

CONCILIARITY IN AN ECCLESIOLOGY OF COMMUNION:
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF
THE ANGLICAN-ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION'S
FINAL REPORT

by

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and
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Conciliarity in an Ecclesiology of Communion:

The Contributions of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission's *Final Report*

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"The question of authority in the Church has long been recognized as crucial to the growth in unity of the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the Anglican Communion," wrote the ARCIC-I Co-Chairs. This dissertation is situated within the ongoing Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue about authority and studies ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part I provides the historical and theological background to the dissertation. It examines the following theological concepts which are at the heart of the thesis: *koinonia*, *episcopate* and the complementary elements of *episcopate* which are conciliarity and primacy.

Part II studies the ways in which the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church used the synodical structures at their disposal to respond to *The Final Report* of ARCIC-I. This study revealed that conciliarity functions in each communion, but neither has yet achieved the ideal balance between conciliarity and primacy proposed by ARCIC-I.

Both communions prepared official responses to *The Final Report*. The 1988 Lambeth Conference gave a positive response to ARCIC-I's statements on *Eucharistic Doctrine* and

Ministry and Ordination and argued that the statements on authority “set out helpfully the direction and agenda of the way forward.” The Roman Catholic Church, however, was not as positive in its 1991 *Official Response*.

In addition to the official responses a number of theologians and professional ecumenists participated in the public dialogue about *The Final Report*. The overall quality and variety of these responses demonstrate the importance of widespread consultation in conciliar decision making.

Part III concludes the dissertation and argues that ARCIC-I has recovered conciliarity from the common tradition of both communions and identified a longstanding need in the church to hold synods. ARCIC-I’s commitment to *koinonia* influenced the way in which it developed its understanding of conciliar and primatial authority as complementary elements of *episcopate* serving the diversity and unity of the *koinonia* of the churches.

Finally, this study on conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion is situated within the trajectory of prayer, reflection and study begun by *The Final Report* and is offered as a contribution towards the goal of organic union envisioned by ARCIC-I.

To the memory of my parents,
Helen Andrychuk and Ronald Francis MacMillan,
who never lost their love of learning
nor
their spirit of adventure

"Forgetting what lies behind
and straining forward to what lies ahead,
I press on towards the goal
for the prize of the heavenly call of God in Christ Jesus."

Phil. 3:13-14

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARCIC-I	First Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission (1970 - 1981)
ARCIC-II	Second Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission (1981-present)
ARC-Canada	Anglican Roman Catholic Dialogue (Canada)
ARC-USA	Anglican Roman Catholic Dialogue (U.S.A.)
CCCB	Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops
CDF	Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1988-present)
CEEC	Church of England Evangelical Council
EDEO	Episcopal Diocesan Ecumenical Officers
ET	English Text/Translation
FT	French Text/Translation
GT	German Text/Translation
NADEO	National Association of Diocesan Ecumenical Officers
NCCB	National Conference of Catholic Bishops (U.S.A.)
n.d.	No date
n.p.	No publisher, no place of publication
PCPCU	Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity (1988-present)
SCDF	Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1965-1988)
SPCU	Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (1960 - 1988)
s.v.	<i>sub verbo, sub voce</i> , "under the word"
TLS	Typewritten Letter, signed
TMs	Typewritten Manuscript, unsigned
TMsS	Typewritten Manuscript, signed
WCC	World Council of Churches

INTRODUCTION

One of the thorniest problems confronting the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church in their search for visible unity is the question of authority. Different views about the nature of authority and the way it is exercised in the Church first divided Anglicans and Roman Catholics almost five hundred years ago and remain a stumbling block today. Thus it was not surprising that the Joint Preparatory Commission of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue, struck after Vatican II, made the following recommendations regarding the question of authority. First it recommended that

a serious theological examination should be *jointly* undertaken on the nature of authority with particular reference to its bearing on the interpretation of the historic faith to which both our Communions are committed.¹

Second it recommended that a sub-committee be struck "to examine the question of authority, its nature, exercise and implications."² This examination became part of the mandate of the first Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC-I). During its twelve-year term, ARCIC-I produced two statements on authority (Venice, 1976 and Windsor, 1981) and one elucidation on authority (Windsor, 1981). These three texts on authority, along with ARCIC-I's agreed statements on *Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination*, and their respective

¹Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission, *The Malta Report*, in *The Final Report* (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 20. My emphasis.

²*Ibid.*, par. 22.

elucidations, were published in 1982 in a one volume work entitled *The Final Report*.

In *The Final Report* ARCIC-I examines the question of authority from within an ecclesiology of communion (*koinonia*). *Authority in the Church I*, the Venice Statement, begins with a general treatment of Christian authority. It then discusses authority in the Church, authority in the communion of the churches, authority in matters of faith and conciliar and primatial authority. This document concludes by identifying four unresolved questions on the nature and exercise of authority in the Church which "hinder the growing experience of unity which is the pattern of our [Anglican-Roman Catholic] present relations."³ These four problems, which ARCIC-I addresses in *Authority in the Church II*, are "the interpretation of the Petrine texts, the meaning of the language of 'divine right', the affirmation of papal infallibility, and the nature of the jurisdiction ascribed to the Bishop of Rome as universal primate."⁴

Questions surrounding the nature and exercise of authority in the Church can be approached from various perspectives. In this dissertation I have chosen to study ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion because of the contributions it makes to the discussion on authority. Conciliarity, as ARCIC-I uses the term in *The Final Report*, refers to the longstanding Christian practice of conciliar or synodical consultations⁵ regarding doctrinal or disciplinary matters

³Co-Chairmen's preface to *Authority in the Church I*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), 49.

⁴Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, *Authority in the Church II*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 1.

⁵*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2d ed., s.v. "Council." *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* defines a council as "A formal meeting of bishops and representatives of several churches convened for the purpose of regulating doctrine or discipline. General or Oecumenical Councils are assemblies of the bishops of the whole Church. . . . Local or 'particular' councils represent the various units - e.g. provinces, patriarchates or exarchates - of the Church but

which affect the local, regional or universal Church.⁶ This practice began with the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15). Since then councils and synods have played an important role in the ongoing life of the Church.⁷

Central to ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity is that conciliarity and primacy are complementary elements of *episcopate*. The Commission argues: "The *koinonia* of the churches requires that a proper balance be preserved between the two [conciliarity and primacy] with the responsible participation of the whole people of God."⁸ ARCIC-I suggests that when churches such as the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church are separated from one another there is an increased danger that either conciliarity or primacy is emphasised at the expense of the other.⁹ The Commission argues "that visible unity requires the realization of a 'general pattern of the complementary primatial and conciliar aspects of *episcopate*' in the service of the universal '*koinonia of the churches*' (para. 23)."¹⁰

ARCIC-I develops its understanding of conciliarity within an ecclesiology of communion. The introduction to *The Final Report* claims that "fundamental to all our Statements is the concept of

these are now more often called by other names, e.g. 'synods'. The first council of the Church was that described in Acts 15."

⁶ARCIC-I, *Authority in the Church I*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 9.

⁷*Ibid.*, pars. 13-18.

⁸*Ibid.*, par. 22.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰ARCIC-I, *Authority in the Church: Elucidation*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 8; Cf. *Authority in the Church I*, par. 23.

koinonia (communion)."¹¹ *Koinonia* has emerged as an important ecclesiological concept in many bilateral statements.¹² This dissertation, with its emphasis upon conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion, is situated within the broader context of these ecumenical discussions on authority and ecclesiology. I will argue that ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion has implications for Roman Catholic ecclesiology because it redresses a tendency in Roman Catholicism to emphasize papal primacy at the expense of conciliarity and the responsible participation of the whole people of God.¹³ I will also demonstrate that the Anglican synodical tradition is a gift that the Anglican Communion brings to the dialogue on authority with the Roman Catholic Church. Since my thesis is situated within the wider ecumenical discussion on authority, I will also identify some contributions that *The Final Report* makes to an understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion and to the ongoing ecumenical dialogue on the nature and exercise of authority in the Church.

The Method of the Dissertation

Arthur A. Vogel, Bishop of West Missouri and member of ARCIC-I, states in his foreword to *The Final Report* that the "Statements [in *The Final Report*] are structural . . . but their full impact

¹¹ARCIC-I, introduction to *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 4.

¹²Some of these statements include: the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Munich Statement (1982); the Anglican-Orthodox Moscow Statement (1976); the Roman Catholic-Methodist Nairobi Report (1986). The theme of the fifth Faith and Order gathering in Santiago de Compostela (1993) was '*koinonia* in faith, life and witness.'

¹³*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22

will often be felt only after exegesis and enlargement."¹⁴ I propose to exegete and enlarge *The Final Report's* understanding of conciliarity and I will use the following paragraph from *The Final Report* as my point of departure:

Although primacy and conciliarity are complementary elements of *episcopate* it has often happened that one has been emphasized at the expense of the other, even to the point of serious imbalance. When churches have been separated from one another, this danger has been increased. The *koinonia* of the churches requires that a proper balance be preserved between the two with the responsible participation of the whole people of God.¹⁵

The introduction to *The Final Report* states that the separation between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church "has been aggravated by theological polemics and mutual intolerance."¹⁶ In *The Final Report* ARCIC-I "[has] often deliberately avoided the vocabulary of past polemics, not with any intention of evading the real difficulties that provoked them, but because the emotive associations of such language have often obscured the truth."¹⁷ I will follow the example of the Commission as I study ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

I have divided my dissertation into three parts. In the remainder of this introductory chapter I will mention a few important events in the history of the official relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the Anglican Communion from 1864-1948. I will then examine

¹⁴Arthur A. Vogel, foreword to the American Edition of *The Final Report* (Cincinnati/Washington: Forward Movement Publications/Office of Publishing Services U.S. Catholic Conference, 1982), iv.

¹⁵*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

¹⁶ARCIC-I, introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 1.

¹⁷*Authority in the Church I*, par. 25.

the years from approximately 1948-1961 for it was during this time the Roman Catholic Church began to make the institutional shift necessary to enter the modern ecumenical movement. This shift would not have been possible without the Second Vatican Council. The Council's adoption of some important principles of ecumenism enabled the Roman Catholic Church to begin an official dialogue with the Anglican Communion and other Christians after the Council. Because many theologians have written at length about these principles I will conclude this chapter by simply identifying a few that are relevant to the Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue.

Chapter 1, which comprises Part I of my dissertation, examines *koinonia*. *Koinonia* is the fundamental ecclesiological concept from within which ARCIC-I develops all its statements. ARCIC-I states in its introduction to *The Final Report* "Fundamental to all our Statements is the concept of *koinonia* (communion)."¹⁸ ARCIC-I continues, "This theme of *koinonia* runs through our Statements. In them we present the eucharist as the effectual sign of *koinonia*, *episcopate* as serving the *koinonia*, and primacy as a visible link and focus of *koinonia*."¹⁹ Because *koinonia* is so important to ARCIC-I's work, I will first describe ARCIC-I's understanding of *koinonia*. Then I will outline its understanding of authority within an ecclesiology of communion. Within that outline, I will include the Commission's understanding of conciliarity and the responsible participation of the whole people of God.

Part II of my dissertation (Chapters 2-5) analyses the responses to *The Final Report* developed by different constituencies within the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church. This analysis includes a study of the processes used by these constituencies to develop their respective responses. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 I presuppose that even though a serious imbalance

¹⁸ARCIC-I, introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 4.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, par. 6.

between conciliarity and primacy exists in both communions, I will still find vestiges of conciliarity and primacy operative in each.²⁰ In these chapters I demonstrate how conciliarity functioned in each communion during the response period. I also examine the balance which existed at that time between conciliarity, primacy and the whole people of God and compare this experience to the ideal proposed by ARCIC-I in *Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

In Chapter 2 I analyse the responses of the Anglican Communion and the methods used to generate them. Then in Chapter 3 I study the four Roman Catholic episcopal conference evaluations of *The Final Report* which are in the public forum. In addition I outline the processes used by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops of the United States and the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops to develop their respective responses.

In Chapter 4 I compare and contrast the official Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*²¹ with the episcopal conference responses. I then draw some preliminary conclusions regarding conciliarity in the Roman Catholic Church.

Chapter 5, unlike chapters 2, 3 and 4, does not examine official responses to *The Final Report*. Rather it includes a variety of unofficial responses to, and evaluations of, *The Final Report*. These take many forms. I begin Chapter 5 with the contributions that the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada made to the response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. Then I present the results of surveys regarding ARCIC-I's statements conducted in the United States by the National Association of Ecumenical Officers and the Episcopal Diocesan Ecumenical Officers. Some

²⁰Cf. *Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

²¹The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity prepared the official response of the Roman Catholic Church.

critiques and assessments of *The Final Report* written by Evangelical Anglicans follow. I have also included in this chapter a scholarly debate initiated by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. I conclude Chapter 5 with some contributions that Gillian Evans, an Anglican scholar who has followed the work of ARCIC-I for many years, has made to the discussion.

The diversity of the theological responses found in Chapter 5 is intentional. ARCIC-I contends that the exercise of conciliarity within the *koinonia* of the Church requires the participation of the whole people of God. The respondents in Chapter 5, though by no means representative of the whole people of God, do represent a range of theological and pastoral experiences that could contribute to the exercise of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion as ARCIC-I envisions.

Chapter 6 is the last chapter and forms the third part of my thesis. In it I draw some conclusions regarding conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion. I identify some contributions that ARCIC-I makes to the search for visible unity between Anglicans and Roman Catholics and to the ecumenical dialogue on authority and include suggestions for further research.

Anglican-Roman Catholic Relations before Vatican II

During the one hundred years prior to Vatican II official relations between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church were chilly at best. Many documents from Rome contributed to this atmosphere and I will identify a few of those which had a bearing, directly and indirectly, on Anglican-Roman Catholic relations.

One of these was *Ad Omnes Episcopos Angliae* which the Holy Office promulgated in 1864. *Ad Omnes Episcopos Angliae* expressly forbade Roman Catholics from participating in the

Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity in England.²² It also prohibited Roman Catholics from participating in *The Union Review*, a periodical which the Holy Office assumed was an arm of the Association.²³ According to Johannes Willebrands, then Secretary of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, "the Vatican did not enjoy then, nor for long afterwards, sound information or broadly-based advice on English affairs."²⁴ When the question arose in 1919 whether the provisions of *Ad Omnes Episcopos Angliae* should remain in force, the Holy Office argued that "its provisions be extended to all unity meetings organized by non-Catholics."²⁵ This position prevailed until the early 1950s.

In 1895 and 1896 Pope Leo XIII promulgated three documents which would also have an impact upon Anglican-Roman Catholic relations during the twentieth century and beyond. These include his Apostolic Letter *Ad Anglos* (1895) addressed to the English people,²⁶ his encyclical on Christian unity *Satis Cognitum* (1896)²⁷ and his "traumatic"²⁸ encyclical *Apostolicae Curae* (1896)

²²J. G. M. Willebrands, "Why is Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue Possible Today?" in *Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue: The Work of the Preparatory Commission*, ed. Alan C. Clark and Colin Davey (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 26.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, 27.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 27.

²⁶John A. Dick, *The Malines Conversations Revisited* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 46.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 47. Here Dick writes that *Satis Cognitum* [AAS 28 (1895-6)] is "an encyclical on Christian unity, which insisted that the only basis for the reunion of Christendom was recognition of the Pope as the sole source of jurisdiction in the Church and the necessary center of unity."

²⁸*Ibid.*, 40.

which declared that Anglican Orders are "null and void."²⁹ Of these *Ad Anglos* is "rather mild"³⁰ when compared to *Apostolicae Curae* (1896)³¹ which strained Anglican-Roman Catholic relations even further.

Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Mortalium Animos* (1928), issued in the wake of the first Faith and Order meeting in Lausanne in 1927, did not help the situation. Though not directed towards Anglicans *per se*, it warned Roman Catholics about participating in the ecumenical movement as it was then developing:

[I]t is clear why this Apostolic See has never allowed its subjects to take part in the assemblies of non-Catholics. There is but one way in which the unity of Christians may be fostered, and that is by furthering the return to the one true Church of Christ of those who are separated from it; for from that one true Church they have in the past fallen away.³²

In anticipation of the First General Assembly of the World Council of Churches scheduled for August 1948 the Holy See issued a *monitum* or warning in June 1948. It began with the following paragraph:

Since it appears that in some places, contrary to Canon Law and without permission of the Holy See, joint meetings of Catholics and non-Catholics have been held to discuss matters of faith, all are reminded that Canon 1325 Sec. 3 forbids these

²⁹*Ibid.*, 47.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 40.

³¹*Ibid.* On page 41 Dick lists the following "eminent researchers" who have studied both documents at length. He writes, "Among them we find especially noteworthy: John Jay Hughes in *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, Washington, 1968; Lord Halifax in *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, London, 1912; Regis Ladous in *L'Abbé Portal et la campagne anglo-romain*, Lyon, 1973; and Bruno Neveu in *Mgr Duchesne et son Mémoire sur les ordinations anglicanes* in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1978, pp. 443-482."

³²*Mortalium Animos: Encyclical Letter on Fostering True Religious Union of Our Most Holy Lord*, Appendix G in *The Malines Conversations Revisited*, 231.

meetings without permission to laity, clerics and religious. Much less is it lawful for Catholics to summon or establish such conferences.³³

Documents such as these ensured that Anglican-Roman Catholic relations, with a few exceptions, remained cool, until the Second Vatican Council.

Fortunately there were exceptions and the Malines Conversations represent a noteworthy one. The Malines Conversations grew out of the personal relationship between Lord Halifax, an English Anglican, and Abbé Etienne Fernand Portal, a French Roman Catholic. Both of these men had a strong commitment to Christian unity and their commitment resulted in the Malines Conversations. These conversations were a series of five bilateral meetings between English Anglicans and Continental Roman Catholics held at Malines, Belgium during December 1921, March 1923, November 1923, May 1925 and October 1926. They are remarkable because they anticipated the work of ARCIC-I by forty years or more.³⁴ The deaths of Abbé Portal and Cardinal Mercier³⁵ in 1926 marked the end of the Malines Conversations. *Mortalium Animos*, Pope Pius XI's "strong disciplinary encyclical"³⁶ which was issued shortly after the last Malines Conversation, discouraged Roman Catholics from undertaking similar ecumenical initiatives for the next twenty years.

The relationship between Anglicans and Roman Catholics began to thaw in the early 1950s. Despite the official position of the Roman Catholic Church, in the fifteen years prior to the Second Vatican Council the Vatican gave permission for select groups of Roman Catholics and Anglicans to

³³Willebrands, 28.

³⁴Dick, 11-12.

³⁵Cardinal Mercier presided over the first four Malines Conversations and died before the last conversation was held.

³⁶Dick, 143.

meet in highly structured settings to engage in unofficial dialogues together.³⁷ One such meeting was held at the Istina Centre in Paris in the spring of 1950. The Reverend Leonard Prestige of the Lambeth Council on Foreign Relations, C.-J. Dumont, O.P. of the Istina Centre and Yves Congar, O.P. of Le Saulchoir³⁸ were among those who initiated this conversation. The objective of this meeting, approved by Rome, was "an exchange of information after teams of ecumenists had got to know one another."³⁹

The first semi-official Anglican-Roman Catholic conversations since Malines occurred in late September 1950 in Strasbourg between two carefully chosen teams of theologians, one Anglican and the other Roman Catholic. The Vatican granted permission for this meeting on the condition that all the participants agreed to absolute secrecy. Only the administrative records of this meeting remain.⁴⁰ Both groups had agreed beforehand "that [the] theological conversations should be private and unofficial, with a clear agenda that was assented to before the outset and then adhered to with 'no variation'."⁴¹ At the conference "every effort was made to clear up misunderstandings and to ascertain

³⁷The conditions for such meetings are set out in "Instruction from the Holy Office to Local Ordinaries on the Ecumenical Movement" (December 20, 1949), Appendix II in *The Churches and The Church: A Study of Ecumenism*, by Bernard Leeming (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), 282-287.

³⁸Alberic Stacpoole, "Pre-ARCIC Conversations between Anglicans and Roman Catholics: 1950," *One in Christ* 23 (1987): 302.

³⁹*Ibid.* Here Stacpoole also quotes Owen Chadwick, one of the Anglican participants, who describes the hospitality they received at Istina: "Two wines at every meal, and on one celebration champagne at the end, after which one felt one would have reunited with anybody!"

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 306.

⁴¹Alberic Stacpoole, "Cordial Relations between Rome and Canterbury: First Phase, 1944-1954," *One in Christ* 23 (1987): 229.

as precisely as possible wherein the real theological differences lay"⁴² between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. The four main topics of this meeting were "*the object in view in making authoritative definitions of faith . . . the grounds of assurance about dogmatic truth . . . whether formal dogmatic definitions were open to restatement or re-interpretation . . . the nature of the act of faith.*"⁴³ A follow-up meeting, similarly sanctioned by Rome but hosted this time by the Anglicans, was held in Hampstead, England in January 1952. Meetings such as these laid the groundwork for the formation of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission after the Second Vatican Council.

The efforts of individuals like Archbishop Giovanni Battista Montini of Milan⁴⁴ also helped to forge more positive Anglican-Roman Catholic relations in the pre-conciliar years. These efforts would bear fruit during and after the Council. In 1956, for example, Montini met with a group of Anglicans whom he had invited to stay in Milan. Canon Bernard Pawley was one of the Anglicans invited to attend. At a memorial service for Pope Paul VI (Giovanni Montini) held during the 1978 Lambeth Conference, Pawley described this meeting and Montini's longstanding interest in Anglicanism:

He [Montini] had a group of Anglicans, of whom I [Pawley] had the honour to be one, to stay in Milan to inform him directly of what Anglicans said of themselves, in days when to do such things was to court suspicion of heresy . . . He has gone out of his way to study and know and love our Anglican heritage in particular. . . . He knew our Anglican liturgies. . . . And although I think he had not actually visited Canterbury you will remember he sent a personal subscription of £500 to our Cathedral appeal,

⁴²Stacpoole, "Pre-ARCIC Conversations," 307.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 313-316. Their emphasis.

⁴⁴Montini was the archbishop of Milan from 1954-1963. He became Pope Paul VI in 1963.

for which I think there is no precedent.⁴⁵

After the election of Pope John XXIII in 1958 official relations between Anglicans and Roman Catholics continued to improve. In late 1960 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, became the first Archbishop of Canterbury since 1397 to visit a Pope in Rome.⁴⁶ During his visit he said:

For the first time in 400 years an Archbishop of Canterbury has come in his official capacity to Rome: and he has come neither to boast nor to complain, but only to greet His Holiness the Pope in the courtesy of Christian brotherhood. This could only happen, I could only have suggested my visit here, because the Pope on his side has made it clear that he would receive me in a similar spirit, in the courtesy of Christian brotherhood.⁴⁷

Shortly after this historic visit, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York appointed Canon Bernard C. Pawley as their official representative in Rome (1960-1965) and their official liaison with the newly formed Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU).⁴⁸

After Pope John XXIII announced that he would convoke an ecumenical council at the Vatican, the SPCU invited observers to attend the Council. The Anglican Communion was the first to accept the SPCU's invitation.⁴⁹ Canon Pawley attended the Second Vatican Council as the

⁴⁵Canon Bernard Pawley quoted in Alberic Stacpoole, "Cordial Relations between Rome and Canterbury," 232.

