.
139 See esp. the meeting on 9 November 1962.
140 BUYSE, 5 November 1962.
141 See BUYSE, 20 November 1963.
142 BUYSE, 9 October 1965.

Heart of Jesus, Bishop Buyse was sued, together with Bishop Hettinga,[143] for having used the words »Thou King of all those who even now sit in the shadow of idolatry or of Islam.« The prayer was, as was reasoned by the plaintiff, anti-Islam and, consequently, according to the Constitution of Pakistan, anti-Pakistan. As a result, Mgr Buyse pleaded in Rome for permission to omit this passage in the future use of this prayer. In sum, Buyse's journal strongly points out the strong interrelation between national and (inter)religious sensitivities.

5 Internationalism, Double Belonging, and (De)colonialisation

The Second Vatican Council truly was a global gathering of bishops. The journal of Buyse constantly articulates this experience of discovering the existence of an international Catholicism, the limits of a period of colonialism, and the diversity of Christianity. First of all, being in Rome with around three thousand other bishops was a great lesson in the international character of the Roman Catholic Church. Especially staying in hotels together with bishops of France, Vietnam, Brazil, and many other nationalities opened Buyse's eyes. bishops compared market prices – »I could not answer!«[144] –, they discovered married bishops – »it seems he had still many funny ideas«[145] – or were confronted with the existence and marginalization of different rites in the Catholic Church: »several oriental bishops complained bitterly of the manner in which the Latins treat them.«[146] In Buyse's case the discovery of this international character urged him to start a plea »to create in the Church [an] international spirit of aid to the Church in underdeveloped countries«[147] in analogy to national aid programs. This had to include according to him not only monetary help, but also the supply of men and means. Something which was heard also in the discussions on the schema *De missionibus*, where »most urgent appeals for spiritual and material help were heard.«[148]

The Council not only strengthened the bonds within the worldwide episcopate, but also within the religious orders, in Buyse's case the Capuchin friars. It even seems that, certainly at the beginning of the Council, the Capuchin Father General Clement Neubauer[149] functioned for Buyse and other Capuchin bishops as a point of reference and key figure in bringing them together and organizing their conciliar contribution.[150] Through informal lunches the around fifty Capuchin bishops strengthened their mutual bonds, but it also

143 Nicholas Hettinga (1908-1973) was born in Heeg. He was ordained priest of St. Joseph's Missionary Society of Mill Hill in 1933. In 1947 he became Bishop of Rawalpindi (Pakistan). He resigned in 1973.
144 See BUYSE, 13 September 1965.
145 BUYSE, 28 October 1962. Buyse referred to a Bishop who had been ordained in the ›Brazilian Apostolic Catholic Church‹ (founded in 1945 by Msgr. Carlos Duarte Costa), but who later submitted to Rome.
146 BUYSE, 28 November 1962. Hermaniuk, being one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, wrote on this day: »Joseph Khoury [Maronite Bishop of Tyr] made the most notable comments. He clearly pointed out that there are various Eastern Churches and not just one Eastern Church. […] All that was directed, to a certain extent, to Patriarch Maximos IV, who likes to talk in the name of all the Eastern Churches using the general term: the Eastern Churches« (The Second Vatican Council [see n. 55], 99).
147 BUYSE, 16 October 1962.
148 BUYSE, 14 October 1965.
149 Clement (William) Neubauer of Wilwaukee (1891-1969) was Minister General of the Order of Capuchin Friars Minor between 1958 and 1964. He was born in Milwaukee (USA) and entered the Order in 1914. He was ordained in 1917. He participated in the first two periods of the Council.
150 See e.g. BUYSE, 7 October 1963.
151 Raguer agrees that this group didn't work organized.They only had three or four conferences during the whole Council (Hilari RAGUER, An initial Profile of the Assembly, in: ALBERIGO/KOMONCHAK [ed.], The History of Vatican II: Vol. 2 [see n. 15], p-p, 217-218).
152 BUYSE, 7 October 1963.
153 Jozef Gommarus Michiels (1890-1965) was a Belgian Capuchin theologian. He was born in Booischot (Belgium). Michiels entered the order in 1914. He obtained a doctorate of canon law at the Gregoriana in 1920. Michiels was professor for canon law and moral theology at the Catholic University Leuven. He was *peritus*