⁴⁶Nicholas Lossky *et al.*, *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), s.v. "Fisher, Geoffrey Francis." Fisher also met with the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople during 1960.

⁴⁷Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, *Feeling our Way* (Church Information Office, 1960), 20; quoted in Alberic Stacpoole, "Ecumenism on the Eve of the Council - II: Anglican/Roman Catholic Relations," *The Month* 17 (1984): 337, note 33.

⁴⁸Alberic Stacpoole, "Anglicans and Roman Catholics, 1959-1962," *The Month* 17 (1984): 301.

⁴⁹Stacpoole, "Cordial Relations Between Rome and Canterbury," 213.

representative of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in Rome and their liaison with the SPCU. Archbishop Michael Ramsey chose eight Anglicans as official observers at the Council. Of these the following five were appointed to the Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission after the Council: The Reverend Professor Howard E. Root, Director of the Anglican Centre in Rome; The Reverend Professor Eugene R. Fairweather, Keble Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, University of Toronto; The Right Rev. J. R. H. Moorman, Bishop of Ripon, Senior Anglican observer at the Second Vatican Council, chairperson of the Anglican delegates and member of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Roman Catholic Relations; The Reverend Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., Professor of Liturgics, Church Divinity School of the Pacific, California and The Reverend Canon John Findlow, Archbishop of Canterbury's representative at the Vatican and Associate Secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Roman Catholic Relations.⁵⁰ Three of these Anglicans, Root, Fairweather and Moorman, were then appointed to ARCIC-I. The personal and professional relations forged between Anglicans and Roman Catholics in the years prior to the Council bore fruit after the Council. Vatican II was, however, the watershed moment in Anglican-Roman Catholic relations for it was at the Council that the Roman Catholic Church, as an institution, made the theological shift necessary to embrace the work of the modern ecumenical movement. It achieved this by articulating and appropriating many Catholic principles of ecumenism and many theologians have since written extensively about these. In the following section I will outline some of the general principles of ecumenism which influenced Roman Catholic ecumenical relations after the Council, including those with the Anglican Communion. I will then identify some Roman Catholic

⁵⁰Clark and Davey, *Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue: The Work of the Preparatory Commission*, 8.

principles of diversity. These principles, according to Moorman and Root, 'fascinated' the Anglican Communion⁵¹ and raised questions about how the Roman Catholic Church would interpret them after the Council.⁵²

Some Roman Catholic Principles of Ecumenism

To begin this section, I will present, briefly, a general principle contained in *Lumen Gentium* 8 which helped the Roman Catholic Church break free of the ecumenical impasse caused by Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici Corporis*. Then I will present the principles regarding diversity in the Church which were discussed during the Joint Preparatory Commission meetings after the Council and then appeared in their *Malta Report*. These additional principles can be found in Pope John XXIII's opening speech to the Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes* 62 and *Unitatis Redintegratio* 4, 11 and 17.

Lumen Gentium 8: The Church of Christ *subsists in* the Roman Catholic Church

The first general principle is found in *Lumen Gentium* 8: "This Church [of Christ], constituted and organized in the world as a society, subsists in [*subsistit in*] the Catholic Church."⁵³ Here the Council helped to overcome the ecumenical impasse caused by *Mystici Corporis* by substituting the copula verb *est* (is) with the words *subsistit in* (subsists in). Francis Sullivan, a Jesuit ecclesiologist,

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 77.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 79.

⁵³"This Church, constituted and organized in the world as a society, *subsists in* the Catholic Church, which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in union with that successor, although many elements of sanctification and of truth can be found outside of her visible structure. These elements, however, as gifts properly belonging to the Church of Christ, possess an inner dynamism toward Catholic unity." (*Lumen Gentium* 8)

once remarked that "more ink has been spilled on the meaning of 'subsistit' than on any other single word in the documents of Vatican II."⁵⁴ Nonetheless, Willebrands observes,

The words *subsistit in* by which the Constitution on the Church *Lumen Gentium* defines the presence of the Church of Christ in the Catholic Church are of fundamental importance for understanding the ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council, especially in relation to the Catholic principles of ecumenism⁵⁵

Ecumenists at the time heralded it as an important principle of the Council because, as mentioned above, the phrase *subsistit in* enabled the Roman Catholic Church to break free of the ecumenical impasse caused by Pope Pius XII's 1943 encyclical *Mystici Corporis*. *Mystici Corporis* had identified the Mystical Body of Christ and the Church of Christ exclusively with the Roman Catholic Church. By doing so it effectively excluded all other baptised Christians from the Mystical Body of Christ. It also threw into doubt the validity of their baptisms and the ecclesial reality of their communities of faith. As a result, this encyclical contributed to the strained ecumenical relations which existed between Roman Catholics and their sisters and brothers in the Protestant, Orthodox and Anglican Communion prior to Vatican II.

Lumen Gentium 8 represents a development in Roman Catholic ecclesiology from *Mystici Corporis*. By using *subsists in* the Council chooses to broaden, without rejecting, Pope Pius XII's teaching in *Mystici Corporis*.⁵⁶ According to Willebrands, "the change from *est* to *subsistit in* . . . has

⁵⁴Francis A. Sullivan, S. J., "'Subsistit In': The Significance of Vatican II's Decision to say of the Church of Christ not that it 'is' but that it 'subsists in' the Roman Catholic Church," *One in Christ* 22 (1986): 116.

⁵⁵Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, "Vatican II's Ecclesiology of Communion," *One in Christ* 23 (1987): 179.

⁵⁶Willebrands, "Vatican II's Ecclesiology of Communion," 183.

to do with grasping the implications of belonging to Christ."⁵⁷ By grasping these implications the Council is then able to argue in *Lumen Gentium* 8 that there are ecclesial elements of sanctification and truth beyond the visible structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Francis Sullivan writes "practically all commentators have seen in this change of wording a significant opening toward the recognition of ecclesial reality in the non-Catholic world."⁵⁸

The Council develops this insight further in *Lumen Gentium* 15 and *Unitatis Redintegratio* 3. In these texts the Council acknowledges that there are churches and ecclesial communities beyond the boundaries of the Roman Catholic Church. *Lumen Gentium* 15 makes indirect, but positive, references to the Churches of the East and Protestants. *Unitatis Redintegratio* 3 moves beyond *Mystici Corporis* and recognizes that those who are properly baptised are in a "certain, though imperfect, communion" with the Catholic Church:

For men [*sic*] who believe in Christ and have been properly baptized are brought into a certain, though imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church - whether in doctrine and sometimes in discipline, or concerning the structure of the Church - do indeed create many and sometimes serious obstacles to full ecclesiastical communion. These the ecumenical movement is striving to overcome. Nevertheless, all those justified by faith through baptism are incorporated into Christ. They therefore have a right to be honored by the title of Christian, and are properly regarded as brothers [*sic*] in the Lord by the sons [*sic*] of the Catholic Church.⁵⁹

With respect to this passage Sullivan writes from his perspective as an ecclesiologist:

Here is clear confirmation that it is consonant with Catholic ecclesiology to recognise that beyond the limits of the Roman Catholic Church there are not only 'elements of

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸Francis A. Sullivan, "The Decree on Ecumenism: Its Presuppositions and Consequences," *One in Christ* 26 (1990): 12.

⁵⁹*Unitatis Redintegratio* 3, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter J. Abbott (Piscataway, New Jersey: New Century Publishers, Inc., 1966).

Church' to be found, but also Churches, and other communities that can correctly be called 'ecclesiastical.' But even more importantly, the statement that it is 'in their own Churches and ecclesiastical communities that non-Catholic Christians receive baptism and other sacraments' is a recognition of the fact that such Churches and communities play a significant role in the salvation of their members.⁶⁰

Willebrands affirms the importance of the ecclesiology of communion for understanding the Council's decision to use *subsists in* rather than *is*:

Subsistit in cannot be authentically understood except in the setting of [an] ecclesiology of communion, and then only if communion is seen not simply horizontally nor merely as between Christians or Christian communities, but also and in the first place as communion with God himself.⁶¹

Lumen Gentium 8 and its companion texts mentioned above provided a statute for Roman Catholic participation in the modern ecumenical movement. Ink continues to be spilled on the meaning of *subsistit in* and its implications for Church unity. Nonetheless, after the Council theologians such as Sullivan heralded it as an ecumenical breakthrough. It remains one of the general principles which enabled the Roman Catholic Church to begin an official dialogue with the Anglican Communion as an ecclesial peer.

Principles of Diversity in the Church

During the meetings of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission, Moorman and Root presented a paper entitled "Unity and Comprehensiveness."⁶² In this paper they

⁶⁰Sullivan, "The Decree on Ecumenism," 14-15.

⁶¹Willebrands, 190.

⁶²J. R. H. Moorman and Howard E. Root, "Unity and Comprehensiveness: A Paper Presented at Huntercombe, 1 September 1967," Chapter 6 in *Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue: The Work of the Preparatory Commission*, ed. Alan C. Clark and Colin Davey (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

referred to the "Anglican fascination with recent Roman Catholic emphasis upon the rightfulness of diversity within the Church."⁶³ Moorman and Root credit Pope John XXIII's opening speech to the Council as striking "a most important keynote" for the Council.⁶⁴ Pope Paul VI took up this 'keynote' in his opening speeches to the second and third sessions of the Council⁶⁵ as did the Council in *Gaudium et Spes* 62 and *Unitatis Redintegratio* 4, 11, 16 and 17. Beginning with Pope John's opening speech, the following section will present some of the principles of ecumenism regarding diversity that first surfaced at Vatican II and then after the Council in *The Malta Report*.

Pope John's Opening Speech: The substance of the faith

Pope John XXIII set the tone for the Second Vatican Council and established a principle of ecumenism during his opening speech on October 11, 1962. In this allocution he stated, "The substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of faith is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another."⁶⁶ In this speech Pope John also encouraged Roman Catholic theologians to use "the methods of research"⁶⁷ and the "literary forms of modern thought"⁶⁸ to explain the authentic doctrine of the Church. He declared that the principal duty of the Council was 'to guard and teach

⁶³*Ibid.*, 77.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 78.

⁶⁶"Pope John's Opening Speech to the Council," in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter Abbott, S.J. (Piscataway, New Jersey: New Century Publications, Inc., 1966), 715.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

more efficaciously the sacred deposit of Christian doctrine.⁶⁹

The Council agreed with Pope's John's teaching about the substance of the faith and developed this teaching in *Gaudium et Spes* 62:

Furthermore, while adhering to the methods and requirements proper to theology, theologians are invited to seek continually for more suitable ways of communicating doctrine to the men [*sic*] of their times. For the deposit of faith or revealed truths are one thing; the manner in which they are formulated without violence to their meaning and significance is another.⁷⁰

Here the Council encourages theologians to seek methods of effective communication. Moorman and Root, Anglican members of the Joint Preparatory Commission observe that Pope John's position seems to provide "the charter for a liberality and diversity in theological interpretation."⁷¹ They continue, "Certainly that diversity was marked and unhampered in the actual proceedings of the Council."⁷²

The ecumenical applications of *Gaudium et Spes* 62 become more apparent when this text is read in the light of *Unitatis Redintegratio*, the Council's *Decree on Ecumenism*. In *Unitatis Redintegratio* 16, for example, the Council notes that in the Churches of the East:

From the earliest times, moreover, the Eastern Churches followed their own disciplines, sanctioned by the holy Fathers, by synods, even ecumenical Councils. Far from being an obstacle to the Church's unity, such diversity of customs and observances only adds to her comeliness, and contributes greatly to carrying out her

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 713.

⁷⁰*Gaudium et Spes* 62, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter Abbott, S.J. (Piscataway, New Jersey: New Century Publications, Inc., 1966).

⁷¹Moorman and Root, 78.

⁷²*Ibid.*

mission. . . .⁷³

The theme of diversity in theological formulations is further developed in *Unitatis Redintegratio* 17:

What has already been said about legitimate variety we are pleased to apply to differences in theological expressions of doctrine. In the investigation of revealed truth, East and West have used different methods and approaches in understanding and proclaiming divine things. It is hardly surprising, then, if sometimes one tradition has come nearer than the other to an apt appreciation of certain aspects of a revealed mystery, or has expressed them in a clearer manner. As a result, these various theological formulations are often to be considered as complementary rather than conflicting.⁷⁴

Another principle which intrigues Moorman and Root is found in *Unitatis Redintegratio* 4 where the Council declares:

While preserving unity in essentials, let all members of the Church, according to the office entrusted to each, preserve a proper freedom in the various forms of spiritual life and discipline, in the variety of liturgical rites, and even in the theological elaborations of revealed truth. In all things let charity be exercised.⁷⁵

The Council's acceptance of the different methods and approaches of the Churches of the East was used to good advantage in bilateral and multilateral dialogues after the Council. These principles, which encourage openness to diverse methods of expressing and proclaiming divine things, enabled the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission "to pursue *together* that restatement of doctrine which new times and conditions, are . . . regularly calling for (Authority I, para. 25)."⁷⁶ According to Moorman and Root, the Roman Catholic Church's apparent commitment to diversity in the Church fascinated the Anglican Communion at the same time that it made Anglicans uncertain

⁷³*Unitatis Redintegratio* 16.

⁷⁴*Unitatis Redintegratio* 17.

⁷⁵*Unitatis Redintegratio* 4.

⁷⁶Preface to *The Final Report*, 2. Their emphasis.

"about the interpretation and repercussions of recent Roman Catholic utterances"⁷⁷ such as these.

Unitatis Redintegratio 11: *The Hierarchy of Truths*

Unitatis Redintegratio 11 is another text which Moorman and Root approach cautiously:

This notion of a hierarchy of truths, when taken in conjunction with the other pronouncements we have mentioned, would seem to encourage that kind of dialogue which could only proceed fruitfully if a certain theological diversity were not only recognized but welcomed.⁷⁸

The Malta Report suggests that the principle regarding the hierarchy of truths may represent a convergence in Roman Catholic thought with the Anglican teaching on the fundamentals and non-fundamentals of the faith. Despite this possibility, Anglicans, according to Moorman and Root, still remain "[uncertain] about the interpretation and repercussions of recent Roman Catholic utterances"⁷⁹ such as this one.

Anglican concerns notwithstanding, the Council's teaching on the hierarchy of truths, like *Lumen Gentium* 8, facilitated Roman Catholic participation in the ecumenical movement after the Council. And, like *Lumen Gentium* 8, theologians also heralded *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11 as an ecumenical breakthrough. But, like *Lumen Gentium* 8, much ink has been, and continues to be, spilled on this principle. Since it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to do justice to all the issues surrounding this principle, I will simply provide a synopsis of this principle of diversity and its history at the Council.

Archbishop Andrea Pangrazio of Gorizia, Italy introduced the concept of a hierarchy of truths

⁷⁷Moorman and Root, 79.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

to the Council and made direct links between this concept and Christian unity. In his Council speech he says:

Although all the truths revealed by divine faith are to be believed with the same divine faith and all those elements which make up the Church must be kept with equal fidelity, not all of them are of equal importance. . . .

But we can say that the unity of Christians consists in a common faith and belief in those truths which concern our final goal.

If we explicitly make these distinctions in conformity with the hierarchy of truths and elements, I think the existing unity among all Christians will be seen more clearly, and it will become evident that all Christians are already a family united in the primary truths of the Christian religion.⁸⁰

Although Archbishop Pangrazio introduced the concept to the Council as an explicit contribution to Christian unity, it was Cardinal Franz König of Vienna who submitted the amendment, *Modus* 49, that was incorporated into *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11:

When comparing doctrines, [Catholic theologians engaged in ecumenical dialogue] should remember that in Catholic teaching there exists an order or "hierarchy" of truths, since they vary in their relationship to the foundation of the Christian faith.⁸¹

The observers at the Council received this section of *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11 enthusiastically even though it does not make the link between the hierarchy of truths and Christian unity as explicit as Archbishop Pangrazio's speech does. It does, however, mark an advance from Pope Pius XI's teaching in *Mortalium Animos* which had held sway in Roman Catholicism since 1928. In *Mortalium Animos* Pope Pius XI taught the following:

The supernatural virtue of faith has as its formal motive the authority of God revealing, and this allows of no such distinction. All true followers of Christ, therefore, will believe the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God

⁸⁰ Andrea Pangrazio, "The Mystery of the History of the Church," in *Council Speeches of Vatican II*, ed. Hans Küng, Yves Congar, O.P., and Daniel O'Hanlon, S.J., (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1964), 191. His emphasis. See Appendix 1 for a longer excerpt from his speech.

⁸¹ *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11.

with the same faith as they believe the mystery of the august Trinity, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in the sense defined by the Oecumenical Vatican Council with the same faith as they believe the Incarnation of our Lord.⁸²

When *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11 is compared to this section from *Mortalium Animos*, the enthusiasm of Oscar Cullmann, a Protestant observer at the Council, for this text is understandable:

Je considère ce passage [*Unitatis Redintegratio* 11] comme le plus révolutionnaire non seulement du schéma *De Oecumenismo*, mais de tous les schémas du présent concile. En se conformant à ce texte, il sera possible, naturellement sans les nier, de ne pas placer les dogmes relatifs à la primauté de Pierre ou à l'ascension de Marie sur le même plan que les dogmes relatifs au Christ et à la Trinité.⁸³

In the aftermath of the Council, the members of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Preparatory Commission discussed the hierarchy of truths. Bishop Christopher Butler, Auxiliary Bishop of Westminster, in his speech to the Preparatory Commission, referred to *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11 when he said:

And it could be argued that the doctrinal differences between our two communions relate less to 'the foundation of the Christian faith' than to elements in the deposit of faith which, while important, are less important than those elements on which we agree (cf. *De Revelatione* Nr. 5, *De Ecumenismo* Nr. 11).⁸⁴

Then, in *The Malta Report*, the Preparatory Commission proposed that ARCIC-I study *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11 and 17 and *Gaudium et Spes* 62 in an effort to determine the extent to which these

⁸²*Mortalium Animos*, Appendix G in *The Malines Conversations Revisited*, 230.

⁸³Gustave Thils, *Le Décret sur l'oecuménisme du deuxième Concile du Vatican* (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1966), 125-126; *Documentation Catholique* 20 (June 1965): 1116; ET: *Ecumenical Review* (April 1965): 984-995.

⁸⁴Christopher Butler, "Unity: An Approach by Stages?" in *Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue: The Work of the Preparatory Commission*, ed. Alan C. Clark and Colin Davey (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 103.

texts represent a convergence between Anglican and Roman Catholic teachings.⁸⁵

As I have mentioned elsewhere, Vatican II marked a watershed in terms of Roman Catholic participation in the modern ecumenical movement. Prior to the Council the Roman Catholic Church had absented itself from the ecumenical movement. After the Council, thanks to the appropriation of these principles of ecumenism and others, the Roman Catholic Church entered the ecumenical movement as an active participant. Anglicans remained as uncertain about how to interpret these texts as did many Roman Catholics. Nonetheless, these principles provided the Roman Catholic Church with the theological foundations it needed to begin an official dialogue with the Anglican Communion.

The First Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission

"Among those in which some Catholic traditions and institutions continue to exist, [*subsistere*] the Anglican Communion occupies a special place,"⁸⁶ stated the Council. Only three months after the close of the Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey, met with Pope Paul VI to discuss this special relationship. They issued a *Common Declaration* on March 24, 1966. In it they acknowledged the "new atmosphere of Christian fellowship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Churches of the Anglican Communion"⁸⁷ and they declared their intention to establish a formal dialogue between their two communions. On November 4, 1966 the names of those appointed to the Joint Preparatory Commission of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue became

⁸⁵*The Malta Report*, par. 6.

⁸⁶*Unitatis Redintegratio* 13.

⁸⁷"The Common Declaration by Pope Paul VI and the Archbishops of Canterbury 24 March 1966," in *Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue: The Work of the Preparatory Commission*, 1.

public. Five of the Anglicans had been official observers at the Council.⁸⁸ The Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission met three times between January 1967 and January 1968 and in *The Malta Report* they recommended:

the constitution of two joint subcommissions, responsible to the Permanent Commission, to undertake two urgent and important tasks:

ONE to examine the question of intercommunion, and the related matters of Church and Ministry;

THE OTHER to examine the question of authority, its nature, exercise and implications.⁸⁹

Only one Commission was struck and this Permanent Commission was named the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC-I). It met for the first time in January 1970. Eight members of the Joint Preparatory Commission were appointed to ARCIC-I⁹⁰ and this provided a continuity of membership and vision between the two commissions.

The mandate of ARCIC-I included a theological examination of "the question of intercommunion, and the related matters of Church and Ministry." ARCIC-I was also expected to study the questions regarding the nature and exercise of authority in the Church and its implications⁹¹ which it did after completing its statements and elucidations on eucharist and ministry. ARCIC-I produced two statements on authority (Venice, 1976 and Windsor, 1981) and an elucidation on authority (Windsor, 1981). *The Final Report*, which became public in 1982, included all of ARCIC-I's agreed statements on eucharist, ministry and authority as well as their respective elucidations.

⁸⁸ *Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogue: The Work of the Preparatory Commission*, 8.

⁸⁹ *The Malta Report*, par. 22.

⁹⁰ Preface to *The Final Report*, 1.

⁹¹ Co-Chairmen's preface to *Authority in the Church I*.

In *The Final Report* ARCIC-I examines the nature of authority, its exercise and implications from within an ecclesiology of communion (*koinonia*). Since the ecclesiology of communion is central to all of ARCIC-I's statements, in the following chapter I will examine ARCIC-I's understanding of the ecclesiology of communion in *The Final Report*. I will then examine the nature and exercise of authority in an ecclesiology of communion and end the chapter with a discussion of conciliarity and the people of God in an ecclesiology of communion.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

THE FINAL REPORT: KOINONIA, AUTHORITY AND CONCILIARITY

*Koinonia*¹ provides the ecclesiological framework from within which the first Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC-I) develops its understanding of conciliarity. ARCIC-I writes: "This theme of *koinonia* runs through our Statements. In them we present the eucharist as the effectual sign of *koinonia*, *episcopate* as serving the *koinonia*, and primacy as a visible link and focus of *koinonia*."² Because *koinonia* is such a foundational concept in the statements of ARCIC-I, this chapter begins by exegeting and enlarging what ARCIC-I says about *koinonia* before presenting ARCIC-I's understanding of authority and conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

Koinonia in The Final Report

Koinonia, as a theological concept, entered the Christian lexicon through Saint Paul who borrowed the term from the Greek-speaking world about him and reworked it from a Christian perspective. Michael McDermott, a biblical scholar, describes Paul's use of *koinonia*:

With such finesse and creative intuition does Paul employ the word [*koinonia*] that it is often impossible to limit it to a single clear-cut meaning. There is a fullness of

¹English translations often do not do justice to the depth of meaning conveyed by the Greek word *koinonia*. The Commission only uses English translations when these capture the precise aspect of *koinonia* that the Commission wishes to convey.

²Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, introduction to *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 6.

significance in almost every occurrence [*sic*] of this word [*koinonia*].³

ARCIC-I was one of the first bilateral dialogues to explore the concept of *koinonia* and its ecclesiological possibilities. The Commission was aware that *koinonia* and 'Church' are not equivocal terms in the New Testament; nonetheless, the Commission argued that *koinonia* "is the term that most aptly expresses the mystery underlying the various New Testament images of the Church."⁴ *Koinonia* "is not a static concept--it demands movement forward, perfecting. We need to accept its implications."⁵ It is this dynamism and depth of meaning that contribute to *koinonia*'s usefulness in ecclesiological and ecumenical dialogues such as ARCIC-I.

Because *koinonia* is such a rich, multivalent term, the Commission provides a hermeneutic key to assist readers in interpreting ARCIC-I's use of *koinonia* in *The Final Report*. Drawing upon 1 John 1:3, which the Archbishop of Canterbury Donald Coggan and Pope Paul VI quote in their Common Declaration (1977),⁶ the Commission states that of all the possible New Testament references to *koinonia* "[ARCIC-I] concentrates on that which signifies a relation between persons resulting from their participation in one and the same reality (cf. 1 John 1.3)."⁷ Central to ARCIC-I's understanding of *koinonia* is that Christians participate, both individually and collectively, in the trinitarian life, through the Spirit. So, whenever the Commission uses *koinonia* in *The Final Report*,

³Michael McDermott, "The Biblical Doctrine of KOINONIA, Part II," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 19 (1975): 232.

⁴Introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 4.

⁵Preface to *The Final Report*, 3.

⁶"The Common Declaration by Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury (1977)," in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 8.

⁷Introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 5.

it highlights the relational and participatory aspects of *koinonia* that are found in 1 John 1:3. This is fitting since "usually the word retains the meaning which it has by derivation 'to participate in something along with someone.'" ⁸ Campbell, a biblical scholar, writes:

Koinōnía is primarily the abstract noun corresponding to *κοινωνός* and *κοινωνεῖν*, and its meaning therefore is '[the] having *something* in common with *someone*.' The ideas of participation and of association are both present, and the main emphasis may fall upon either of them, sometimes to the practical exclusion of the other.⁹

In the introduction to *The Final Report*, which represents the maturation of the Commission's thinking about *koinonia*, the Commission identifies some of the trinitarian, christological and pneumatological dimensions of *koinonia*. The trinitarian aspects of *koinonia* are evident in the Commission's assertion: "Union with God in Christ Jesus through the Spirit is the heart of Christian *koinonia*."¹⁰ Using 1 John 1:3 as its point of departure, the Commission argues that through sharing in the Holy Spirit who is given by Christ, Christians enter into, and participate in, an intimate relationship with God. Because Christians are God's adopted children, their relationship with God is modeled upon the intimate relationship of *koinonia* that Jesus, the Son, experienced. The *koinonia* that Christians experience with God, in Christ, through the Spirit, also fosters *koinonia* among Christians in local and universal communities.

The Christological dimensions of *koinonia* surface when the Commission presents the relational aspects of *koinonia*. ARCIC-I argues that the images of the Church as the body of Christ, the household of God, and the holy nation emphasise the relationship that exists between Christians

⁸J. Y. Campbell, "*Koinōnía* and its Cognates in the New Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* LI (1932): 356.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 5.

and Christ.¹¹ Christ is the "source of *koinonia*"¹² and it is through the eucharist that "all the baptized are brought into communion with [Christ] the source of *koinonia*."¹³ This relationship is foundational for *koinonia*.

The Holy Spirit also plays a seminal role in fostering *koinonia*. By sharing in the same Spirit Christians become members of the same body of Christ and enter into a new relationship with one another.¹⁴ When discussing ARCIC-I's understanding of *koinonia* it is difficult to separate the role of the Holy Spirit from the relationship with Christ that the Spirit fosters since the two are intimately connected to the Commission's understanding of the way in which *koinonia* grows.

Eucharist as the Effectual Sign of *Koinonia*

The relational and participatory aspects of *koinonia*, to which the Commission refers in the preface to *The Final Report* and the introduction to *The Final Report*, appear early in ARCIC-I's statement on *Eucharistic Doctrine*. According to this statement, baptism into Christ enables Christians to enter into a new relationship with God through the power of the Holy Spirit. Christians deepen this relationship through their participation in the celebration of the eucharist. ARCIC-I argues that this relationship is not simply an interior relationship. It also has a missionary dimension which ARCIC-I describes as "a common life of loving service."¹⁵ The intimate connection between

¹¹*Ibid.*, par. 4.

¹²*Ibid.*, par. 6.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*, par. 5.

¹⁵*Eucharistic Doctrine*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 2.

Christ, the Holy Spirit, eucharist and mission in ARCIC-I's understanding of *koinonia* becomes even clearer when the Commission declares that "Christ through the Holy Spirit in the eucharist builds up the life of the Church, strengthens its fellowship and furthers its mission."¹⁶ While reiterating the importance of the intimate relationship between the Spirit and Christ, ARCIC-I also focuses upon the importance of the eucharistic celebration in the building of *koinonia*.

The Commission also explores other dimensions of *koinonia* in *Eucharistic Doctrine*. ARCIC-I argues that through the eucharist Christians commit themselves to Christ, to one another and "to the mission of the Church in the world."¹⁷ Thus *koinonia* includes the relationship of Christians to one another, the relationship of Christians to God and the relationship of Christians to the world. The Commission further describes the *koinonia* that exists between Christians and Christ, arguing that Christians commit themselves to Christ in the eucharist. Christians also enter into communion with Christ who "is present and active, in various ways, in the *entire* eucharistic celebration."¹⁸

The mystery of the eucharistic presence, as the Commission describes it, has two aspects, which cannot be separated. This mystery entails "the sacramental sign of Christ's presence and the personal relationship between Christ and the faithful which arises from that presence."¹⁹ Expanding upon these two dimensions, the Commission affirms that "Christ's body and blood become really present and are really given. But they are really present and given in order that, receiving them,

¹⁶*Ibid.*, par. 3. Here the Commission uses the word fellowship to express a dimension of *koinonia*.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, par. 4.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, par. 7. My emphasis.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, par. 8.

believers may be united in communion with Christ the Lord."²⁰ Through the eucharistic celebration Christians enter into *koinonia* with Christ thereby deepening their *koinonia* with God and one another.

In the section entitled "Christ's Presence in the Eucharist" (*Eucharistic Doctrine: Elucidation* 1979), ARCIC-I elaborates upon its understanding of the mystery of the eucharistic presence:

In the eucharist the human person encounters in faith the person of Christ in his sacramental body and blood. This is the sense in which the community, the body of Christ, by partaking of the sacramental body of the risen Lord, grows into the unity God intends for his Church. The ultimate change intended by God is the transformation of human beings into the likeness of Christ. The bread and wine *become* the sacramental body and blood of Christ in order that the Christian community may *become* more truly what it already is, the body of Christ.²¹

These references to the relationship between the eucharist, unity and the body of Christ resonate with the Pauline understanding of the eucharist as the source of Christian unity and the Pauline understanding of the Christian community as the body of Christ. Surprisingly, ARCIC-I does not quote the relevant Pauline material explicitly in either *Eucharistic Doctrine* or its *Elucidation*. The only Pauline text which it does quote is 1 Corinthians 15:28 and this text is placed in an eschatological context.

As ARCIC-I explores the relationship between the eucharist, *koinonia*, unity, Christ and the Church's mission to the world it presents the eucharist as the "effectual sign of *koinonia*"²² and effecting *koinonia*. ARCIC-I demonstrates that participation in the eucharist entails participating in

²⁰*Ibid.*, par. 9.

²¹*Eucharistic Doctrine: Elucidation*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 6. Their emphasis.

²²Introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 6.

a relationship with Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit and this fosters *koinonia*. As it explores the questions surrounding ministry and ordination, ARCIC-I deepens its understanding of *koinonia*, eucharist and *episcopate*.

Eucharist, *Episcopate* and *Koinonia*

Since the post-apostolic period Christians have recognized that there is an intimate relationship among the eucharist, *episcopate* and *koinonia*. According to the biblical scholar Raymond Brown, by the time of Ignatius of Antioch (c. A.D. 110), despite the absence of explicit New Testament warrant for the practice, the "bishop has unique authority in relation to baptism and the Eucharist."²³ ARCIC-I refers to Ignatius' *Letter to the Smyrneans*, 8.1, in which Ignatius argues that those exercising *episcopate* in a community have the exclusive right to preside at the eucharist unless the bishop delegates someone else to do so.²⁴

Questions regarding Church unity surface around A.D. 110. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* credits Ignatius of Antioch with arguing that the bishop is "The best safeguard of the unity of the Christian faith."²⁵ This is because the bishop is the focus of unity for the community and the chief presider at the eucharist. The bishop also decides who can or cannot participate in the eucharist. Jerome Hamer, O.P., in his book *The Church is a Communion*, writes: "Whoever held the office of head of the community issued the letters of communion and admitted believers to the

²³Raymond E. Brown, S.S., "EPISKOPĒ and EPISKOPOS: The New Testament Evidence," *Theological Studies* 41 (June 1980): 336.

²⁴*Ministry and Ordination*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 12.

²⁵*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2d ed., s.v. "Ignatius, St."

eucharist or debarred them from it."²⁶ By the middle of the second century and into the third this prerogative had become that of the local bishop exclusively.

In the early church, "It was through the action of the bishops that the links between one local Church and another were established and maintained."²⁷ These links were established in a number of ways. Ludwig Freiherr von Hertling, a Jesuit who taught at the Gregorian University, has studied these developments in the early church. He argues that episcopal letters fostered *koinonia* between the bishops and through them between their communities. As the church grew and expanded, the church drew up lists of bishops who were in communion with one another and these were circulated. These lists enabled local bishops to identify those communities that were in communion with their own and vice versa. By the same token, these lists were also very useful during times when heresy and schism threatened the fragile unity of the church for they identified the communities that were not in communion. Hertling notes that it was to a bishop's advantage to be on as many lists as possible. It was especially important for a bishop to be in communion with one of the principal churches such as Rome for "Anyone whose name was on the list of only one of the principal churches was thereby in communion with all the other churches."²⁸

Each of these developments indicates that in the early church the understanding of local communion was foremost and as the church grew so too did its understanding and experience of *koinonia*. Christians began to appreciate that through the *koinonia* of their bishops they themselves

²⁶Jerome Hamer, O.P., *The Church is a Communion*, trans. Ronald Matthews (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), 167. FT: *L'Eglise est une communion*. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1962.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 167-168.

²⁸Ludwig Freiherr von Hertling, *Communio: Church and Papacy in Early Christianity*, trans. with an introduction by Jared Wicks (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1972), 35.

were part of a communion of local communions. ARCIC-I recovers this concept and suggests that those exercising *episcopate* today ought to ensure that the members of their local communities understand that they are part of a larger communion of communions. The Commission states "every bishop receives at ordination both responsibility for his local church and the obligation to maintain it in living awareness and practical service of the other churches. The Church of God is found in each of them and in their *koinonia*."²⁹

A lasting sign of the *koinonia* that exists between bishops is the participation of more than one bishop in the consecration of a new bishop. This participation of bishops ensures that the new bishop is within the *koinonia*:

Because they are entrusted with the oversight of their churches, this participation in his [*sic*] ordination signifies that this new bishop and his [*sic*] church are within the communion of churches. Moreover, because they are representative of their churches in fidelity to the teaching and mission of the apostles and are members of the episcopal college, their participation also ensures the historical continuity of this church with the apostolic Church and of its bishop with the original apostolic ministry. The communion of the churches in mission, faith and holiness, through time and space, is thus symbolized and maintained in the bishop. Here are comprised the essential features of what is meant in our two traditions by ordination in the apostolic succession.³⁰

The Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) codified this practice in its canons. The practice, however, had begun much earlier and along with participation in the eucharist is still a sign of *koinonia* today. ARCIC-I states, "All ministers of the Gospel need to be in communion with one another, for the one

²⁹*Authority in the Church I*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 10.

³⁰*Ministry and Ordination*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 16.

Church is a communion of local churches"³¹ and the participation of bishops in the consecration of new bishops is a sign of this larger *koinonia*. Further, "The bishop expresses this unity of his church with the others: this is symbolized by the participation of several bishops in his [*sic*] ordination."³²

The Commission develops its understanding of *episcopate* in terms of service to the *koinonia*. The bishop serves the *koinonia* by being faithful to the apostolic faith, to "its embodiment in the life of the Church today, and its transmission to the Church of tomorrow."³³ Each bishop exercising *episcopate* needs to "ensure that the local community is distinctively Christian."³⁴ Bishops also need to ensure that the local communion is "aware of the universal communion of which it is part."³⁵ In these ways the local bishop serves the *koinonia* in the present, in continuity with the past, and in anticipation of the future.

Authority in an Ecclesiology of Communion

In discussions regarding *koinonia*, *episcopate*, eucharist and unity, questions inevitably arise regarding authority in an ecclesiology of communion. ARCIC-I's mandate was to examine the question of authority in the Church because "The question of authority in the Church has long been recognized as crucial to the growth in unity of the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the

³¹Introduction to *The Final Report*, par. 6.

³²*Authority in the Church I*, par. 8.

³³*Ministry and Ordination*, par. 9.

³⁴*Authority in the Church I*, par. 8.

³⁵*Ibid.*

Anglican Communion."³⁶ Despite the substantial agreements that the Commission reached in its statements on eucharist and ministry and ordination, the question of the nature and exercise of authority in the Church continues to divide both communions.

Because authority is a contentious issue between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, the Commission chose its method very carefully and describes it in the following terms:

In our three Agreed Statements we have endeavoured to get behind the opposed and entrenched positions of past controversies. We have tried to reassess what are the real issues to be resolved. We have often deliberately avoided the vocabulary of past polemics, not with any intention of evading the real difficulties that provoked them, but because the emotive associations of such language have often obscured the truth. For the future relations between our churches the doctrinal convergence which we have experienced offers hope that remaining difficulties can be resolved.³⁷

This attempt "to get behind the opposed and entrenched positions of past controversies"³⁸ and to avoid the polemical language of the past is most evident in the Commission's carefully structured and worded statements on authority and elucidation. ARCIC-I begins its first statement on authority with a paragraph outlining Christ's authority in heaven and on earth.³⁹ The Commission then turns to general discussions of Christian authority⁴⁰ and authority in the Church.⁴¹ Once the Commission has established that all authority in the Church is subsumed to the authority of Christ and Scripture and that the entire Christian community is guided by the Holy Spirit to discern the will of God for the

³⁶Co-Chairmen's preface to *Authority in the Church I*," 49.

³⁷*Authority in the Church I*, par. 25.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹*Ibid.*, par. 1.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pars. 2-3.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pars. 4-7.

Church it addresses more specific questions. These include authority in the communion of the churches,⁴² authority in matters of faith,⁴³ and conciliar and primatial authority.⁴⁴ After establishing these foundations in its first statement on authority, the Commission then addresses the unresolved issues regarding the petrine texts, papal primacy, *jus divinum* and infallibility in its second statement on authority. In this way the Commission's statements on authority are carefully and thoughtfully worked out from within an ecclesiology of communion.

The trinitarian, participatory and relational aspects of *koinonia* which guided the Commission's earlier statements also influenced its understanding of authority. ARCIC-I begins its discussion of authority with the following assertion: "The confession of Christ as Lord is the heart of the Christian faith. To [Christ as Lord] God has given all authority in heaven and on earth."⁴⁵ ARCIC-I develops its arguments regarding authority from the principle that Christ's authority in the Church is mediated by Christians through the power of the Holy Spirit in the *koinonia*.⁴⁶ "This is Christian authority," ARCIC-I declares, "when Christians so act and speak, [people] perceive the authoritative word of Christ."⁴⁷

The Commission also states that Christ has sent the Holy Spirit to create *koinonia* between human beings and with God and to assist the Church to discern the will of God for the Church. The

⁴²*Ibid.*, pars. 8-12.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pars. 13-18.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 19-23.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, par. 1.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, par. 3.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

Spirit ensures that the "authority of the Lord is active in the Church."⁴⁸ This is the foundation upon which the Commission builds its statements regarding authority. Key among these is the animating role of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church.

ARCIC-I develops its understanding of Christian authority by emphasising the important and ongoing role that the Holy Spirit plays throughout the history of the Church. The Holy Spirit inspired the apostolic community "to recognize in the words and deeds of Jesus the saving activity of God."⁴⁹ Then the Holy Spirit inspired the mission of the apostolic community and the development of the Sacred Scriptures. Today Christians still seek the guidance or inspiration of the Holy Spirit as they discern how the Sacred Scriptures, especially the Gospels, "should be interpreted and obeyed."⁵⁰ The ongoing action of the Spirit in the life of the Church ensures that the authority of Christ remains active in the Church today as always.⁵¹

Bishop in the Communion of the Churches

In the preface to *Authority in the Church I*, ARCIC-I's Co-Chairs write:

There is much in the document, as in our other documents, which presents the ideal of the Church as willed by Christ. History shows how the Church has often failed to achieve this ideal. An awareness of this distinction between the ideal and the actual is important both for the reading of the document and for the understanding of the method we have pursued.⁵²

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, par. 2.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹*Ibid.*, par. 3.

⁵²Co-Chairmen's preface to *Authority in the Church I*, 50.

Since the Commission presents the ideal of authority in the *koinonia* in these statements and elucidation it is helpful to keep these caveats in mind. As noted above, the Commission begins with a general treatment of the authority of Christ and the role of the Holy Spirit before it discusses the nature of authority in the *koinonia* and the differing ways in which it is exercised. In matters of faith these include: Sacred Scripture, the creeds, the definitions of the early councils and the writings of the patristic period, all of which enjoy authority in the communion.⁵³

In its statements on authority, however, ARCIC-I purposely devotes more time to those exercising *episcopate* than to the many unnamed Christians who "by the inner quality of their life . . . win a respect which allows them to speak in Christ's name with authority."⁵⁴ These include those to whom the Holy Spirit gives special gifts (Ephesians 4:11, 12, 1 Corinthians 12:4-11) which are to be used for the building up of the Church. ARCIC-I acknowledges that those who have these gifts deserve to speak and to be heeded.⁵⁵ The Commission was criticized, however, for neglecting these Christians in its statements on authority and devoting so much time to "the structure and the exercise of the authority of the ordained ministry."⁵⁶ ARCIC-I responded to criticisms such as these by noting "that this was the area where most difficulties appeared to exist. There was no devaluing of the proper and active role of the laity."⁵⁷

Episcopate is crucial to the Commission's understanding of *koinonia*. ARCIC-I argues that

⁵³*Authority in the Church I*, par. 18.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, par. 4.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, par. 5.

⁵⁶*Authority in the Church: Elucidation*, par. 4.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

those exercising *episcopate* are the focus of unity for the community; they establish and maintain *koinonia* between communions; they preside at the eucharist and baptism and they are expected to maintain the community in the apostolic faith. According to the expectations of their office, bishops teach the faith, provide for the sacraments in the local church and maintain the local church in holiness and truth.⁵⁸ Yet the bishop can do none of these independent of the local church. The Commission writes, "the bishops have a special responsibility for promoting truth and discerning error, and the interaction of bishop and people in its exercise is a safeguard of Christian life and fidelity."⁵⁹

The relational and participatory dimensions of *koinonia* are exemplified when the bishop and community interact and discern together the will of God for the Church. When the bishop speaks authoritatively, the *koinonia* should recognize its faith and mind in what the bishop says. The people of God play a seminal role in the process of reception which ARCIC-I defines in the following way:

By 'reception' we mean the fact that the people of God acknowledge such a decision or statement because they recognize in it the apostolic faith. They accept it because they discern a harmony between what is proposed to them and the *sensus fidelium* of the whole Church. As an example, the creed which we call Nicene has been received by the Church because in it the Church has recognized the apostolic faith. Reception does not create truth nor legitimize the decision: it is the final indication that such a decision has fulfilled the necessary conditions for it to be a true expression of the faith. In this acceptance the whole Church is involved in a continuous process of discernment and response (cf. para. 6).⁶⁰

ARCIC-I's understanding of authority in the Church is grounded in its understanding of *koinonia*. Authority serves the communion when it arises from within the communion and expresses

⁵⁸*Authority in the Church II*, in *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), par. 17. cf. *Authority in the Church I*, par. 5.

⁵⁹*Authority in the the Church I*, par. 18.

⁶⁰*Authority in the Church: Elucidation*, par. 3.

the faith and mind of the communion.⁶¹ In the ideal proposed by ARCIC-I the relational and participatory dimensions of *koinonia* surface when the people of God, regardless of Church office, are involved in an ongoing, reciprocal and participatory discernment of God's will for the Church.

Primacy in the Communion of the Churches

ARCIC-I's ecclesiology of communion, which begins with the local church, strongly influences its presentation of authority in the church. The Commission defines a local church as "[t]he unity of local communities under one bishop."⁶² It is from the perspective of the local church that the Commission develops its understanding of authority in the Church. Only after it defines the local church does ARCIC-I address the question of authority in the communion of the Churches. In its discussion of authority in the communion of the churches the Commission addresses the issue of primacy for the first time.

ARCIC-I defines primacy as an aspect of *episcopate* and draws the following analogies. Whereas a bishop exercises *episcopate* in a local communion, a primate exercises *episcopate* in the communion of these local communions. Just as the bishop provides a focus of unity for the local communion, the primate provides a focus of unity for the communion of communions. Just as the bishop exercises oversight within the local community, so too the primate exercises oversight within the communion of communions. According to ARCIC-I, primacy, "rightly understood"⁶³ serves the

⁶¹*Authority in the Church I*, par. 9.

⁶²*Ibid.*, par. 8.