gave the Father General the opportunity to align to a certain group, indeed as he remarked to Buyse »you bishops are all right, but what of us generals who have no conference?«[151] Neubauer thus also used this group to influence the Council, for instance by providing them with lists of candidates for the different commissions. At the same time, these gatherings of missionary bishops provided moments of understanding in a time wherein a Eurocentric view was still widely present and incomprehension common: »after lunch at the curia today, one of the secretaries remarked: ›I don't see why a strong and healthy man like this (referring to me) needs an auxiliary‹ and I replied 'because there is work enough in Lahore for three bishops.«[152]

Buyse not only felt aligned to the Capuchin missionary Bishops, but he also had a double belonging to the Belgian bishops and theologians. On the one hand, he upheld good relations with a number of Belgian participants. He for instance indicates his contacts with Mgr. Gommarus Michiels,[153] Mgr. Calewaert,[154] Charles De Clercq,[155] and Gerard Philips.[156] On the other hand, Buyse was not at all involved in the work of the *squadra belga*. Even more, whereas the Dutch missionary bishops were invited at the meetings of the Dutch Bishops, this was not the case for the Belgian missionary bishops.[157] This even explains that it lasted up to the second session before Buyse was – in a certain way – personally greeted by Cardinal Suenens: »Card. Suenens passed by in the Bar […]. He looked at me and greeted me with a smile. It was the first time he did so, although we cross each other very often in the mornings. He had also been invited to the Reception of Mgr. Raeymaeckers, but did not come, […] he didn't even send his good wishes or excuses.«[158]

Finally, written between 1962 and 1965 the journal of Buyse is a document illustrating the process of decolonisation and the shift to a greater responsibility of indigenous people in the local Church. Given Buyse's Belgian nationality a strong interest in the situation of the Republic of Congo, the former Belgian colony, is present in the journal. It was especially Mgr. Delaere, Bishop of Molegbe, who painted a grim picture of Congo: marked, according to him, by a »chaotic state of affairs in the civil administration« and bishops that »seem to lack completely a sense of pastoral and administrative responsibility,«[159] pictures that could and should probably be nuanced from a postcolonial perspective. In addition, an interest can be noted throughout the journal for the emerging indigenous clergy and laity. Notice for instance Buyse's amazement to see »how prominent the Latin Americans and Africans are at the International Centre of Sociology for the Instruction of Clerics to follow the courses.«[160] Or his enthusiasm over the speech of Eusèbe Adjakpley,[161] lay auditor at

during the four periods of the Council and *consultor* for the Revision of the *Codex Iuris Canonici*.

154 Karel Justinus Marie Ernest Calewaert (1893-1963) was a Belgian Bishop. He was born in Deinze (Belgium). In 1922 he was ordained priest. He was ordained Bishop of Ghent in 1948. He took part in the first two sessions of the Council.

155 Charles De Clercq (1905-1982), was a diocesan priest of Antwerp. He was professor at the *Pontificia Università Lateranense* in Rome. During the Council he became adjunct-secretary of the Commission on the Eastern Churches in 1963. He also played a role in the Liturgical Commission. His conciliar papers can be found in the CSVII.

156 Gerard Gustaaf Alfons Philips (1899-1972) was a Belgian theologian. Philips was born in St. Truiden (Belgium). He was ordained priest in 1922. He was professor for Dogmatics at the Great Seminary of Liège (1944) and at the Catholic University of Louvain (1944-1969). On 2 December 1963 he was appointed joint-secretary of the Theological Commission. Philips attended the four periods of the Council, however he was obliged to return earlier from the last period due to health reasons. His diaries are published (Karim Schelkens, Carnets) and of his conciliar papers an inventory is published (Leo DECLERCK / Wim VERSCHOOTEN, Inventaire des papiers conciliaires de Monseigneur Gérard Philips, secrétaire adjoint de la commission doctrinale [Instrumenta theologica, 24], Leuven 2001).

157 See BUYSE, 13 October 1962. The mission bishops and their role at the Council are also discussed by Raguer (RAGUER, An Initial Profile [see n. 151], 219-221). They called themselves the »Vriendenclub«. This referred to the strong presence of Belgian and Dutch Bishops, but also to their loose and informal organisation.