⁶³*Ibid.*, par. 12.

communion of communions, "support[s] [bishops] in their ministry of oversight"⁶⁴ and "guard[s] and promote[s] the faithfulness of all the churches to Christ and one another."⁶⁵

ARCIC-I draws a parallel between the early church and today's church. In the early church, communion with the primate of an important see assured the local church that it was part of a larger communion. The Commission argues that today communion with a universal primate "is intended as a safeguard of the catholicity of each local church, and as a sign of the communion of all the churches."⁶⁶ It writes:

If primacy is to be a genuine expression of *episcopate* it will foster the *koinonia* by helping the bishops in their task of apostolic leadership both in their local church and in the Church universal. . . . [primacy] does not seek uniformity where diversity is legitimate, or centralize administration to the detriment of local churches.⁶⁷

The Commission concludes its first statement on authority with the observation that it has reached a consensus "on the basic principles of primacy"⁶⁸ which are those mentioned above. In its second statement on authority and elucidation the Commission addresses the particular claims of papal primacy which remain divisive.

Conciliarity in the Communion of the Churches

ARCIC-I's discussion of conciliarity contributes to a renewed understanding of authority in the communion of the churches. Conciliarity refers to the longstanding Christian practice of Church

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, par. 21.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, par. 24.

representatives assembling to resolve, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, questions of mutual concern that have an impact upon the communion of the churches. The Commission develops its understanding of conciliarity as a complement to primacy and both as elements of *episcopate*.⁶⁹

"Ever since the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) the churches have realized the need to express and strengthen the *koinonia* by coming together to discuss matters of mutual concern and to meet contemporary challenges,"⁷⁰ writes ARCIC-I. Conciliarity is an integral part of the life of the Church and has been since the Council of Jerusalem. A survey of Church history illustrates that conciliarity has taken many forms over the course of two millennia. The balance between conciliarity and primacy, with the responsible participation of the whole people of God, which is so important to ARCIC-I's understanding, has at times, however, been skewed in one direction or another.

After the Council of Jerusalem many local, regional and ecumenical councils took place in the Church. The authority of these councils differs. For example, "[t]he decisions of what has traditionally been called an 'ecumenical council' are binding upon the whole Church; those of a regional council or synod bind only the churches it represents."⁷¹ In exceptional circumstances the decisions of some local councils have had a lasting impact upon the Church universal. "Local councils held from the second century determined the limits of the New Testament, and gave to the Church a canon which has remained normative."⁷² More often, however, it has been ecumenical councils which promulgated

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, par. 22.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, par. 9.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²*Ibid.*, par. 16.

decisions that are binding on the entire Church.⁷³

The ecumenical councils of the first Christian centuries were convoked to deal with questions of discipline and doctrine which threatened the unity of the Church.⁷⁴ Conciliarity, as ARCIC-I defines it, is linked to the unity of the Church. The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches also addressed this theme in a series of research studies conducted from 1961-1975. These studies help to expand ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity in the life of the Church by providing some important information regarding the history of conciliarity in the life of the Western Church.

The Faith and Order Commission Studies Conciliarity: 1961-1975

The 1961 World Council of Churches' Assembly held in New Delhi recommended that the Faith and Order Commission "study the history and significance of the conciliar process in the first centuries."⁷⁵ A sub-commission of church historians and theologians took on this task and prepared a report, *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*,⁷⁶ which they submitted to the 1967 Bristol meeting of the Faith and Order Commission. This report links conciliarity and unity:

Conciliarity is indissolubly bound to the unity of the Church. Representative assemblies are necessary, among other reasons, for the sake of unity. Almost all of the councils of the ancient Church were called because unity was threatened by heresy or was broken by schism; all had directly or indirectly the task of protecting or re-

⁷³*Ibid.*, par. 9.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, par. 16.

⁷⁵Lukas Vischer, "The Unity We Seek: Origin and Meaning of the Concept 'Conciliar Fellowship'," in *Growing Together Into Unity: Texts of the Faith and Order Commission on Conciliar Fellowship*, ed. Choan-Seng Song (Madras, India: The Christian Literature Society in Association with The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, Switzerland, 1978), 182.

⁷⁶*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement. World Council of Churches Studies No. 5.* Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968.

establishing unity.⁷⁷

Councils and the Ecumenical Movement also states that "the principal intention of all of the councils was to preserve the fellowship of the Church in the Eucharist. They met in the eucharistic fellowship and sought to strengthen this bond."⁷⁸ History demonstrates, however, that the very decisions that are intended to strengthen and preserve the fellowship of the Church may also rupture its communion. "Conciliar decisions often led to excommunication and the destruction of the eucharistic fellowship."⁷⁹ The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) is a classic example of these two dimensions of conciliarity. Although the Council dealt with the important christological issues regarding the humanity and divinity of Christ to the satisfaction of the churches of the West and most of the churches of the East, the Oriental Orthodox Churches did not accept the definition of Chalcedon. As a result, the Council of Chalcedon both strengthened the *koinonia* between the churches of the West and many of the churches of the East while simultaneously rupturing the *koinonia* with the Oriental Orthodox Churches.

"Councils were not only concerned with guarding unity. Often they attempted to restore the broken fellowship or to heal an existing schism."⁸⁰ Examples of this aspect of conciliarity are "the reform and union councils of the late Middle Ages."⁸¹ One important reunion council is the Council of Florence (1438-1445) which sought to restore communion between the churches of the East and

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 12.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 11.

the churches of the West. It succeeded with the Greek and Armenian Churches and Egyptian Copts in 1439. The Council also restored communion with the Syrians in 1444.⁸² The results of this reunion council, unfortunately, were short-lived due to many non-theological factors.⁸³

"Long periods of church history have been extremely rich in conciliar activity"⁸⁴ and equally long periods of Western church history have been extremely poor in conciliar activity. For example, the two hundred and fifty years from about A.D. 523-A.D. 787 are marked by numerous ecumenical and imperial councils convoked, and often presided over, by the emperor who was a layperson.⁸⁵ After A.D. 787, imperial councils gradually diminish in the West, although the Western Church continued to convoke general councils which it called ecumenical.⁸⁶ Whereas the churches of the West saw little conciliar activity from the ninth century to the thirteenth century, the Churches of the East have retained the synodal or conciliar aspects of Church life.

Intense conciliar activity marks the period from the late Middle Ages (thirteenth century to fifteenth century) up to and including the Council of Trent. During this time many reform and reunion councils are convoked.⁸⁷ After the Reformation a number of synodal patterns develop in Protestant circles. These synods, which *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* describes as "ecclesia

⁸²*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2d ed., s.v. "Florence, Council of."

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴Faith and Order Commission, *Councils, Conciliarity and a Genuinely Universal Council*, Faith and Order Paper No. 70, Study Encounter X/2 (1974): 4.

⁸⁵*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*, 10.

⁸⁶*Authority in the Church I*, footnote 2.

⁸⁷*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*, 11.

repraesentativa," are based on the "Reformation understanding of Scripture and Community."⁸⁸ Conciliar activity wanes dramatically in the Roman Catholic Church in the West after the Reformation but remains strong in the Anglican Communion which develops forms of conciliarity other than general councils.⁸⁹ In the last half of the twentieth century, however, Christians in the East and in the West witnessed a "conciliar renaissance."⁹⁰

Conciliarity in the Last Half of the Twentieth Century

ARCIC-I's discussion of conciliarity takes place during this period of conciliar renaissance. Renewed interest in the concept of conciliarity is exemplified by the birth of the World Council of Churches (1948), the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the pan-Orthodox Conferences begun in 1961 and the genesis of national councils of Churches. In the Roman Catholic Church the establishment of national conferences of bishops as well as episcopal and diocesan synods after Vatican II are other examples of this conciliar renaissance.

Studies devoted to the ecclesiological significance of councils, conciliarity, and the role of councils in the life and structure of the Church have also appeared. Lukas Vischer, during his tenure as Director of the Secretariat of the World Council of Churches' Commission on Faith and Order (1965-1979), is credited with "[keeping] reflection moving on the question of conciliarity by a series of fresh probings"⁹¹ beginning with the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches in

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁸⁹*Authority in the Church I*, footnote 2.

⁹⁰*Councils, Conciliarity and a Genuinely Universal Council*, 1.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 2.

1961 and continuing until the Nairobi Assembly in 1975.⁹²

The theological term "conciliarity" appears for the first time in *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*.⁹³ *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* set the stage for future Faith and Order and World Council of Churches discussions on conciliarity with the following definition:

By conciliarity we mean the fact that the Church in all times needs assemblies to represent it and has in fact felt this need. These assemblies may differ greatly from one another; however, conciliarity, the necessity *that* they take place, is a constant structure of the Church, a dimension which belongs to its nature. As the Church itself is an "assembly" and appears as assembly both in worship and many other expressions of its life, so it needs both at the local and on all other possible levels representative assemblies in order to answer the questions which it faces.

Synods and councils are the historical expression of this basic necessity. They are to be found in one form or another in all churches. Everywhere and at all times there are assemblies which not only serve for joint counsel, but also confront the local church, larger groups of congregations, or even the totality of the churches with an authoritative claim.⁹⁴

Although discussions about conciliarity continued until 1975 in the Faith and Order Commission, the discussion developed along different lines from that of ARCIC-I despite similar starting points. At the Uppsala Assembly (1968), the World Council of Churches declared that a universal council is the common ecumenical goal.⁹⁵ Subsequent Faith and Order discussions on

⁹²"After Bristol the discussion moved through various stages: the Fourth Assembly in Uppsala (1968), the meeting of the Faith and Order Commission in Louvain (1971), the consultation on 'Concepts of Unity and Models of Union' in Salamanca (1973), the meeting of the Faith and Order Commission in Accra (1971), and finally the Fifth Assembly in Nairobi (1975). Section II of that Assembly represents a summary of this long discussion." (Lukas Vischer, "The Unity We Seek: Origin and Meaning of the Concept 'Conciliar Fellowship'", 182-183.

⁹³Aram Keshishian, *Conciliar Fellowship: A Common Goal* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1992): 11.

⁹⁴*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*, 10.

⁹⁵*The Uppsala '68 Report* (Geneva: WCC, 1968), 17; quoted in *Councils, Conciliarity and a Genuinely Universal Council*, 1.

conciliarity pursue this line of enquiry whereas ARCIC-I set a different course with different results. Although ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity resonates with the definition first adopted by the Faith and Order Commission in Bristol, it no longer resonates with the definition adopted by the 1975 World Council of Churches Assembly in Nairobi.

The following citation, which the Nairobi Assembly adopted in 1975, represents the culmination of seven years (1968-1975) of Faith and Order study on the topic of conciliarity. The citation, however, no longer refers to conciliarity but to conciliar fellowship and presents conciliar fellowship as a concept of unity and a model of union:

The one Church is to be envisioned as a conciliar fellowship of local churches which are themselves truly united. In this conciliar fellowship, each local church possesses, in communion with the others, the fullness of catholicity, witnesses to the same apostolic faith, and therefore recognises the others as belonging to the same Church of Christ and guided by the same Spirit. They are bound together because they have received the same baptism and share in the same eucharist; they recognise each other's members and ministries. They are one in their common commitment to confess the Gospel of Christ by proclamation and service to the world. To this end each church aims at maintaining sustained and sustaining relationships with her sister churches, expressed in conciliar gatherings whenever required for the fulfilment of their common calling.⁹⁶

The Final Report and *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* agree that conciliarity is a necessary church structure; that it is a present and ongoing reality in the life of the church; that it is connected to unity and that different forms of conciliarity have developed throughout the history of the church. Despite these points of agreement there is a striking difference between the definitions of conciliarity found in *The Final Report* and *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*. This difference determined the directions taken by ARCIC-I and the Faith and Order Commission.

⁹⁶*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*, WCC Studies No. 5, Geneva, 1968; quoted in Lukas Vischer, "The Unity We Seek: Origin and Meaning of the Concept 'Conciliar Fellowship'," 182.

Unlike the Faith and Order Commission, ARCIC-I develops its understanding of conciliarity as integrally related to *episcopate* and a complement to primacy and this is the defining difference. ARCIC-I defines conciliarity and primacy as complementary aspects of *episcopate* and, unlike the Faith and Order Commission, has no hesitation about doing so. ARCIC-I states: "The *koinonia* of the churches requires that a proper balance be preserved between the two [conciliarity and primacy] with the responsible participation of the whole people of God."⁹⁷ ARCIC-I then develops its understanding of conciliarity as an element of *episcopate* linked to the office of bishops whereas the members of the Faith and Order Commission who wrote *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* could not agree whether this link between conciliarity and *episcopate* is as integral as ARCIC-I maintains.

Neither ARCIC-I's position nor that of the Faith and Order Commission is surprising. The Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church are both episcopal communions. By the end of the second century and the beginning of the third bishops had already assumed leadership positions in conciliar gatherings. Both communions share this heritage and history indicates that in the subsequent centuries councils were predominantly episcopal assemblies. Thus it is not surprising that ARCIC-I develops its understanding of conciliarity as an aspect of *episcopate* linked to the office of bishop.

Whereas ARCIC-I develops its understanding of conciliarity in this way, the Faith and Order sub-commission which wrote *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* could not agree whether this link between conciliarity and *episcopate* is as integral as ARCIC-I maintains. The sub-commission states:

We are all of the opinion that a council is a matter for the whole Church and that,

⁹⁷*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

therefore, the churches must be represented to the greatest extent possible. Some say that this happens through the bishops who have received the charisma of their office; others are of the opinion that other forms of representation can be found today. They think especially of a mixed assembly (clergy and laity).⁹⁸

Since the Faith and Order Commission represents both episcopal and non-episcopal churches its hesitancy to link conciliarity and episcopacy is understandable. Yet it is surprising that the Faith and Order Commission appears to limit its understanding of *episcopate* to episcopacy. This hesitancy determined the line of enquiry regarding conciliarity adopted by the Faith and Order Commission and the World Council of Churches between 1968 and 1975 and the definitions that resulted. The 1968 Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches declared that a universal council was the common ecumenical goal.⁹⁹ Subsequent Faith and Order discussions on conciliarity pursued this line of enquiry. By 1975 the definition of conciliar fellowship adopted by the Nairobi Assembly of the World Council of Churches differed from that contained in *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* and *The Final Report*.

Aram Keshishian, an Armenian Orthodox Archbishop and a former member of the Faith and Order Commission, observes:

There are today at least two different interpretations of conciliarity. On the one hand, it is described as the *ultimate goal* of the present ecumenical fellowship, i.e., unity in faith, in eucharist, and in the most fundamental church structures, and on the other it is considered as a *present reality* in the life of the churches.¹⁰⁰

The way in which ARCIC-I develops its understanding of conciliarity as an aspect of *episcopate*

⁹⁸*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*, 13.

⁹⁹*The Uppsala '68 Report* (Geneva: WCC, 1968), 17; quoted in *Councils, Conciliarity and a Genuinely Universal Council*, Faith and Order Paper No. 70, 1.

¹⁰⁰Aram Keshishian, *Conciliar Fellowship: A Common Goal* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1992): 4. His emphasis.

confirms Keshishian's thesis that conciliarity is not used in a univocal way in the ecumenical movement. ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity does not fit neatly into either of Keshishian's two possible interpretations.

Central to ARCIC-I's definition of conciliarity is that a balance must be maintained between conciliarity and primacy if those exercising *episcopate* are to serve the *koinonia* as they are called to do.¹⁰¹ Imbalances between the two have an impact upon the way in which *episcopate* is exercised and the way in which the whole people of God can participate in its exercise. ARCIC-I supports the active involvement of the laity in the exercise of authority in the Church and ends its second statement on authority in the following way: "We can now together affirm that the Church needs both a multiple, dispersed authority, with which all God's people are actively involved, and also a universal primate as servant and focus of visible unity in truth and love."¹⁰²

Conclusions

Bishop Arthur A. Vogel, in his foreword to the American Edition of *The Final Report*, remarks, "The Statements are structural, and we hope penetrating, but their full impact will often be felt only after exegesis and enlargement."¹⁰³ In this chapter I have sought to exegete and enlarge some of the concepts that are foundational in *The Final Report* and which are seminal to my dissertation. I began with ARCIC-I's understanding of *koinonia*. Then I examined the importance of the Commission's treatment of eucharist as effecting *koinonia* and as an effectual sign of *koinonia*. This

¹⁰¹*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

¹⁰²*Authority in the Church II*, par. 33.

¹⁰³Bishop Arthur A. Vogel, foreword to the American Edition of *The Final Report*, iv.

led to the important relationship between *episcopate* and the local church in ARCIC-I's understanding of *koinonia*. In order to exegete and enlarge what ARCIC-I wrote about conciliarity, I drew upon the early work of a Faith and Order sub-commission which began studying conciliarity in 1967. This research provided some important historical material. It helped to enlarge ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity and to discover the historical roots of ARCIC-I's position regarding conciliarity and *episcopate*. In my discussion of conciliarity I purposely limited my treatment of primacy to the basic principles outlined by the Commission rather than deal with the unresolved problems surrounding papal primacy.

"The documents contained in this Report [*The Final Report*] are the first of their kind produced in the last 400 years of Western Church history and should be approached with an appreciation of both their newness and their limitations."¹⁰⁴ The newness of ARCIC-I's approach to questions regarding authority in the Church attracted me to this study of conciliarity as did the possibilities that conciliarity offers for rethinking the nature and exercise of authority in the Church. As I noted in my introductory chapter, different views regarding the nature and exercise of authority first divided Roman Catholics and Anglicans many centuries ago. The Commission's refusal to be captured by these "old polemics"¹⁰⁵ and the "limitations of the past"¹⁰⁶ enabled ARCIC-I to describe the ideal relationship which could exist among conciliarity, primacy and the whole people of God within an ecclesiology of communion. ARCIC-I sought "in the spirit of Phil. 3.13, '[to forget] what

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

lies behind and [to strain] forward to what lies ahead'.¹⁰⁷ With their work on conciliarity, ARCIC-I "appealed to history only for enlightenment."¹⁰⁸ As a result, ARCIC-I has contributed to the Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue on authority as well as the broader ecumenical discussions on authority.

In the upcoming chapters I will explore how conciliarity currently functions in the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church and compare this to the ideal proposed by ARCIC-I. ARCIC-I suggests that when churches have been separated from one another an imbalance among conciliarity, primacy and the whole people of God may develop. This is borne out in my examination of each communion. Nonetheless, I have discovered that, in the case of the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church, even when such imbalances exist, remnants of conciliarity and primacy can still be found in each communion.

Consistent with the tradition established by the Council of Jerusalem, throughout history each of these communions has used their primatial and conciliar structures to deal with the doctrinal and pastoral matters affecting the unity of the Church. Since *The Final Report* is a doctrinal text and the doctrines contained therein affect the unity of the Churches, I presupposed that both communions would use the primatial and conciliar structures at their disposal as they prepared their respective responses to *The Final Report*. By examining the responses to *The Final Report* developed by each communion, the ways these were generated and by whom, I will discover how conciliarity and primacy currently function in each communion and how closely they model the ideal proposed by ARCIC-I. At the end of my dissertation I will use the results of my analyses to determine the contributions that ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity makes to the Anglican-Roman Catholic

¹⁰⁷Preface to *The Final Report*, 1.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

dialogue and the broader ecumenical discussion on authority. Part II of my dissertation opens with Chapter 2 which examines the responses of the Anglican Communion to *The Final Report*.

PART II

CHAPTER 2

THE PROVINCES OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION & THE 1988 LAMBETH CONFERENCE RESPOND TO *THE FINAL REPORT*

"The 'conciliar' nature of the Anglican Communion is perhaps one of the least recognized, and yet most characteristic, features of modern Anglicanism."¹ This chapter begins with a brief history of the Anglican recovery of the synodical tradition in the nineteenth century and then examines aspects of the conciliar nature of the Anglican Communion. The remainder of this chapter examines the methods used to respond to, and evaluate, *The Final Report*, the results of these responses and evaluations, and their implications for conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

Synods and the Anglican Communion

During the middle of the nineteenth century a widespread shift in ecclesial self-understanding took hold in the colonial churches of the Church of England.² H. R. S. Ryan, a former Chancellor of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario, describes this shift as a large, spontaneous movement towards synodical government which occurred almost simultaneously throughout British colonial possessions.³ The Anglican provinces in Australia and New Zealand were the pioneers in this movement with the

¹Frederick H. Shriver, "Councils, Conferences and Synods," in *The Study of Anglicanism*, ed. Stephen Sykes and John Booty (London/Philadelphia: SPCK/Fortress Press, 1988), 197.

²Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism*, 3d ed., (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), 358.

³H. R. S. Ryan, *Aspects of Constitutional History: The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1993), 17.

Canadian province following in 1893. The Canadian experience is a good example of the nature of this shift. Prior to 1893 "[Anglicans in British North America] regarded themselves as members of the Church of England under the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury."⁴ This changed in 1893 when The First General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada⁵ stated, in its *Solemn Declaration*, that it is "in full communion with the Church of England throughout the world"⁶ but no longer under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The *Solemn Declaration* "pledged the new Church to maintain the doctrine, sacraments and discipline of the Church as the Church of England had received them and set them forth in the Book of Common Prayer and Ordinal and the Thirty-Nine Articles."⁷ It did not pledge "adherence to English ecclesiastical law, statutory, traditional or canonical."⁸ Ryan argues that the Church of England throughout the world is described by the *Solemn Declaration* as "a body of churches, united not structurally or jurisdictionally but spiritually under the one Divine Head, in the fellowship of the Catholic Church, in unity of faith, scriptures, doctrine, sacraments and ministry."⁹

This shift in ecclesial self-understanding, which spread throughout the colonial churches during the nineteenth century, also had its counterpart in the Church of England. As early as 1852 in England:

⁴*Ibid.*, 11.

⁵In 1955 The Church of England in Canada changed its name to the Anglican Church of Canada.

⁶For the full text of the 1893 *Solemn Declaration* see Appendix 2.

⁷Ryan, 56.

⁸*Ibid.*, 57.

⁹*Ibid.*, 56.

diocesan bishops had begun convening unofficial diocesan conferences of their clergy and elected representatives of their laity for informal consultation and advice in policy matters. Beginning in 1861, National Church Conferences of representative clergy and laity, again meeting for consultation with no authority to act and not even passing resolutions, began to be held.¹⁰

With this ecclesial coming of age movement the Church of England throughout the world began the shift in ecclesial self-understanding which would lead to its present self-definition as a communion of autonomous provinces which are episcopally led and synodically governed.

Synods in the Life of the Early Church

The nineteenth century recovery of the synodical tradition in the Anglican Communion represents a rediscovery of the patristic ecclesiology of communion in which synods are an important form of ecclesial self-government. After the Council of Jerusalem, the first records of regular synods occur around A.D. 160. These synods were convened "to deal with the threat to church order posed by the Pentecostal Montanist sect, and later, around 197, to resolve the bitter dispute among the churches over the dating of the Paschal festival."¹¹ Mansi's *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* identifies "over four hundred synods and meetings of bishops, Eastern and Western," that convened between A.D. 200-600.¹² "The regularity with which Christian bishops met for business seems to have varied according to need, political circumstances, and the ability of church leaders to

¹⁰Ryan, 18.

¹¹Brian Daley, "Structures of Charity: Bishops' Gatherings and the See of Rome in the Early Church," in *Episcopal Conferences: Historical, Canonical and Theological Studies*, ed. Thomas Reese, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 27.

¹²*Ibid.*, 28.

overcome collective inertia."¹³ After the peace of Constantine in A.D. 313:

Meetings [of bishops] were so frequent that the pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus wryly observed that the public transportation system, during the reign of Constantius II (337-61) was paralyzed by Christian bishops traveling to and from their synods at the imperial expense!¹⁴

Then, in A.D. 325, the Council of Nicaea decreed "that the bishops of each civil province should gather in synod twice a year--once before the beginning of Lent and once in the autumn--mainly to insure common treatment of those excommunicated by their local bishops."¹⁵ Synods became such an accepted part of early church life that

Bishops gathered in local, provincial, regional and international synods in the early church, to deal cooperatively with all the problems that confronted them. Since the Council of Nicaea, they were officially obliged to meet twice a year in provincial or regional synods, and were repeatedly encouraged by the popes to live up to this obligation. Doctrine and discipline constantly merged with one another, since the church's pastoral practice offers no basis for this separation.¹⁶

Anglican and Patristic Synods: Similarities and Differences

There are some similarities between the patristic synods and the synods of the Anglican

¹³J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence-Venice, 1757-98; impr. and cont. Paris, 1899-1927), 1-10; referred to in Brian Daley, "Bishops' Gatherings in the Early Church," 28.

¹⁴Charles U. Clark, ed., *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Liber*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1910), 250; referred to in Brian Daley, "Bishops' Gatherings in the Early Church," 28-29.

¹⁵G. Alberigo, ed., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta (COD)*, 3d ed. (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1972) 8.15-33; referred to in Daley, 29. The relevant section of Canon 5 of Nicaea states: "It is agreed that it would be well for synods to be held each year in each province twice a year. . . . The synods shall be held at the following times: one before Lent, so that, all pettiness being set aside, the gift offered to God may be unblemished; the second after the season of autumn." *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, S.J., Vol. One *Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London/Washington, D.C.: Sheed & Ward/ Georgetown University Press, 1990), 8.

¹⁶Daley, 56.

Communion. Regularly convened synods are a distinguishing feature of Anglican ecclesial life today, as they were in the early church, and each Anglican province decides the frequency with which its synods meet. In Canada, for example, the General Synod meets once every three years while the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto meets annually. In England, by contrast, the General Synod of the Church of England meets three times each year. Another similarity between Anglican synods and those of the patristic period is the Anglican Communion's decision to use its synodical structures to evaluate the doctrinal issues contained in *The Final Report*. This decision recalls the early church practice of convoking councils or synods to protect or reestablish unity or to heal an existing schism.

Despite these similarities, there are a few important differences between modern Anglican synods and those of the patristic period. For example, when a regional synod in the early church could not reach a decision upon a doctrinal or disciplinary matter, there was recourse to a higher authority, such as a general council or the pope, to render a decision. Today, however, within the Anglican Communion the provincial synod exercises the highest level of authority. It is the final court of appeal for disciplinary and doctrinal matters arising within the province and its decisions are binding upon the province. As a result, there is no higher level of authority within the communion nor is there any level of authority which can render a doctrinal or disciplinary decision that is binding upon the communion as a whole.

The Anglican practice of involving the laity in synodical decision making is another dissimilarity between early church synods and the way these have developed in the Anglican Communion. In the early church, synods were primarily gatherings of bishops although they were convoked on occasion by the Emperor, a layperson. Anglicans today take great pride in their "synodical government which ensures a role for the laity in governing the church and pronouncing

on matters of doctrine."¹⁷ The involvement of the laity in Anglican synodical government first occurred in the Episcopal Church in the United States in the 1780s and, to a certain extent, "reflects the spread of increasingly democratic forms of representative government in the secular governments."¹⁸

The Lambeth Conference

Whereas synods within the Anglican Communion are one example of conciliarity, the Lambeth Conference represents a second. The Lambeth Conference, which is held at approximately ten year intervals, is a gathering of Anglican Bishops from the entire Communion. Unlike General Synods, it does not have lay or presbyteral involvement in decision making and the Conference only exercises a moral authority over the entire communion. Nonetheless, "The resolutions [of the Lambeth Conference], though not binding, are significant expressions of the opinions of the Anglican episcopate."¹⁹

Despite the absence of canonical and jurisdictional authority, the Lambeth Conference bears a striking resemblance to the councils convoked in the early church. The patristic understanding of a council is that it is an assembly of bishops, in one place, at one time, convoked under the presidency of Christ and the Holy Spirit, to discern and articulate the faith and mind of the communion on matters of doctrinal, disciplinary or pastoral importance. From its origins in 1867, at the request of the Bishops in Canada, the Lambeth Conference has met a need within the Anglican episcopate for

¹⁷Brian Prideaux, "Diocesan Responses to the Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission," TMs (photocopy) March 1986, 3, §3.

¹⁸Shriver, 194.

¹⁹*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2d ed., s.v. "Lambeth Conferences."

a universal gathering of bishops to discuss doctrinal, disciplinary and pastoral matters of the day. Yet Anglicans have resolutely maintained since 1867²⁰ that the Conference is neither a synod nor a council. This stance has been reiterated by the Archbishops of Canterbury many times since 1867, including at the 1988 Lambeth Conference:

In his opening address to the first Lambeth Conference in 1867 Archbishop Longley rejected any suggestion of establishing a general synod of the Communion, and successive Conferences have maintained that position. Each Province remains autonomous. The establishment of the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates' Meeting has not altered the fact that the authority exercised by these two bodies and by the Archbishop of Canterbury is moral and not legislative.²¹

Anglican protestations to the contrary, the Lambeth Conference seems to resemble the councils of the past in more ways than it does not.

The Anglican Communion's reluctance to call the Lambeth Conference a council appears linked to Anglican concerns about primacy. Although willing to accord the Archbishop of Canterbury a primacy of honour, and to accord the Lambeth Conference a moral authority over the communion, the Anglican Communion is resistant to the exercise of primacy, at the universal level, in the communion. This is intriguing because the Anglican Communion is not averse to authority exercised

²⁰Shriver, 195. Here Shriver indicates that the bishops who attended the first Lambeth Conference came from England, Ireland, Canada, the United States and other parts of the colonial British Empire.

²¹"Ecumenical Relations Section Report," in *The Truth Shall Make You Free: The Lambeth Conference 1988* (London: Church House Publishing, 1988), par. 47.

at the provincial level nor averse to primacy *per se*.²² Rather it is averse to authority exercised at a universal level in the Communion and this reluctance has almost become part of Anglican self-understanding.

The Anglican Consultative Council

Paradoxically, the one structure in the Anglican Communion formally called a council, the Anglican Consultative Council, is the one which least resembles a council in the traditional understanding. The Anglican Consultative Council is an administrative organ of the Anglican Communion created "to form a duly constituted and continuing link between the autonomous provinces."²³ One of its mandates, as determined by the 1968 Lambeth Conference, is:

To encourage and guide Anglican participation in the ecumenical movement and the ecumenical organisations; to co-operate with the World Council of Churches and the world confessional bodies on behalf of the Anglican Communion; and to make arrangements for the conduct of pan-Anglican conversations with the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Churches, and other Churches.²⁴

Its membership is international and includes laity, clergy and bishops. Bishop John Howe, a former Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council, describes it in these terms:

In several respects, the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) was, and is, unique. It remains the only international Anglican body with a Constitution. Also it was authorized by the Communion as a whole . . . [It] includes clergy and lay people. Every Anglican Church has members . . . The total number is comparatively small, partly to facilitate a frequency of meetings . . . The ACC meets every two or three

²²In 1968 the Lambeth Conference created the Primates' Meeting which is another form of conciliarity that has developed within the Anglican Communion.

²³*Bonds of Affection: Proceedings of ACC-6, Badagry, Nigeria-1984* (London: Anglican Consultative Council, 1984), 24.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 25.

years, and its Standing Committee annually. As far as possible the Council is to meet 'in various parts of the world'.²⁵

Synods, the Lambeth Conference and the Anglican Consultative Council all played important roles in the development of an Anglican response to *The Final Report* and the remainder of this chapter will examine these roles

The Anglican Communion Responds to The Final Report

Neither the *Malta Report* nor the 1977 *Common Declaration* proclaimed by Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury Donald Coggan nor *The Final Report* suggested a detailed method for evaluating *The Final Report*. The 1977 Common Declaration presumes that "procedures appropriate to our respective Communion"²⁶ will be used when "the respective Authorities"²⁷ evaluate the document but does not outline these procedures nor the respective Authorities. In the Anglican Communion, the responsibility for determining both fell to the Anglican Consultative Council and at its fifth meeting in Newcastle (1981) the Anglican Consultative Council explored some of the issues surrounding the evaluation of *The Final Report*:

The completion of the *Final Report* of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission²⁸ raises the question in a way which demands very careful consideration

²⁵J. Howe, *Highways and Hedges: Anglicanism and the Universal Church* (Anglican Consultative Council, 1985), 85-86; quoted in Frederick H. Shriver, "Councils, Conferences and Synods," in *The Study of Anglicanism*, ed. Stephen Sykes and John Booty (London: SPCK/Fortress Press, 1988), 196.

²⁶"The Common Declaration by Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury (1977)," in *The Final Report*, par. 4.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸Although *The Final Report* was completed in September 1981 it was under embargo until March 1982.

by the Anglican Communion as a whole. How is it possible for a Communion of autonomous Provincial Churches to come to a common acceptance of an ecumenical agreement? The [Anglican Consultative] Council is quite clear that the formal acceptance of any ecumenical agreement remains with the Provincial Synods of the Communion. But the question then arises as to how and where an overall consensus is to be discerned and pronounced. While meetings of this Council and of the Primates are able to observe and encourage the process of study and decision, we believe the Lambeth Conference will be best able to discern and pronounce a consensus.²⁹

The Anglican Consultative Council at Newcastle also suggested the procedure that would be followed. It decided that the synodical structures already in existence would be used to evaluate *The Final Report*. After the provinces had spoken through their synods, their responses would be forwarded to the 1988 Lambeth Conference. Only then would the Lambeth Conference (1988) discern and pronounce a consensus which the assembled bishops would take back to their respective provinces after Lambeth.

The Role of the Anglican Consultative Council

During the evaluation of *The Final Report*, the Anglican Consultative Council provided an important bridge between the provinces and their synods, the Lambeth Conference and ARCIC-I's *Final Report*. The Anglican Consultative Council demonstrated a sensitivity to the larger ecumenical enterprise of which *The Final Report* is a part and the needs of the individual provinces at each stage of the response process. The Anglican Consultative Council assisted the Communion, with a variety of resources, to make informed decisions about *The Final Report*.

The formal involvement of the Anglican Consultative Council began when Pope John Paul II and the Archbishop of Canterbury approved the questions submitted to them by the Co-Chairs of

²⁹Anglican Consultative Council, *The Emmaus Report: A Report of the Anglican Ecumenical Consultation 1987* (London: Church House Publishing, 1987), 44.

ARCIC-I. The Archbishop of Canterbury forwarded these questions to the Anglican Consultative Council which in turn forwarded them to the twenty-nine autonomous provinces then in existence. The Anglican Consultative Council, on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury and ARCIC-I, asked the provinces:

Whether the Agreed Statements on Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination, and Authority in the Church (I and II), together with Elucidations, are consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans and whether the *Final Report* offers a sufficient basis for taking the next concrete step towards the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith. (Resolution 4)³⁰

It also asked the provinces to evaluate *The Final Report*, to include in their evaluations their responses to the above questions and to complete this task in less than five years.

Steps Towards Unity

At its sixth meeting in Badagry, Nigeria (1984),³¹ the Anglican Consultative Council mandated a group of ecumenical officers to prepare a handbook entitled *Steps towards Unity*³² to help the provinces meet the challenges posed by *The Final Report*. One challenge facing the provinces as they assessed *The Final Report* was understanding the new, ecumenical vocabulary that ARCIC-I had developed during its twelve years of meetings. *Steps towards Unity* first provides an interpretation of the phrase "consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans." It then poses supplementary questions intended to help the provinces answer this question of consonance. "[C]an Anglicans

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹The Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) meets approximately once every three years: ACC-5 met in Newcastle, England in 1981; ACC-6 in Badagry, Nigeria in 1984 and ACC-7 in Singapore, Singapore in 1987.

³²Anglican Consultative Council. *Steps towards Unity: Report of the Preparatory Group on Ecumenical Affairs*, Woking England, February 1984. London: Anglican Consultative Council, 1984.

identify with what the Commission says about the Eucharist, Ministry and Authority? Could they find their identity in a church as described in the Report?"³³ The Preparatory Group on Ecumenical Affairs, which prepared *Steps towards Unity*, agrees that "it is appropriate that in relation to ARCIC the Churches should be asked simply whether the Final Report is in harmony with the understanding of the Christian faith as Anglicans have received it."³⁴ *Steps towards Unity* suggests that if the provinces can answer these questions affirmatively then they can answer "yes" to the first question about the consonance of *The Final Report* with the faith of Anglicans.

The second question posed by the Anglican Consultative Council at Newcastle asks the Anglican communion to consider whether *The Final Report* offers "a sufficient basis for taking the next concrete step towards the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith. (Resolution 4)."³⁵ *Steps towards Unity* reminds the provinces that

[a]n affirmative answer to [this] question should be taken as an agreement that the Anglican Churches are satisfied that sufficient agreement in the faith has been achieved to enable both churches to enter into a changed relationship, the next step in reconciliation.³⁶

Steps towards Unity also offers the provinces a methodological caveat. It reminds the provinces that *The Final Report* is a consensus document. As a result, neither dialogue partner will find that the statements "exactly match the particular profile of one partner in isolation."³⁷ For this

³³*Steps towards Unity*, par. 32.

³⁴*Ibid.*, par. 33. This group met in Woking, England in February 1984.

³⁵*The Emmaus Report*, 44.

³⁶*Steps towards Unity*, par. 38.

³⁷*Ibid.*, par. 27.

reason *Steps towards Unity* asks the provinces not to undertake "a detailed comparison [of *The Final Report*] with the 16th Century Anglican formularies: the Book of Common Prayer; and in some Provinces the Articles of Religion."³⁸ A comparison such as this "would be to misunderstand the method of the [ARCIC-I] dialogue."³⁹

Nineteen Provinces Respond to *The Final Report*

The Anglican Consultative Council set a difficult task for the Communion by asking the provinces to complete their evaluations and responses in less than five years. The Communion rose to the occasion and took its responsibility in this regard very seriously. Nineteen of the twenty-nine provinces, approximately two-thirds of the provinces, met the time-line established by the Anglican Consultative Council. The remaining one-third of the provinces, many of which are in Africa,⁴⁰ were constrained by a lack of sufficient administrative resources to analyse a doctrinal text such as *The Final Report*, even with the support of the Anglican Consultative Council. Other provinces were constrained by the fact that English is not the *lingua franca* of their local church⁴¹ while some were

³⁸*Ibid.*, par. 30.

³⁹*Ibid.* Paragraph 30 offers a similar caveat to Roman Catholics: "For Roman Catholics to test the Agreed Statements by comparison with the formulations of the Council of Trent would equally misunderstand ARCIC's methodology."

⁴⁰These include The Church of the Province of Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire; Anglican Churches of the Provinces of Central Africa, Nigeria, Sudan and Uganda. Those from other parts of the world include the Church of the Province of Burma; the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East; the South Pacific Anglican Council and the Church in the Province of the West Indies.

⁴¹*Bonds of Affection*, 96. In Melanesia there are over seventy dialects spoken.

unable to give this task a high priority for unstated reasons.⁴² Overall, however, the commitment of the Anglican Communion was very high as this response rate attests.

Resolutions and Background Papers

Along with their official resolutions the provinces also included background papers. The Anglican Consultative Council makes it very clear that only the synodical resolutions have provincial authority. Nonetheless, it is interesting to read these resolutions against the background reports because the provinces used a variety of methods to prepare the provincial resolutions. A few examples will illustrate this.

The General Convention of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America had resolved in 1979 that ARCIC-I's statements on *Eucharistic Doctrine* and *Ministry and Ordination* "provide a statement of the faith of this Church . . . and form a basis upon which to proceed in furthering the growth towards unity".⁴³ After the publication of *The Final Report*, the province of the United States asked its Standing Commission on Ecumenical Relations to analyse only ARCIC-I's statements on authority.⁴⁴ Because it had already done so in 1979, it chose not to respond to the questions sent to them by the Anglican Consultative Council. The New Zealand Province, on the other hand, asked its Commission on Doctrinal and Theological Questions to submit a report on *The Final Report* which the General Synod endorsed. The Australian Province mandated a special

⁴²*Emmaus Report*, 50. A cursory examination of the countries which did not respond suggests that one of the unstated reasons may have been political instability and social upheaval which mitigated against completing a response.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 58.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

committee to answer the questions and to write a response which the Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia then endorsed. The province of Wales referred this task to its Doctrinal Commission and to its Unity Committee.⁴⁵ Some provinces enlisted the services of their Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission whereas others left it to a bishop or theologian to raise the question in the Provincial Synod or House of Bishops.⁴⁶ In Canada,⁴⁷ the United States and England the dioceses were invited to submit responses⁴⁸ and many did. In the province of Ceylon [Sri Lanka] the dioceses of Colombo and Kurungala opted for a very different approach.⁴⁹

The ARCIC *Final Report* had been jointly discussed in Sri Lanka by representatives of both Churches [Anglican and Roman Catholic] in a series of study programmes culminating in two residential sessions. The clergy of the two dioceses then met with lay advisors to formulate a response.⁵⁰

Although all nineteen provinces submitted official resolutions, all these provinces also exerted their provincial autonomy in determining the methods that their province would use to write a background report. These methods varied across the Communion.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 50.

⁴⁷Canadian Anglicans submitted their responses to The Reverend Brian Prideaux who writes, "Responses fall into three categories: resolutions from diocesan synods; responses from conferences of clergy or clergy and laity; and private papers. Several dioceses sent notes from the synod providing some background to the resolutions adopted, while others included copies of preparatory material. In a number of cases diocesan discussion included participation by Roman Catholic partners." *Diocesan Responses to the Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission*, 1.

⁴⁸*The Emmaus Report*, 50.

⁴⁹*The Emmaus Report* does not clarify whether this joint response was the one endorsed by the Synod of the Church of Ceylon and submitted to the Anglican Consultative Council.

⁵⁰*The Emmaus Report*, 52.

The Emmaus Report

In January 1987, an Anglican Ecumenical Consultation⁵¹ met at the Emmaus Centre in West Wickham, England to collate and assess the provincial responses to ARCIC-I.⁵² Chapter 3 of *The Emmaus Report* contains the Consultation's provisional report which was revised in the summer of 1987. It became part of the preparatory materials for the Ecumenical section of the seventh Anglican Consultative Council meeting, in Singapore, in September 1987. The report of this meeting, *Many Gifts One Spirit*,⁵³ and *The Emmaus Report* were published and became part of the preparatory materials for the 1988 Lambeth Conference.

The Emmaus Report does not describe the method used by the Ecumenical Consultation to evaluate the resolutions and background papers received by the nineteen provinces. As a result, many methodological questions remain unanswered. The Consultation does note that the resolutions and background papers were influenced by the ecumenical climate in the Province from whence they came; the state of Anglican-Roman Catholic relations in the Province; and the Province's access to the administrative resources needed to evaluate a document like *The Final Report*. Having noted these influences, however, the Consultation does not indicate how these were addressed during the

⁵¹This consultation included eight bishops and many ecumenical officers from various provinces. Two of the bishops, The Most Reverend Michael Peers, the Primate of Canada, and, The Right Reverend Edward Buckle, the Assistant Bishop of Auckland, New Zealand would chair the Ecumenical Relations Section of the 1988 Lambeth Conference. Peers would be Chair and Buckle would be Vice-Chair. The remaining six bishops would also be part of the Ecumenical Relations Section at Lambeth 1998. The Reverend Brian Prideaux, a Canadian, was one of the participating ecumenical officers.

⁵²*The Emmaus Report*, 71.

⁵³*Many Gifts One Spirit. Report of ACC-7: Singapore 1987*. London: Church House Publishing, 1987.

evaluation process. From a sociological perspective, discursive comments are notoriously hard to evaluate and the Consultation does not describe the method used to evaluate any of these discursive comments. Rather, the Consultation chose to summarise the synodical resolutions and then to examine some of the "particular criticisms"⁵⁴ levied against *The Final Report*.

The particular criticisms are instructive. The House of Bishops of the Nippon Sei Ko Kei (Japan) and the Bishops of the Council of the Church in East Asia criticized *The Final Report* as Eurocentric. While affirming the work completed by ARCIC-I in *The Final Report*, the Japanese House of Bishops asks "how far the report does justice to the situations and insights both of other denominations and Christianity outside the European-North American cultural sphere."⁵⁵ The Bishops of the Council of the Church in East Asia sent a report which "sharply criticises the language, style and theological content of the *Final Report* as culturally inappropriate for Asia which is in an entirely different historical and political context from Europe."⁵⁶ The Province of the Southern Cone argues that the ecumenical context of *The Final Report* differs significantly from that of the Southern Cone:

The bulk of [Roman] Catholics (in Latin America) do not profess that reflexive, intellectualised and critical religion which is proposed [in *The Final Report*] but the intuitive, disciplined, ritual faith which has always given strength to the Church among us: 'La fe del carbonero'(the Charcoal-burner's faith).⁵⁷

Given the Anglican hesitancy about primacy, it is not surprising that the Synods also addressed this topic. It is surprising that a variety of perspectives surfaced in the responses. For

⁵⁴*The Emmaus Report*, 51.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 53.

⁵⁷"Southern Cone Provincial Theological Commission Response," 2; quoted in *The Emmaus Report*, 71.

instance, the Brazilian Bishops and the New Zealand General Synod both agreed, in principle, "... to the possibility of a universal primacy if exercised in a thoroughly conciliar manner with appropriate safeguards to prevent juridical control, and in collegial association with other orders of the Christian Church'."⁵⁸ The Australian report takes a similar approach and offers the Anglican pattern of primacy as a model for other Churches:

While recognising some sense of need for a greater primatial role than presently exercised in the Anglican Communion, it was felt that Anglican patterns of Primacy with its pastoral emphasis and limited authority, might be a pattern for other Churches to follow. The model of 'Bishop in Synod' offered ways of distribution and exercise of authority involving a wider and helpful participation.⁵⁹

The Southern Cone, on the other hand, categorically "rejected ARCIC's conception of a Universal Primate."⁶⁰

The Emmaus Report includes other approaches to the more general question regarding authority in the Church. The Governing Body of the Church in Wales "accepted [the authority texts] by an overwhelming majority as recording 'sufficient convergence on the nature of authority in the Church' for further exploration of the structures of authority, collegiality and primacy."⁶¹ The Church of England General Synod stated that *The Final Report* offers "'sufficient convergence on the nature of authority in the Church for our two Communion together to explore further the structures of

⁵⁸*The Emmaus Report*, 52. Cf. *The Emmaus Report*, 56.