158 BUYSE, 14 November 1963.

159 BUYSE, 24 October 1962.

160 BUYSE, 12 October 1962.

161 Eusèbe Adjakpley was African Secretary of the International Federation of Catholic Youth. He was one of the lay-auditors at the Council.

the Council and African Secretary of the International Federation of Catholic Youth. This man presented, according to Buyse, a perfect example of »the role Catholic indigenous laity has to play in the missionary activity of the Church.«[162]

This was also illustrated in the choice of Buyse's auxiliary Bishop. This topic had already been on the agenda from the pre-conciliar years. It for sure was one of Buyse's main concerns the moment he travelled to Rome. He indeed did not waste much time before going to the Propaganda Fidei to discuss the topic with its secretary Mgr. Sigismondi.[163] The choice was not only obstructed by the tensions between the different members of the Pakistan bishops' conference, but also by the meta-discussion over the preference for a missionary or an indigenous candidate. A possible candidate for auxiliary Bishop had been Mgr. William Gomes,[164] a Karachi priest and at the time auxiliary Bishop of Bombay (India). The man in question had even already agreed with his return to his birthplace. Nevertheless, his nomination was blocked apparently because the »Pakistani *episcopabiles* would have resented it very much.«[165] It addition it seemed that »Mgr. Cordeiro was blocking the nomination of a Pakistani (Karachi) Candidate !!!«[166] Mgr. Graner and Mgr. van Miltenburg, on the other hand, were strongly in favour of a Karachi candidate. Mgr. Buyse was less concerned with the origin of the candidate, however, during a meeting with Mgr. Sigismondi of the Propaganda Fidei it seems that he nevertheless had a slight preference for a missionary candidate.[167]

6 Conclusion

We hope the present contribution offered the reader *another* journal: one that provided a new perspective on the Council. Otherness seemed central in this journal: Buyse was a Bishop from the other end of the world coming to Rome in an effort to help the Church along in its mission. While Buyse was not informed on the latest evolutions and nuances in theology, he was, however, strongly rooted in the particular context of his Diocese of Lahore, a diocese where the conciliar *ad extra* vision regarding education, justice, and peace was confronted with concrete reality. Therefore, this journal gives us a unique insight into the other side of the Council as a meeting of the world episcopate that is faced with diverse questions and problems. Moreover, as the case of Buyse proves, the Council fathers were often scattered between their own diocese, the Church as a whole and the world as an important and real dialogue partner, a tension that is also illustrated in the last words of Buyse's journal: »This morning at breakfast I mentioned to Mgr. Hettinga and Mgr. Woods that I was worried what to say in Lahore when meeting my people again. Should it be a message of peace in the spirit of the Pope's Message at the UNO[168] and of Schema 13 of the Council, or should it be a call to more efforts for the defence of the country against Indian aggression? Mgr. Hettinga replied ›I have not yet thought of that. But I know very well what I shall do. The first thing I shall try to do is to call on the Commander-in-Chief to congratulate him on his success‹ …«[169] ◆

162 BUYSE, 14 October 1965.
163 Pietro Sigismondi (1908-1967) was Secretary of the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith. He was born in Villa d'Almé (Italy). In 1930 he was ordained Priest of Bergamo. In 1949 he was appointed Titular archbishop of Neapolis in Pisidia and was sent as Apostolic Delegate to the Republic of Congo and Rwanda. He was appointed Secretary of the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith in 1954. He attended the second, third and fourth period of the Council and was member of the Commission *De missionibus*.
164 William Zephyrine Gomes (1916-2004) was Auxiliary Bishop of Bombay (India). Gomes was born in Karachi (India). He was ordained priest in 1941. He became Auxiliary Bishop of Bombay in 1961. In 1967 he was appointed Bishop of Poona (India). He resigned in 1976. Gomes attended the second, third and fourth period of the Council.
165 BUYSE, 21 November 1962.
166 Ibid.
167 See BUYSE, 5 December 1962.
168 Address of Pope Paul VI to the United Nations, 04.10.1965, in: AS 57 (1965) 877-885.
169 BUYSE, 4 November 1965.