⁵⁹"ARCIC *The Final Report* An Australian Response - Summary," 3; quoted in *The Emmaus Report*, 66.

⁶⁰*The Emmaus Report*, 57.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 59.

authority and the exercise of collegiality and primacy in the Church'.⁶² The General Convention of the Episcopal Church of the United States in 1985 raised the issue of "the nature of authority itself, the role of the laity in the decision making processes of the Church and the problem of universal jurisdiction."⁶³ The Bishops of Papua, New Guinea asked "whether one Province of the Anglican Communion could enter into a closer relationship with the Roman Catholic Church ahead of others."⁶⁴ Because of this range of positions regarding authority in the Church, the Consultation concludes:

In the light of the criticisms of the Provinces, such a continued dialogue [on authority] would need to pay special attention to conciliarity and the Anglican synodical tradition, and to the collegiality of the whole episcopate and the exercise of primacy as a focus of unity in the universal Church.⁶⁵

Lambeth Conference 1988: Resolution 8

The 1988 Lambeth Conference formally responded, in a direct and straightforward way, to *The Final Report*, in its "Resolution 8." "Resolution 8" is presented in three sections with an appended explanation. Section 1 endorses ARCIC-I's statements on *Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination*, and their respective *Elucidations*. Using the language of the original questions, the Conference recognises that these statements are "consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans and believes that this agreement offers a sufficient basis for taking the next step forward towards the

⁶²*Ibid.*, 53.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 58.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 56.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 74.

reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith."⁶⁶ Resolution 8 also "Welcomes 'Authority in the Church' (I and II)."⁶⁷ It then encourages ARCIC-II, in its ongoing study of authority, "to draw upon the experience of other Christian Churches in exercising primacy, collegiality and conciliarity."⁶⁸ The "Explanatory Note" states that "it was generally felt that 'Authority in the Church' (I and II), together with the Elucidation, give us real grounds for believing that fuller treatment can be reached, and that they set out helpfully the direction and agenda of the way forward."⁶⁹ Paragraph 2 of Resolution 8 asks ARCIC-II to address, from within an ecclesiology of communion, some of the unresolved issues between the two communions.

This resolution and explanatory note were then taken by the bishops back to their respective provinces. The Anglican Church of Canada provides an example of the fate of "Resolution 8" and "Explanatory Note" immediately after the 1988 Lambeth Conference. "Resolution 8" and its "Explanatory Note" were referred to the National Executive Council of the Anglican Church of Canada.⁷⁰ The National Executive Council asked the General Secretary "to refer specific Lambeth Conference Resolutions to the appropriate committees and other forums of our church" for

⁶⁶Roger Coleman, ed., "Resolution 8," in *Resolutions of the twelve Lambeth Conferences 1867-1988*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1992), par. 1. See Appendix 3 for the full text.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, par. 3.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹Roger Coleman, ed., "Explanatory Note to Resolution 8," in *Resolutions of the twelve Lambeth Conferences 1867-1988*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1992), 204. See Appendix 4 for the full text.

⁷⁰The Inter-Church and Inter-Faith Relations Committee (ICIFRC) Meeting (Mission, B.C.), March 3-5, 1989, 13, TMs, GS92-11 Box 2 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

"consideration, recommendation and possible presentation to General Synod '89."⁷¹ "Resolution 8"⁷² was referred to the National Ecumenical Officer, Brian Prideaux, who presented it to the Inter-Church Interfaith Relations Committee (ICIFRC) Meeting in Mission, British Columbia (March 3-5, 1989). The Inter-Church Interfaith Relations Committee applauded the response of the Lambeth Conference to *The Final Report* and stated that it was looking forward to progress in accepting the implications of these agreed statements in the lives of both Churches.⁷³ Despite the National Executive Council motion asking for a possible presentation to the 1989 General Synod no references to ARCIC-I, *The Final Report* or "Resolution 8" appear on the agenda of the 1989 General Synod or in the minutes.

Conciliarity in an Ecclesiology of Communion: The Anglican Experience

"Since our historical divisions, the Roman Catholic Church has continued the practice of holding general councils of its bishops, some of which it has designated ecumenical. The churches of the Anglican Communion have developed other forms of conciliarity."⁷⁴ The synods and the Lambeth Conference, which are two forms of conciliarity in the Anglican Communion, played important roles in the development of the Anglican response to *The Final Report*. Both contribute to an understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

⁷¹National Executive Council Motion #50-11-88, GS92-11 Box 2 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

⁷²At the 1988 Lambeth Conference Resolutions 3-17, 20-23, and 61 deal with ecumenical and interfaith matters.

⁷³ICIFR Committee Meeting (Mission B.C.), March 3-5, 1989, 13.

⁷⁴*Authority in the Church I*, par. 19, note 2.

ARCIC-I defines conciliarity as a complementary element of *episcopate* but does not define the relationship of episcopal leadership to synodical governance nor the weight each should be given in decision making. Within the Anglican Communion this relationship differs from province to province. This was evident in the way that the background reports and synodical resolutions were prepared and who voted upon the official resolution that was submitted to the Anglican Consultative Council. In some provinces the bishop functions within the diocesan and synodical structure whereas in others "there is emphasis upon decision-making by consensus in which the bishop is part of the group."⁷⁵ In other provinces "episcopal leadership is expressed in a context which is not necessarily traditionally democratic."⁷⁶ So too there is a difference from province to province in the "relative weight given to the bishops or houses of bishops in relation to that of the diocesan or provincial synods in the exercise of dispersed authority."⁷⁷ This range of possibilities creates tensions within the Communion that are not yet resolved. The Anglican Communion, however, is so committed to provincial autonomy that it is willing to live with these tensions.

Other tensions result within the Anglican Communion "between those who want increased centralization in the Communion and those who want to retain the family relationship of autonomous churches."⁷⁸ The Anglican Consultative Council describes how this is manifested in the provinces:

Those who want increased centralization [in the Communion] tend to press for more consultation with other provinces before a particular province responds to what it believes to be a call from God to act in a particular context. Those who emphasize the

⁷⁵*Bonds of Affection*, 28.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

family relationship of autonomous churches tend to claim greater freedom to take action in response to issues in their context.⁷⁹

The bishops of the Province of Papua New Guinea, in their background report, raised an important question that touches on this issue. Because the provinces are autonomous, the bishops "asked for guidance on whether one Province of the Anglican Communion could enter into a closer relationship with the Roman Catholic Church ahead of others."⁸⁰ This is an important question for Roman Catholics as well and raises another one: "With whom are Roman Catholics in dialogue: individual provinces or the entire communion?"

Responding to *The Final Report* also challenged the Anglican Communion "to clarify its decision-making practices"⁸¹ especially at the level of the international church. Although the synods served the Communion very well at the provincial and diocesan levels, questions about the absence of decision making structures at the level of the entire communion surfaced repeatedly. In 1981 the Anglican Consultative Council asked: "How is it possible for a Communion of autonomous Provincial Churches to come to a common acceptance of an ecumenical agreement?"⁸² At the 1988 Lambeth Conference this question arose again: "In short, how can the Anglican Communion, which has no central legislative body to make decisions, come to a common mind on these issues?"⁸³ Even the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his keynote address to the 1988 Lambeth Conference, challenged the

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰*The Emmaus Report*, 56.

⁸¹"Report of the Inter-Church Relations Committee to the 1980 General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada," 146 in *Certificate of Approval of the Minutes and Acts of General Synod, 1980*.

⁸²*The Emmaus Report*, 44.

⁸³"Ecumenical Relations Section Report," in *The Truth Shall Make You Free*, par. 46.

assembled bishops to scrutinise the decision making structures within the entire Communion:

[T]he problem that confronts us as Anglicans arises . . . from the relationship of independent provinces with each other. Although we have machinery for dealing with problems within a diocese and within a Province, we have few for those which exist within the communion as a whole.⁸⁴

Until recently there were not many problems or doctrinal decisions which affected the whole Anglican Communion. *The Final Report*, however, represents just one decision that faces the Communion as a whole and for which there is almost no 'machinery' in place for a decision.

All these tensions challenge the Anglican Communion to reconsider the relationship among *episcopate*, conciliarity and primacy. ARCIC-I "sees [primacy] as a necessary link between all those exercising *episcopate* within the *koinonia*."⁸⁵ Although none of the provinces which responded to *The Final Report* used ARCIC-I's language when discussing primacy, three of them considered whether universal primacy might have a role in the communion. The responses of the Brazilian House of Bishops, the Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia and the General Synod of the Church of the Province of New Zealand displayed an openness to the possibility of a universal primacy exercised under circumscribed conditions. Although they represent a small proportion of the provinces, nonetheless, some provinces are cautiously examining whether, and how, a universal primacy could benefit the Communion.

The Co-Chairs of ARCIC-I suggest that "[t]he Roman Catholic Church has much to learn from the Anglican synodical tradition of involving the laity in the life and mission of the Church."⁸⁶

⁸⁴*The Truth Shall Make You Free*, 15.

⁸⁵Introduction to *The Final Report*, 7.

⁸⁶Co-Chairmen's preface to *Authority in the Church I*, 50.

They do not suggest that the Roman Catholic Church could learn from the Anglican understanding of primacy. Perhaps the Roman Catholic Church could learn that a moral authority, such as that exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Lambeth Conference, can be substantial, if care is taken to discern the mind of the Communion.

ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity is that it is a complementary element of *episcopate* along with primacy. The Commission also argues that when churches are separated from one another the risk of emphasising one at the expense of the other increases. Within the Anglican Communion conciliarity has been emphasised at the expense of primacy but not at the expense of the participation of the people of God throughout the Communion. The conciliar structures in the Anglican Communion facilitate, rather than hinder, their participation and Anglicans take great pride in this.

Evaluating *The Final Report* highlighted both the strengths and weaknesses of conciliarity in the Anglican Communion. The conciliar structures that were already in place made it possible for an impressive breadth of participation in doctrinal decision making across the Communion. In this regard the following statement could be generalized to the whole Communion:

Although it would be fair to say that *The Final Report* is not graven upon the heart of every Anglican in Canada, it has been studied at least as widely as any document has in the past few decades. Anglicans take their responsibility in this regard very seriously!⁸⁷

The absence of primatial structures, however, made it difficult for the Anglican communion to formulate a response as a communion. The next two chapters will examine who in the Roman Catholic Church studied and responded to *The Final Report*, upon whose hearts it is graven and whether Roman Catholic soil has been prepared in the same way as Anglican soil for the next steps

⁸⁷Brian Prideaux, "Anglican Diocesan and Synodical Responses to ARCIC I's *Final Report*," *Ecumenism* 88 (1987): 3.

toward visible unity.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH RESPONDS TO THE FINAL REPORT: PHASE I

The Second Vatican Council helped to recover some of the synodical and conciliar aspects of the Roman Catholic Church which had been de-emphasised in Roman Catholicism for many centuries. This chapter begins with a brief history of that recovery and examines three ways in which conciliarity has been exercised in the Roman Catholic Church since the Council: the Synod of Bishops, diocesan synods and episcopal conferences. The remainder of this chapter examines the first phase in the development of the Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*. During this phase the Episcopal Conferences played an important role and the four published episcopal conference evaluations of *The Final Report* will be analysed. Chapter 4 will study the second phase in the development of the Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*. During the second phase the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith played a determining role in the development of "The Official Response of the Roman Catholic Church to ARCIC I."¹ As a result, Chapter 4 will begin with a brief history of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and then analyse the "Official Response." Chapter 4 will conclude with some comments regarding conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

¹"The Official Response of the Roman Catholic Church to ARCIC I." *One in Christ* 28 (1992): 38-46; *Origins* 21 (December 19, 1991): 441, 443-447.

Conciliarity in Roman Catholicism

Councils and synods² are a longstanding practice in the Church and a traditional exercise of conciliarity. By the fourth century provincial synods were well established in the Eastern Church and diocesan synods were a regular occurrence in the West from the sixth century on. The fourth Lateran Council (1215) decreed that diocesan synods should be held annually and the Council of Trent reaffirmed this position in 1563 adding that provincial synods should be held every four years.³ Diocesan synods were held regularly until the end of the seventeenth century but during the turbulent years of the eighteenth century European government leaders banned their convocation. As a result, diocesan synods virtually disappeared from regular Roman Catholic practice.⁴

Even though diocesan synods and councils were not a regular feature of Roman Catholicism after the late seventeenth century, Vatican II argued for their recovery:

From the very first centuries of the Church the bishops who were placed over individual churches were deeply influenced by the fellowship of fraternal charity and by zeal for the universal mission entrusted to the apostles. And so they pooled their resources and unified their plans for the common good and for that of the individual churches. Thus, there were established synods, provincial councils, and plenary councils in which bishops legislated for various churches a common pattern to be followed in teaching the truths of faith and ordering ecclesiastical discipline.

This sacred Ecumenical Synod earnestly desires that the venerable institution

²In the early church the two terms are almost synonymous except that a distinction was made between ecumenical councils and other councils and synods. Within contemporary Roman Catholic ecclesiology a distinction is made between the Synod of Bishops, in its many forms, diocesan synods and general councils.

³Lawrence J. Jennings, "A Renewed Understanding of the Diocesan Synod," *Studia Canonica* 20 (1986): 323-324.

⁴*Ibid.*, 324.

of synods and councils flourish with new vigor.⁵

The creation of the Synod of Bishops on September 15, 1965 is a direct result of the Council's desire.

Synod of Bishops

At the beginning of the last session of the Council, Pope Paul VI promulgated *Apostolica Sollicitudo*⁶ which created the Synod of Bishops. The Pope anticipated that the newly formed Synod would enable the bishops to "[share] in our solicitude for the universal Church"⁷ after the Council. His reasons for creating the Synod are outlined in the following passage:

the Ecumenical Council [Vatican II] provided us with the occasion for the project of setting up permanently a special body of bishops to the end that, also after the end of the council, there would continue to flow out upon the Christian people that vast abundance of benefits which happily resulted from our close collaboration with the bishops during the Council.⁸

Shortly after the close of the Council Pope Paul VI convoked the first of a series of Ordinary General Assemblies of the Synod of Bishops (1967) which have since been followed by Extraordinary and Special meetings of this Synod.⁹

A striking aspect of Pope Paul VI's conception of the Synod of Bishops is that it is strictly consultative. Unlike the Second Vatican Council, the decisions of the Synod are not authoritative and

⁵*Christus Dominus* 36, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter J. Abbott, S.J. (Piscataway, New Jersey: New Century Publishers, Inc., 1966).

⁶*Apostolica Sollicitudo* in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter J. Abbott, S.J., 720-724. This apostolic constitution was issued *motu proprio*. Such documents are written at the Pope's instigation and signed by him alone.

⁷*Ibid.*, 720.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹See Appendix 5 and Appendix 6 for a list of these.

it is more an act of papal primacy than conciliarity. "By its very nature it is the task of the Synod of Bishops to inform and give advice. It may also have deliberative power, when such power is conferred on it by the Sovereign Pontiff, who will in such cases confirm the decisions of the synod."¹⁰ Despite this provision, neither Pope John Paul II nor Pope Paul VI has given a synod deliberative power. When he instituted the Synod of Bishops Pope Paul VI wrote, "The Synod of Bishops is directly and immediately subject to the authority of the Roman Pontiff"¹¹ and thus it remains.

The Synod of Bishops has been convoked, in a variety of forms, approximately once every two years since the close of Vatican II in 1965. Pope Paul VI convoked three Ordinary General Assemblies of the Synod of Bishops in 1967, 1971, 1974 and one Extraordinary General Assembly in 1969. During his pontificate, Pope John Paul II has convoked the Synod of Bishops in six Ordinary General Assemblies and one Extraordinary General Assembly (1985). The Extraordinary General Assembly marked the twentieth anniversary of the conclusion of Vatican II and "[evaluated] the implementation of Vatican II."¹² Pope John Paul II has also convoked six special regional and continental assemblies. These include the assemblies for the Netherlands (1980), Europe (1991), Africa (1994), Lebanon (1995), America (1997) and Asia (1998).¹³ Other assemblies include a Special Assembly for Oceania (1998) and a Second Special Assembly for Europe (1999).¹⁴ A tenth ordinary

¹⁰*Apostolica Sollicitudo* §II, 721.

¹¹*Ibid.*, §III, 722.

¹²Ladislav Orsy, S.J., "Episcopal Conferences: Their Theological Standing and Their Doctrinal Authority," *America* (November 8, 1986): 282.

¹³Holy See Press Office, *Summary of Synod Assemblies*, November 15, 1997, <http://www.ucanews.com/~ucasian/primer-chron.-htm>. Site accessed 05/05/98.

¹⁴"List of Synods Since Vatican II." <http://www.solt3.org/synodlist.htm>. Accessed April 30, 2000.

General Assembly will be convoked in 2000.¹⁵ Like the General, Ordinary and Extraordinary Assemblies, none of these Special Assemblies exercises any deliberative authority over the regions they represent. Again, this is contrary to the early church understanding of synods which traditionally exercised authority over those regions of the Church represented by the synod. In the early church the decisions of a particular synod were also authoritative in those churches which, due to extenuating circumstances, could not send representatives but wanted to.

The Synods of Bishops held since Vatican II are highly structured assemblies. They begin with pre-synodal consultations of bishops and end with votes upon propositions presented to the assembly. The results of these votes remain secret and are forwarded to the Pope who, with the aid of an editorial commission, uses the results to prepare a Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation. Although there are detailed procedures for the Synod itself, "no established norm exists concerning the final document from the synodal assembly."¹⁶ Once the results of the votes on the propositions are sent to the pope, the bishops are not consulted regarding the final document nor do they vote on the final draft. The absence of episcopal participation in the final stages of the Synod reinforces that the Synod of Bishops and Post-Synodal documents are acts of primacy, rather than conciliarity.

Diocesan Synods

Diocesan synods in the Roman Catholic Church are another example of conciliarity and represent a recovery also made possible by the Second Vatican Council. The 1983 Code of Canon Law presents a renewed understanding of the diocesan synod in which the following three

¹⁵*Ibid.* The convocation of so many synods in recent years led one Canadian bishop to comment that he is suffering from "synod fatigue."

¹⁶*Summary of Synod Assemblies*, 2.

ecclesiological doctrines from Vatican II converge:

the doctrine whereby the church is presented as the people of God and its hierarchical authority as service; the further doctrine which portrays the church as a communion and then spells out the mutual relationships between the particular and the universal church, and between collegiality and primacy; and likewise, the doctrine by which all members of the people of God share, in a manner proper to each of them, in the threefold priestly, prophetic and kingly office of Christ.¹⁷

Canon 461 gives diocesan bishops the latitude to decide how frequently to convoke a diocesan synod and the topics for discussion. The only restriction is that the bishop must consult with the council of priests before convoking the diocesan synod.

There are many parallels between the diocesan synods and the General, Extraordinary and Special Assemblies of the Synod of Bishops convoked by the Pope. An obvious one is the decision making process employed by each. Both the Synod of Bishops and the diocesan synod are consultative bodies only. Canon Law states that at the diocesan synod only the diocesan bishop has a deliberative vote and the "other members of the [diocesan] synod have only a consultative vote."¹⁸

Parallels can also be made between the role of the pope in the Synod of Bishops and the role of the bishop in a diocesan synod. Just as the Synod of Bishops "[appears] more as an instrument for the pope to employ in the exercise of the primatial office"¹⁹ than as a genuine exercise of conciliarity, the diocesan synod, as structured in the 1983 Code, appears more as an instrument for the bishop to employ in the exercise of his episcopal office. "The diocesan synod is an assembly of selected priests

¹⁷*Sacrae Disciplinae Leges*, January 25, 1983, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 75/2 (1983): vii-xiv; quoted in the Congregation for Bishops and Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, "Instruction on Diocesan Synods," *Origins* 27 (October 23, 1997): 324.

¹⁸Canon 466 in *The Code of Canon Law* (Ottawa: Publications Service, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1983).

¹⁹*New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Supplement 1967-1974), s.v. "Synod of Bishops," by D. R. Foley.

and other members of Christ's faithful of a particular Church which, for the good of the whole diocesan community, assists the diocesan Bishop."²⁰ Both the pope and the local ordinary exercise exclusive authority over the synods which they convoke. Canon Law, however, does not allow the local ordinary to confer deliberative powers upon the diocesan synod in the way that *Apostolica Sollicitudo* allows the pope to do with the Synod of Bishops. According to Canon 460, "The diocesan Bishop is the sole legislator in the diocesan synod. . . . The diocesan Bishop alone signs the synodal declarations and decrees, and only by his authority may these be published."²¹ Thus far, this parallels the practice of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II who have been the sole signatories of the documents emanating from the Synods of Bishops they have convoked. This contrasts with the practice at Vatican II where the Pope and all the bishops voted upon and signed the documents resulting from their deliberations.

Episcopal Conferences

Episcopal Conferences and their plenary assemblies represent another exercise of conciliarity in Roman Catholicism but one which has an ambiguous place within the authority structures of the Roman Catholic Church. The immediate precursors to the national episcopal conferences began to appear around the time that diocesan synods disappeared in European Roman Catholicism. As early as 1830 bishops in Belgium began to gather and their German and Irish counterparts each held assemblies in 1848. The Irish bishops met again, informally, in 1851 and in 1854 held a formal conference. In 1899 the Plenary Council of Latin America first met and became the precursor to the

²⁰Canon 460 in *The Code of Canon Law*.

²¹Canon 466.

Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM). After World War I, the bishops in France, Spain and the United States also began to meet in national conferences.²²

Prior to the Second Vatican Council, Pope Pius XII was one of the few modern popes who recognized the importance of Episcopal Conferences.²³ "He gave them [episcopal conferences] precedence over the various diocesan and regional Synods and Councils which, unlike the Conferences, are of extraordinary character."²⁴ The Second Vatican Council, in *Christus Dominus*, also affirmed the importance of episcopal conferences:

Nowadays especially, bishops are frequently unable to fulfill their office suitably and fruitfully unless they work more harmoniously and closely every day with other bishops. Episcopal conferences, already established in many nations, have furnished outstanding proofs of a more fruitful apostolate. Therefore, this most sacred Synod considers it supremely opportune everywhere that bishops belonging to the same nation or region form an association and meet together at fixed times. Thus, when the insights of prudence and experience have been shared and views exchanged, there will emerge a holy union of energies in the service of the common good of the churches.²⁵

The Council also describes the episcopal conferences as "a kind of council in which the bishops of a given nation or territory jointly exercise their pastoral office."²⁶ After the Second Vatican Council, "the Apostolic Letter, '*Ecclesiae Sanctae*' issued *motu proprio* . . . orders that Episcopal Conferences be set up everywhere *quam cito*."²⁷ Canon 453 explicitly states that the plenary

²²*Christus Dominus*, footnote 69.

²³Reinhard Lettmann, "Episcopal Conferences in the New Canon Law," *Studia Canonica* 14 (1980): 347-348, footnote 1.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Christus Dominus* 37.

²⁶*Christus Dominus* 38.

²⁷Lettmann, 348, footnote 1.

assemblies of episcopal conferences must meet at least once a year or more often should the need arise. Despite this approbation from Vatican II, the theological basis of episcopal conferences remains a disputed question in contemporary Roman Catholic theology in a way that the theological basis of synods and councils is not. This disputed question is an unspoken, but nonetheless important, issue in the development of the official Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*.

Cardinals Ratzinger and Willebrands Initiate Phase I

In an address to the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU) in February 1983, Cardinal Willebrands, prefect of the SPCU, said:

our dialogue with the Anglican Communion is the first to submit an overall report [*The Final Report*] to the Church's judgement. The novelty of this fact, which was without precedent, put a delicate question to our Church. Since in fidelity to the Council it has put into action collegiality and episcopal co-responsibility, what method should it use to enable it to form a judgement on the content of such a report and draw the practical conclusions for its relations with the Anglican Communion.²⁸

For the twelve years of ARCIC-I's mandate, the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity had "[circulated] the work of the commission [ARCIC-I] to the bishops of those areas where Anglicans and Catholics live side by side in considerable numbers."²⁹ In a letter to the president of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1976 Cardinal Willebrands had invited the Conference to evaluate *Authority in the Church I* and to "[arrive] at your own judgement with the help of your theological

²⁸SPCU *Information Service*, n. 51, 1983/I-II, 13; quoted in Cardinal Willebrands, "Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Authority," in Stephen W. Sykes, ed., *Authority in the Anglican Communion: Essays Presented to Bishop John Howe* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1987), 231-232.

²⁹Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to Bishop G. E. Carter, President of the CCCB, Prot. N. 3767/76 (November 18, 1976), TLS, 1, GS85-3 Box 2 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA. Some of these countries included Canada, the United States of America, England, France, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. All of these countries had active Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogues at the time.

experts and from the background of your pastoral and ecumenical experience."³⁰ It is not surprising that the SPCU circulated the completed version of *The Final Report* to the episcopal conferences which were already familiar with much of the text.³¹

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith had also been involved with ARCIC-I throughout the twelve years of dialogue. Its role was similar to that of the episcopal conferences insofar as the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith also submitted evaluations or observations about *Eucharistic Doctrine*, *Ministry and Ordination* and *Authority in the Church I* to ARCIC-I.³² Thus it was not surprising that the CDF also prepared an evaluation of *The Final Report* in 1982.

Once *The Final Report* was completed, the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and many Roman Catholic episcopal conferences participated in the development of the Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*. The response process took place in two distinct phases. The first phase began on March 17, 1982 with a letter sent by Cardinal Willebrands, then prefect of the SPCU, to the presidents of the episcopal conferences mentioned above. This letter was followed a few days later by a letter from Cardinal Ratzinger, the prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Unlike Cardinal Willebrands, Cardinal Ratzinger sent his letter to all the episcopal conference presidents throughout the world. Phase I

³⁰*Ibid.*, 2.

³¹Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to the President of the Episcopal Conference of Canada, Prot. N. 1124/82/b (March 17, 1982), TLS, 1, GS87-1 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA. See Appendix 7 for a copy of this letter.

³²Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Observations of the Vatican's Doctrinal Commission on the Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission," *Origins* 11 (May 6, 1982): 753. Here the Congregation indicates that it had previously sent observations about *Eucharistic Doctrine* (Windsor Statement), *Ministry and Ordination* (Canterbury Statement) and *Authority in the Church I* (Venice Statement) to ARCIC-I.

ended in January 1987, the date set by the SPCU for the submission of the episcopal conference responses.

The Letters from Cardinals Willebrands and Ratzinger

The content of the letters sent by Cardinals Willebrands and Ratzinger is as different as their form. Cardinal Ratzinger wrote his letter in Latin. If the letter sent to the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops is an example, Cardinal Willebrands wrote his letter in a working language of the episcopal conference.³³ As for the content of the letters, Cardinal Willebrands invites the episcopal conferences: "to examine this Report carefully and to send a considered judgement on the work done, above all on whether it is consonant in substance with the faith of the Catholic Church concerning the matters discussed."³⁴

Another feature of Cardinal Willebrands' letter is the trust he placed in the abilities of the episcopal conferences to evaluate the doctrines in *The Final Report*. As noted above, in previous letters to the episcopal conferences, Cardinal Willebrands had asked them to evaluate the doctrinal content of ARCIC-I's statements with "the help of your theological experts and from the background of your pastoral and ecumenical experience."³⁵ Although he does not tell the conferences how to develop their response, his letter (March 17, 1982) manifests the same trust in their abilities to

³³Cardinal Willebrands wrote his letter to the Canadian Bishops and the Bishops of the U.S.A. in English.

³⁴Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to the President of the Episcopal Conference of Canada, Prot. N. 1124/82/b (March 17, 1982), TLS, 1, GS87-1 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

³⁵Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to Bishop G. E. Carter, President of the CCCB, Prot. N. 3767/76 (November 18, 1976), TLS, 2.

evaluate *The Final Report*. This trust appears to be well placed for midway through Phase I Cardinal Willebrands wrote:

The seriousness with which Conferences have approached this task is most encouraging. During the last three years we have received substantial replies from a number of major Conferences, all of them positive in their general appraisal, and most of them reflecting extremely careful and well-researched work.³⁶

Cardinal Ratzinger took a different approach in his letter.³⁷ Rather than send his letter to those episcopal conferences which had been involved in evaluating previous ARCIC-I statements, he chose to send his letter to all the episcopal conference presidents throughout the world. To this letter he appended the CDF's "Observations" which he described as the CDF's contribution to the ongoing dialogue between Anglicans and Roman Catholics. These observations, unlike the previous ones, were published on March 29, 1982, two days before the official release of *The Final Report*. Given the CDF's longstanding reluctance to discuss doctrinal matters in the public forum, it is remarkable that the CDF published its "Observations." Following the CDF's lead, four episcopal conferences also published their evaluations.

The Processes Developed by the Episcopal Conferences

The processes used by the episcopal conferences to develop their respective evaluations varied from country to country. I will briefly outline the process used by three episcopal conferences: the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) - U.S.A., the French Episcopal Conference and the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales. I will then present in greater detail the process used

³⁶Cardinal Willebrands, "Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Authority," in *Authority in the Anglican Communion*, 232.

³⁷See Appendix 8 for the full text of his letter.

by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCCB) because it demonstrates how conciliar principles could be used to evaluate a doctrinal text such as *The Final Report*.

The processes used by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB - U.S.A.) and the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales were very similar. Each struck a committee of at least one theologian and a few bishops to write a draft evaluation upon which the episcopal conference voted. J. Robert Wright, an Anglican member of the national Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue in the United States (ARC-U.S.A.), drawing upon information found in *Origins*, describes the process used by the NCCB:

an ad hoc committee of six bishops from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops was headed by Archbishop John Whealon of Hartford and included Archbishops James Hickey of Washington and Daniel Pilarczyk of Cincinnati, and Bishops Ernest Unterkoefler of Charleston, Raymond Lessard of Savannah, and Michael Murphy of Erie. Father Carl Peter, dean of the School of Religion of the Catholic University of America, served as the committee's theological expert and was the chief author of the evaluation. Once a draft response was ready, the aforementioned meeting was held with some ecumenical representatives of the Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C. to compare and offer friendly critiques of each other's responses. Then, after further changes, the text of the ad hoc committee's evaluation was proposed and accepted by a vote of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on 15 November 1984 during its national meeting in Washington, D.C. It was subsequently published in *Origins* 14: 25 for 6 December 1984, covering five large printed pages.³⁸

As the above summary indicates, other than the critiques offered during the Washington meeting with Episcopalian ecumenists, few occasions were provided for a broader based consultation and critique of the developing text.

The evaluation from the Bishops of England and Wales was prepared in a similar manner. Michael Jackson, who was, at the time, the Ecumenical Officer for the episcopal conference, was the

³⁸J. Robert Wright, "Responses to the ARCIC Final Report, a comparison of Methodologies," *Ecumenical Trends* 15 no. 4 (May 1986): 75.

chief architect of the response, in collaboration with some bishops. I was unable to discover any information regarding the development of this evaluation nor the process used by the French Bishops.³⁹ The process used by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, however, is more fully documented and I will outline it now.

The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops' Process

On October 24, 1983, the CCCB sent a paper, prepared by its Administrative Board, to the SPCU. It was entitled "Comments on the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission: Final Report" and received the following response from Pierre Duprey, then Secretary to the SPCU and a Roman Catholic member of ARCIC-I:

We had assumed that a fuller response expressing the mind of the *whole* Episcopal Conference would be prepared in due season. I therefore write to enquire whether this assumption is correct and, if so, when we may hope to receive the response of the Conference to this important report.⁴⁰

In light of the SPCU's assumption,⁴¹ the Ecumenism Commission of the CCCB developed a process that was inclusive of the entire Canadian episcopate. The resulting evaluation was the 'fuller response expressing the mind of the whole Episcopal Conference' requested by Duprey. To facilitate this, the Ecumenism Commission struck a drafting team composed of Roman Catholic theologians

³⁹Even after corresponding with the French Episcopal Conference I was unable to piece together the method they used to develop their evaluation.

⁴⁰Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to Revd. William Ryan, S.J., General Secretary Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Prot. N. 667/85/e (February 6, 1985), TLS, 1, GS90-10 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Syond Office ACC/GSA. My emphasis.

⁴¹"Preparation of CCCB Response to ARCIC I Final Report," TMs, March 2, 1988. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Ottawa.

drawn from the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Canada. These theologians⁴² examined the original response sent to Rome and then drafted another response to *The Final Report*. This draft was sent to the Ecumenism Commission of the CCCB by March 1986. The Ecumenism Commission revised the draft response and two members of the Commission, Dr. Donna Geernaert, the ecumenical officer for the CCCB, and Archbishop Antoine Hacault, the archbishop of St. Boniface and a Cardinal member of the SPCU, prepared a final text which was then sent, on September 5, 1986, to all of the Canadian bishops for their comments.

Within a month many Canadian bishops had returned their evaluations of this draft to the CCCB in Ottawa. Their prompt replies enabled Archbishop Hacault to provide an interim report about the CCCB's response to *The Final Report* to the plenary assembly of the CCCB on October 7, 1986. The draft text was further revised on November 19, 1986 by the bishop members of the Ecumenism Commission "in light of replies received from bishops."⁴³ On November 25, 1986, the Executive of the CCCB reviewed the text and "provision [was] made for individual review and response by members of the Executive."⁴⁴ On November 26, 1986, the Permanent Council of the CCCB, the CCCB's governing body, agreed to give the responsibility for the final draft to the Executive Committee of the CCCB. This decision was made because the bishops were working under a tight schedule if they wanted to meet the January 1987 due date set by the SPCU. The Executive Committee approved the response which was then sent to the SPCU on December 23, 1986 in time

⁴²Professors Jean-Marc Laporte, S.J., Harry McSorley, Attila Mikloshazy, S.J. and Margaret O'Gara.

⁴³"Preparation of CCCB Response to ARCIC I Final Report." Eleven Francophone Bishops replied and sixteen Anglophone Bishops replied.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

to meet the SPCU's January 3, 1987 due date. *Ecumenism* published the response of the Canadian bishops in its December 1987 edition. The CCCB was the last of four episcopal conferences to make its response public before the Holy See sent a directive forbidding the publication of other episcopal conference responses.

The CCCB process demonstrates both strengths and weaknesses. One of its strengths is that parallels can be made between the process used by the Second Vatican Council and the CCCB. For example, the CCCB enlisted the services of theologians who are ecumenical experts. Like the *periti* at Vatican II, these theologians drafted a preliminary response for the bishops and each Canadian bishop was given the opportunity to comment on it. The ongoing dialogue among the members of the Ecumenism Commission, which facilitated the process for the CCCB, the individual Canadian Bishops and the theological experts are hallmarks of the Canadian process. It also parallels the dialogue among the Bishops, theologians and SPCU during the Council.

The Canadian process also differed from that used during the Council. Although the Canadian bishops were consulted throughout the process, these consultations occurred in writing. Yves Congar argues that consultations in writing are a "form of the exercise of the fundamental collegial nature of the Church and, therefore, of the conciliar nature of her life."⁴⁵ He maintains, however, that consultations in writing are not councils nor do they replace councils. Letter writing is "one way of exercising the collegiality of the *episcopate* and effecting unanimity among themselves."⁴⁶ Councils, he argues, "'meet together in the Holy Spirit'. That is the classical and almost official formula. *Sancta*

⁴⁵Yves Congar, O.P., "Remarks on the Council as an Assembly and on the Church's Fundamentally Conciliar Nature," in *Report from Rome II: On The Second Session of the Vatican Council*, trans. Lancelot Sheppard (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1964), 175.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

Synodus in Spiritu Sancto (legitime) congregata."⁴⁷ Because of perceived time constraints, the assembled bishops were not able to vote upon the final text while still assembled. This truncated the conciliar process prematurely. Unbeknownst to the bishops, it would take the CDF and the SPCU another four to five years to prepare the official response. In retrospect, we can see that they could have continued their process during 1987 and voted upon the final text during their 1987 assembly.

The Archdiocese of Vancouver criticised two aspects of the Canadian process and the response that was sent to Rome.⁴⁸ First, the Archdiocese criticised the time constraints under which the bishops worked because that meant that the bishops did not see the final text before it was sent to Rome. Second, the Archdiocese criticised the CCCB response because it did not deal adequately with the CDF "Observations." Since all four episcopal conferences wrote their evaluations in the shadow of the CDF's "Observations," in the following section I will outline how they did so in the responses they sent to Rome.

Four Episcopal Conference Responses

Given the CDF's doctrinal mandate and influence in doctrinal matters in the Roman Catholic Church, one might have expected the episcopal conference responses to resemble the "Observations" more closely than they do. While never explicitly challenging the "Observations," in their evaluations the episcopal conferences sometimes arrive at different conclusions than the CDF. One of the reasons for this is that the episcopal conferences appropriated, for the most part, an ecumenical principle formulated by Pope John XXIII at Vatican II and to which I referred in the introductory chapter:

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 188-189.

⁴⁸Archdiocese of Vancouver, "Critique of the Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops to the ARCIC-I Final Report (1982)," TMs.

"The substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of faith is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another."⁴⁹

In this section, I will first examine the way in which the episcopal conferences deal with the CDF questions about method and language. Then, in my discussion of *Eucharistic Doctrine*, I will present the episcopal conference responses to the CDF concerns regarding transubstantiation and real presence. I will then compare and contrast the episcopal conference and CDF evaluations of *Ministry and Ordination* and *Authority in the Church I and II*.

Method and Language

An explicit concern of the CDF "Observations" is ARCIC-I's method. The question of method also touches upon the question of language and each of the episcopal conferences addresses these questions. The Bishops of England and Wales, for example, affirm that the ARCIC-I methodology is "a serious attempt to develop patterns of thought and language which give profound and precise expression to our shared faith. (cf. *Unitatis Redintegratio*, No 11)."⁵⁰ The Canadian Bishops also applaud the Commission's attempt "to find a common expression of the faith of both Churches."⁵¹ In their estimation, the Commission's:

recovery of biblical and patristic insights makes it possible for us to coin a fresh common vocabulary for the confession of faith, one which is precise and succinct without being polemical or developed in terms which pertain only to one of the

⁴⁹Pope John XXIII, "Opening Speech to the Council," in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J., (New Jersey: New Century Publishers, 1966), 715.

⁵⁰"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response to the Final Report of ARCIC I," *One in Christ* 21 (1985): 169.

⁵¹"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops to the ARCIC-I *Final Report*," *Ecumenism* 88 (December 1987): 9.

schools of theological thought which coexist within the Church.⁵²

Whereas the French, English and Welsh, and Canadian Bishops' Conferences appear comfortable with ARCIC-I's method, the U.S. Bishops are less so. The NCCB voices the following concern about ARCIC-I's method:

the authors of *The Final Report* chose imagery and concepts which were the exclusive legacy of neither of the two Churches but in which each would hopefully be able to recognize its own faith. Such recognition will in our view not be possible without making some comparison of the new with the older and more traditional formulations of the faith regarding the Eucharist, Ordained Ministry, and Church Authority. In this response we shall, from time to time make use of traditional terminology; we regard this usage as supportive of the intent of ARCIC-I.⁵³

The NCCB sought within *The Final Report* ARCIC-I's "fidelity to the apostolic tradition preserved in the Church's teaching through the centuries"⁵⁴ and did so by comparing the new formulations of ARCIC-I with the older and more traditional formulations with which it is familiar. This wariness, which surfaces elsewhere in the NCCB evaluation, demonstrates one of the difficulties inherent in the reception of ecumenical texts such as *The Final Report*. It is often difficult for those not directly involved in an ecumenical dialogue to appropriate a new vocabulary, such as that developed by ARCIC-I, when the substance of the faith is presented in unfamiliar terms.

Because the appropriation of this new vocabulary and method are important to the reception of an ecumenical text, the French Bishops offered a few hermeneutical principles for dealing with bilateral documents such as *The Final Report*. The first principle is that "neither confession may

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation of the Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, " *One in Christ* 21 (1985): 321.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

demand from the other a literal adoption of official documents which were drawn up during the time of separation."⁵⁵ The second principle addresses the language question:

The special fruitfulness of the ecumenical dialogue is to bring to expression in a new and truly reconciled language all the aspects of the truth of faith which are contained in the traditions of each Church - aspects which have often been expressed from one-sided, polemical and ultimately negative viewpoints. Greater fidelity to the Gospel asks from each dialogue partner an attitude of conversion in the way it speaks, both in what it has said and in what it has not said.⁵⁶

Here the French Bishops emphasise the new and reconciled language which ecumenical commissions, such as ARCIC-I, have created and the need for each dialogue partner to embrace an attitude of conversion with respect to language. Part of this conversion means a willingness to embrace this new and truly reconciled language. The French Bishops also offer a lengthy caveat to Roman Catholics:

[T]he Catholic Church owes it to itself as well as to its dialogue partners to sharpen up its conciliar and dogmatic hermeneutic, so as to avoid investing with irreformable character documents not intended to be used at that level. Whenever such an intention is clearly recognised, it is nowadays understood to refer to the positive sense of the decisions in questions. However, the Catholic Church admits that the way in which some truths have been expressed was not only not the best way possible and remains open to improvement, on account of the inevitable historical and cultural conditioning in which it came about, but was also sometimes formulated from a one-sided view of the truth concerned, particularly as a result of the polemics of the time.⁵⁷

In its "Observations," the CDF also noted the potential for ambiguity in *The Final Report* and "the possibility of a twofold interpretation of the texts."⁵⁸ The Canadian Bishops respond that English brevity, which is a hallmark of ARCIC-I's method, "often prefers evocation or suggestion to fully

⁵⁵"Response of the French Episcopal Conference to the ARCIC Final Report," *One in Christ* 21 (1985): 331.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 331-332.

⁵⁸"Observations," 753.

explicit statement."⁵⁹ In the CCCB's estimation, ARCIC-I's method contrasts with that of the CDF because the CDF is part of a "venerable Roman cultural tradition"⁶⁰ which esteems "amply developed and conceptually clear formulations."⁶¹ The French Bishops, responding to the same CDF critique, argue that "it was difficult for those who drew up the documents to avoid a certain ambiguity of language at some decisive points."⁶²

Substantial Agreement

The CDF maintains that the Commission is ambiguous in its use of the term "substantial agreement." ARCIC-I had attempted to clarify its understanding of "substantial agreement" in *Eucharistic Doctrine: Elucidation* (1979):

Questions have been asked about the meaning of *substantial* agreement. It means that the document represents not only the judgement of all its members-- i.e. it is an agreement--but their unanimous agreement 'on essential matters where it considers that doctrine admits no divergence' (Ministry, para. 17)--i.e. it is a substantial agreement.⁶³

The CDF was not satisfied with that explanation and in its "Observations" argues that the term "substantial agreement" is ambiguous.

There is some merit to the CDF concern. The Commission's use of the term substantial agreement is clearest in *Eucharistic Doctrine* and less so in *Ministry and Ordination*. In *Eucharistic*

⁵⁹"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 10.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²"Response of the French Episcopal Conference," 331.

⁶³*Eucharistic Doctrine: Elucidation* par. 2.

Doctrine par. 12, the statement's concluding paragraph, the Commission states: "We believe that we have reached substantial agreement on the doctrine of the eucharist."⁶⁴ By contrast, in *Ministry and Ordination* par. 17, the Commission concludes, "What we have to say represents the consensus of the Commission on essential matters where it considers that doctrine admits no divergence."⁶⁵ When taken alone, *Ministry and Ordination* par. 17 appears more ambiguous than *Eucharistic Doctrine* par. 12.

The Canadian Bishops offer a hermeneutical principle which is helpful in interpreting potentially ambiguous statements such as *Ministry and Ordination* par. 17:

In general we assumed that the correct way of interpreting The Final Report was to allow a potentially ambiguous text to be clarified by a text that is more precise. . . . On the basis of this principle, The Final Report can readily be seen as offering strong and orthodox statements of the Catholic faith. To the extent that the Churches of the Anglican Communion, in determining the consonance of The Final Report with their faith, adopt a similar method of interpretation, The Final Report becomes the expression of a common agreement on many tenets of the faith.⁶⁶

Eucharistic Doctrine

The question of language also arises with reference to ARCIC-I's statement on *Eucharistic Doctrine*. In particular, the term "transubstantiation" is absent in the document proper but does appear in a footnote. The episcopal conferences appear less concerned about this than the CDF. Even so, they take seriously the CDF concern and address it in their respective evaluations.

⁶⁴*Eucharistic Doctrine* par. 12.

⁶⁵*Ministry and Ordination* par. 17.

⁶⁶"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 10.

Transubstantiation

The CDF critiques ARCIC-I for its inadequate formulation of "transubstantiation" in *Eucharistic Doctrine*.⁶⁷ Whereas the Bishops of England and Wales and Canada adopt similar positions regarding transubstantiation, the NCCB shares the CDF's concern. The Bishops of England and Wales approach the topic of transubstantiation in the following way:

We do not insist on the language of transubstantiation nor advocate any one theological/philosophical attempt to explain it, but further examination of the notion, begun in this Elucidation, is important for the continuing dialogue between the two Churches.⁶⁸

Along the same lines, the Canadian bishops argue:

Though the word "transubstantiation" is not used in the text, the true presence of the Lord is stated unambiguously . . . But The Final Report clearly states the central belief in the true and real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements, and any apparently ambiguous phrases must be interpreted in the light of this fact.⁶⁹

The NCCB, on the other hand, appears to share the CDF's concern regarding transubstantiation. The NCCB argues that the footnote to *Eucharistic Doctrine* in which the term transubstantiation appears "makes too sharp a distinction between the *fact* of Christ's presence and the *how* of that presence."⁷⁰ On the basis of this sharp distinction the CDF is willing to withdraw its support for *Eucharistic Doctrine*. The NCCB is not. It states: "we wish to give special praise to the statement that the *ultimate* change intended by God in the Eucharist is not the transubstantiation of the elements but the

⁶⁷"Observations," 754.

⁶⁸"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 172.

⁶⁹"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 11-12.

⁷⁰"U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 323. Their emphasis.

transformation of human beings into the likeness of Christ."⁷¹

Real Presence

The CDF also had concerns about ARCIC-I's understanding of real presence. Again, none of the bishops' conferences express the same concern. The Bishops of England and Wales "accept the statement as an expression of Catholic faith in the real presence."⁷² So too, the NCCB accepts that, with respect to real presence, "what ARCIC-I has professed in our day is consonant in substance with that faith."⁷³

The Canadian bishops suggest that the issues which require clarification are not those regarding real presence but those "surrounding the adoration of Christ in the reserved Eucharist."⁷⁴ Despite these concerns of method and language, the four episcopal conferences are still willing to endorse the substantial agreement achieved by ARCIC-I in *Eucharistic Doctrine* even though the CDF is not. The Canadians express their position in the following way:

In The Final Report not only do we find our faith regarding the Eucharistic Mystery briefly but sufficiently expressed, we also discover in the text creative statements consonant with our common traditions and sound contemporary insights, as well as other dimensions of the Eucharist, be they ecclesial, pneumatological, or missionary. In sum we endorse the substantial agreement expressed in the statement on the Eucharist (ED, 12).⁷⁵

⁷¹*Ibid.*, Cf. *Eucharistic Doctrine: Elucidation* par. 6.

⁷²"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 171.

⁷³"U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 322.

⁷⁴"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 12.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 11.

Ministry and Ordination

Method is once again the starting point for the episcopal conference evaluations of *Ministry and Ordination* and *Ministry and Ordination: Elucidation*. ARCIC-I's method received the approval of all four episcopal conferences. ARCIC-I begins this statement with a discussion of ministries within the life of the Church before discussing ordained ministry in particular. "Agreement on the nature of ministry is prior to the consideration of the mutual recognition of ministries,"⁷⁶ the Commission argues. The U.S. Bishops wrote the following in support of ARCIC-I's method:

ARCIC-I rightly judged that agreement on the nature of ministry is prior to a consideration of a mutual recognition of ministries. . . . ARCIC-I chose wisely in deciding to look to the New Testament as a hopeful basis of a common faith regarding the ordained ministry in the Church.⁷⁷

Although supporting ARCIC-I's method, the CCCB offered this comment:

the Final Report's attempt to develop a positive articulation of the relation between historical studies and doctrinal affirmations recalls the need for further reflection on a hermeneutics of tradition, i.e., how tradition develops, is handed on, and is interpreted down through the centuries.⁷⁸

A comparison of the episcopal evaluations of *Ministry and Ordination* with the CDF "Observations" indicates that the bishops and the CDF emphasise different aspects in their evaluations. For example, the CDF begins its discussion of *Ministry and Ordination* with a critique of ARCIC-I's formulation of the role of the ordained minister in the Eucharistic sacrifice. Whereas the CDF is critical of ARCIC-I's formulation, the four episcopal conferences strongly affirm ARCIC-I's formulation in *Ministry and Ordination* par. 13 and *Elucidation* par. 2. The NCCB states that

⁷⁶*Ministry and Ordination* par. 17.

⁷⁷"U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 326-327.

⁷⁸"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 13.

what ARCIC-I has written in this regard is "consonant in substance with the faith of the Roman Catholic Church regarding the role of the ordained minister in the Eucharist."⁷⁹ This position is shared by the French, English and Welsh, and Canadian episcopal conferences.

The bishops and the CDF, however, all agree that the decision in some provinces of the Anglican Communion to ordain women "creates a new obstacle to the reconciliation of our two communions."⁸⁰ Adding a pastoral perspective, the U.S. Bishops also note that "this issue is a focal point of considerable tension and pain in both Churches."⁸¹ Both the U.S. Bishops and those of England and Wales challenge ARCIC-I's position that the distinction ARCIC-I makes between the 'origin and nature of the ordained ministry' and 'who can or cannot be ordained' is not as straightforward as ARCIC-I suggests. The Canadian bishops state their position directly:

The obstacle raised by the ordination of women in the Anglican Church needs to be faced squarely. . . . [B]ut to allow the question of the ordination of women to delay the efforts to achieve full communion would be to disregard the urgency of Christ's mandate for unity.⁸²

The question of the validity of all Anglican ordinations, like the question of women's ordination, became part of ARCIC-II's mandate.⁸³ Although the CDF "Observations" do not explicitly refer to *Apostolicae Curae* and the validity of Anglican orders, the U.S., Canadian, and English and Welsh bishops do. This remains a delicate and unresolved matter between the Anglican Communion

⁷⁹"U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 327.

⁸⁰"Response of the French Episcopal Conference," 341.

⁸¹"U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 327.

⁸²"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 14-15.

⁸³"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 174. Cf. "The Common Declaration by Pope John Paul II and the Archbishop of Canterbury," (May, 1982).

and the Roman Catholic Church. The Canadian bishops acknowledge the complexity of the question and suggest that what is needed in this aspect of the discussion is "a thorough theological and historical analysis not only of the Anglican understanding of ordination but also of the reasons for the negative judgment given in *Apostolicae Curae*."⁸⁴ The Canadian bishops add a personal perspective to their evaluation of Anglican Orders in Canada:

Towards our Church's reappraisal of its current official judgement that there is insufficient evidence to warrant accepting Anglican Orders as valid, we would wish to add to other pertinent data our own spontaneous recognition of the genuine quality of the episcopal ministry and priestly commitment of our Anglican counterparts in Canada.⁸⁵

Despite the unresolved issues regarding ordained ministry, the U.S. Episcopal Conference hoped that the new context which ARCIC-I claims to have developed will bear fruit. This context is described by ARCIC-I:

[The Commission] believes that our agreement on the essentials of eucharistic faith with regard to the sacramental presence of Christ and the sacrificial dimension of the eucharist, and on the nature and purpose of priesthood, ordination, and apostolic succession, is the new context in which the questions [regarding the mutual recognition of ministry] should now be discussed.⁸⁶

Cardinal Ratzinger had offered the "Observations" as a contribution to the dialogue between Anglicans and Roman Catholics. The above comparison of the episcopal conference evaluations of *Ministry and Ordination* and *Ministry and Ordination: Elucidation* with the CDF evaluation indicates that the episcopal conferences did, indeed, treat the "Observations" as one of many contributions to the ongoing dialogue. The episcopal conferences did not let the "Observations"

⁸⁴"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 14.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶*Ministry and Ordination: Elucidation* par. 6.

determine the positions that they adopted regarding the doctrines in *The Final Report*. Yet the conferences addressed many of the concerns raised by the CDF "Observations." In the next section I will examine the episcopal conference evaluations of *Authority in the Church I*, *Authority in the Church II* and *Authority in the Church: Elucidation* and compare these with the CDF evaluation.

Authority in the Church

"One of the most outstanding achievements of the Commission is the progress made in tackling the question of authority in the Church, through patient and exacting dialogue,"⁸⁷ wrote the Bishops of England and Wales in their evaluation. The U.S. Bishops also applauded the advances made by ARCIC-I on authority: "Given the divisive influence that the issue of Church authority has had for centuries in the relations between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, what the members of ARCIC-I have been able to affirm on this matter indicates notable progress."⁸⁸ Unlike the other episcopal conferences, the U.S. Bishops' evaluation of these statements is short and to the point. Whereas the other episcopal conferences address the question of universal primacy at length, the NCCB writes: "What ARCIC-I has said of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome (even as an ideal) comes closer to being consonant with Roman Catholic faith than might have been thought possible twenty-five years ago."⁸⁹ The U.S. bishops deal with infallibility briefly and ask whether "indefectibility preserves in substance what is meant by the infallibility that results from Christ's

⁸⁷"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 174.

⁸⁸"U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 328.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

promises."⁹⁰ There is a wisdom in the NCCB decision to keep this section short. ARCIC-I did not claim substantial agreement on any of the authority texts and at that time there were still many unresolved questions regarding authority which were tabled for the subsequent International Commission. In light of that, the NCCB, unlike the other conferences, decided not to write an in-depth analysis of the texts on authority.

Universal Primacy

As their contribution to the ongoing dialogue on authority, the other episcopal conferences submitted detailed analyses of the statements on authority. The CDF and the bishops' conferences adopted two different starting points in their respective analyses. The CDF begins with a discussion of the petrine texts whereas the English and Welsh, Canadian and French episcopal conferences start with universal primacy. The English and Welsh bishops state, "For us the treatment by the Commission of the role of the universal primate is one of crucial importance, given the history of our two Churches."⁹¹ They adopt the position that

although difficulties remain about the concrete expression of this universal primacy, and about the importance attributed to this role in the structure of the Church, the Final Report has provided the firm basis for future substantial agreement in understanding and practice.⁹²

The Canadian bishops argue, "The Final Report's evaluation of a universal primacy is extremely positive; this gives us hope that our two communions might soon be able to resolve any remaining

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 329.

⁹¹"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 175.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 176.

divisive issues concerning this ministry."⁹³

The French bishops, on the other hand, are much less positive and draw attention "to the bewilderment caused by several series of expressions which seem not in perfect harmony with each other and which may therefore give rise to divergent interpretations."⁹⁴ The CDF argues that "there remain important differences between Anglicans and Catholics concerning the *nature* of this primacy."⁹⁵

The Canadian bishops seek to allay Anglican fears regarding how a universal primate would exercise jurisdiction in a reunited Church by suggesting that ARCIC-I's "vision of a collegial exercise of his authority which has moral limits [Authority in the Church II, 19, 20]" has merits. The Canadians admit, however, that "it seems unlikely that such limits will be fully worked out in the near future."⁹⁶ The English and Welsh bishops also acknowledge that ARCIC-I's vision "may not provide all the assurances Anglicans are looking for."⁹⁷ Despite the fact that Roman Catholicism has yet to work out "the full implications of Vatican II's emphasis on the collegiality of bishops and on the subsidiarity of the local church,"⁹⁸ the Canadian bishops seem less concerned than the CDF about the remaining divisive questions regarding jurisdiction. In the CCCB's estimation, these divisive questions

⁹³"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 15.

⁹⁴"Response of the French Episcopal Conference," 341.

⁹⁵"Observations," 755. Their emphasis.

⁹⁶"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 16.

⁹⁷"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 177.

⁹⁸"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 16.

are "largely practical issues, not problems of doctrine."⁹⁹ They end their evaluation with the following comments:

We suspect that it is impossible to devise a system that would prevent all primatial abuse while retaining primatial authority. Reconciliation of our communions ought not to be delayed by false hopes for a utopian ideal. In fact, we believe that we will be able to better state and practice the limits to the exercise of universal primatial jurisdiction only when 'a practical initiative has been taken and our two Churches have lived together more visibly in the one *koinonia*.' [*Authority in the Church II*, 33]. We would welcome such an initiative.¹⁰⁰

Reception

Only the bishops from France and England and Wales devote an entire subsection to the CDF concern about ARCIC-I's understanding of reception. The English and Welsh bishops commend *The Final Report* because it "presents the exercise of authority in the Church with due and balanced emphasis on the reception of teaching."¹⁰¹ The French Bishops state: "Reception is a fact of the Church. It is regrettable that Catholic theology in modern times forgot it. It has only been rediscovered since the Second Vatican Council."¹⁰² Both the French bishops and the CDF are more critical of ARCIC-I's formulation of reception than are the English and Welsh Bishops. The French bishops offer some suggestions to ARCIC-I to sharpen up its problematic regarding reception, as well as a detailed commentary regarding reception. "The ecumenical difficulty is to make the proper connection between the recognition and confirmation of a council by the Roman primate and its

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹⁰¹"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 177.

¹⁰²"Response of the French Episcopal Conference," 344.

reception by the whole body of the Church,"¹⁰³ write the French Bishops. They also write a strongly worded critique of the Anglican members of ARCIC-I:

Therefore, as we see it, *the Anglican members of ARCIC are wrong* to speak of: 'a duty to reserve the reception of the definition for study and discussion' (*Authority II*, 29). For if the decision is recognised to be an expression of the evangelical truth borne by the living tradition, reception will come about in its own kind of rhythm. In any case where the *sensus fidelium* does not recognise that the scriptural message, already lived out in the Church has been concretised in the decision, reception would not take place.¹⁰⁴

Infallibility

Infallibility, which the CDF wishes to protect, is given extensive treatment by three of the four episcopal conferences. The Canadian bishops include reception within their discussion of infallibility:

The Final Report maintains a delicate balance between teaching authority in the Church and the reception of this teaching. Recognizing the role of both councils and a universal primate to speak with authority to defend and proclaim the Gospel, it recognizes as well the necessary role played by the whole community in the assessment of such teaching.¹⁰⁵

Infallibility remains a divisive issue and the French bishops note that the term "can give rise to serious misunderstandings and that it is burdened by a particularly heavy confessional dispute."¹⁰⁶ The Canadian Bishops would agree with the French Bishops and add, "The Final Report, through its discussion of teaching authority and reception, provides the framework within which to resolve these disagreements."¹⁰⁷ In the same vein the Bishops of England and Wales write:

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 344-345.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 346. My emphasis.

¹⁰⁵"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 17.

¹⁰⁶"Response of the French Episcopal Conference," 346.

¹⁰⁷"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 17.

The statements on Authority go a long way in their evaluation and acceptance of this doctrine. In their consideration of the universal primate, his office, ministry and teaching responsibility, and of 'appropriate gifts of the Spirit to enable him to discharge it' (Authority II, paragraph 32), they build up the positive groundwork.¹⁰⁸

Even though ARCIC-I did not claim substantial agreement for its authority texts, the English and Welsh bishops suggest that ARCIC-I has achieved the "possibility of substantial agreement"¹⁰⁹ especially with respect to infallibility. The Canadian bishops also "believe that The Final Report [*sic*] achieves a significant measure of agreement when it sees that infallibility is exercised in the delicate interplay between authoritative teaching by council or primate and reception by the whole Church."¹¹⁰ The CDF, unlike the bishops, does not allow for the possibility of substantial or significant agreement on this topic and simply states "agreement between the Anglican understanding of infallibility and the faith professed by Catholics has not yet been reached."¹¹¹

Marian Definitions

The CDF refers to the Marian definitions under the heading of "Final Remarks" and this it does only in passing. The Canadian and English and Welsh Bishops, in contrast, devote a subsection of their evaluation to ARCIC-I's formulation of the Marian definitions. The Canadians like the way in which the Commission elaborated the meaning of the definitions of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Mary. They think that ARCIC-I's formulation of these definitions is consistent with the faith of Roman Catholics. It is also consistent, they say, "with contemporary Roman Catholic

¹⁰⁸"RC Bishops Conference of England and Wales: Response," 176.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 18.

¹¹¹"Observations," 755.

theological discussion of these teachings within the doctrines of grace and glorification, the mysteries of Incarnation and Redemption."¹¹² The Bishops ask the International Commission to:

address the fact that these teachings have not been received in the same way by Anglicans and invite the Anglican communion to reflect on the significance of the fact that Roman Catholics have heard the Gospel in these teachings in a way that has nourished their faith and their prayer¹¹³

So too, both communions "could be enriched by drawing on the different theological and spiritual traditions that have been emphasized by the other."¹¹⁴ The English and Welsh bishops "are confident that with an increase in our understanding of the nature of the primate's teaching function in the Church, as well as of the Christological content of Marian dogmas, this divergence could indeed be overcome."¹¹⁵

To conclude their evaluations, the Canadian, English and Welsh, and French episcopal conferences all refer to the last sentence of *The Final Report*. It reads: "some difficulties will not be wholly resolved until a practical initiative has been taken and our two Churches have lived together more visibly in the one *koinonia*."¹¹⁶ For these episcopal conferences the call to living together is imperative. "Unless it is absolutely clear to competent authorities that disagreement on some essential doctrinal issue requires us to remain apart, we should be at one."¹¹⁷

¹¹²"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 18.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 19.

¹¹⁵"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 179.

¹¹⁶*Authority in the Church II*, par. 33.

¹¹⁷ "Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 19.

Conclusions

Cardinal Ratzinger, in his letter to the presidents of the episcopal conferences, offered the "Observations on *The Final Report*" as the CDF's contribution to the ongoing dialogue between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church.¹¹⁸ The episcopal conference evaluations which I presented in this chapter accepted them as such and did not let the "Observations" determine the positions that they adopted towards *The Final Report*. They followed Cardinal Willebrands' previous suggestions to "[arrive] at your own judgement with the help of your theological experts and from the background of your pastoral and ecumenical experience."¹¹⁹ As a result, they sometimes differed from the CDF. When they differed from the CDF, they did so respectfully and carefully. They also addressed many of the concerns raised by the CDF about *The Final Report* without letting these deter their overall positive reception of the document. The episcopal conferences demonstrated their sensitivity to ecumenical method and language and their ability to analyse, in a sophisticated and nuanced way, the doctrines contained in *The Final Report*. At times their responses appeared to demonstrate a greater familiarity with the Roman Catholic principles of ecumenism and practical ecumenism than did the CDF's "Observations."

I noted at the beginning of this chapter that the Second Vatican Council recovered some of the conciliar and synodical aspects which had been de-emphasised in Roman Catholicism for centuries. According to Yves Congar at Vatican II the assembled bishops experienced and recovered

¹¹⁸Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to Omnibus Praesidibus Conferentiarum Episcoporum, Prot. N. 42/76 (April 2, 1982), TLS, GS87-1 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

¹¹⁹Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to the President of the Episcopal Conference of Canada, Prot. N. 1124/82/b (March 17, 1982), TLS, 2, GS87-1 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

their role as *judices fidei*:

At a council [bishops] are something else and of greater importance: they are really judges of the faith, *judices fidei* -- they decide, define, lay down a law for the universal Church (when the council is an ecumenical or general one) or for a part of the Church (if the council is a partial one: provincial, national or continental) in union with their head or leader.¹²⁰

Vatican II exemplified the way in which bishops assembled in a general council, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and in union with their head, the pope, act as *judices fidei*. Even when bishops assemble in provincial, national or continental synods they act as *judices fidei* when they decide, define and lay down a law for that part of the Church represented by these synods. All four episcopal conferences demonstrated their ability to analyse, with the assistance of theological experts, the doctrines in *The Final Report*. In other words they demonstrated their ability to act as *judices fidei* and I chose to quote them at length to demonstrate their ability in this regard.

Because there are no synodical structures between the local and universal church levels, the episcopal conferences have served as an important intermediary structure within the Roman Catholic Church. Cardinals Willebrands and Ratzinger addressed their respective letters to the presidents of the episcopal conferences rather than to individual bishops. This indicates that they too appreciate the important role that episcopal conferences play in the Roman Catholic Church. Yet, episcopal conferences do not have the authority of either a diocesan synod or a general council and the ambiguous place which they have in the Roman Catholic Church remains an unspoken issue in the development of the official response to *The Final Report*.

The episcopal conferences expected that their theological analyses would be incorporated into the official response of the Roman Catholic Church. Despite the quality of the episcopal

¹²⁰Congar, "Remarks on the Council as an Assembly," 176.

conference evaluations, the CDF's "Observations" exerted the greatest influence upon the "Official Response of the Roman Catholic Church." In Chapter 4 I will examine how that came to pass. At the end of Chapter 4 I will argue that the virtual absence of the episcopal conference analyses has implications for conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH RESPONDS TO *THE FINAL REPORT* PHASE II: THE VATICAN RESPONSE

In 1991, Cardinal Edward Cassidy, prefect of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, wrote the following to the Co-Chairs of ARCIC-II:

Over the past few years there has been wide consultation within the Catholic Church on this document [*The Final Report*] and on the official response to be given in respect of its conclusions. The preparation of this response was finally entrusted by Pope John Paul II to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith which had issued the first official Catholic reaction to the Report in 1982, and the Congregation has had a determining role in drawing up the formal reply which I am now forwarding to you.¹

In this chapter I will examine the determining role that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) exercised in the development of the official Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*. As I indicated in Chapter 3, the development of the official Roman Catholic response took place in two phases. During Phase I certain episcopal conferences were invited to submit evaluations of *The Final Report* to the Vatican. During Phase II, however, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, rather than the episcopal conferences, played a determining role in the development of *The Official Response* of the Roman Catholic Church. This chapter will conclude by examining the implications of this decision for conciliarity in Roman Catholicism. I will begin this chapter by

¹*The Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity Information Service* (IS), 82 (1993/1): 47; quoted in French Roman Catholic Episcopal Commission for Christian Unity, "Concerning the Holy See's Response to the Final Report of ARCIC I (1992)," in *Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity*, ed. Christopher Hill and Edward Yarnold, S. J. (London: SPCK/CTS, 1994), 172.

examining the origins of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, its role in Roman Catholicism and its role during the development of the Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*.

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith can trace its origins to a temporary administrative organ in the Roman Catholic Church created by Pope Paul III in 1542. Known informally as the Roman Inquisition, this administrative body did not have a formal name until Pope Sixtus V made it a permanent curial office in 1588 and named it the *Congregatio Sanctae Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis*.² Since then it has gone through three name changes. Pope Pius X renamed it the Congregation of the Holy Office in the Apostolic Constitution *Sapienti consilio* (1908).³ Pope Pope Paul VI changed its name from the Holy Office to the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in *Integrae servandae* (1965).⁴ In *Pastor bonus* (1988) Pope John Paul II dropped the 'Sacred' from its name so that it became the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.⁵

With each name change in the twentieth century the doctrinal mandate of the Congregation

²Jerome Hamer, O. P., "In the Service of the Magisterium: The Evolution of a Congregation," *The Jurist* 37 (1977): 341. Hamer translates this name as the "Congregation for the holy inquisition of heretical error" and states that Pope Sixtus V gave it this name in the bull *Immensa* (1588).

³Hamer, 343.

⁴Pope Paul VI, "*Integrae servandae*," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis LVII* (1965): 952-955. ET "*Integrae servandae*," *The Jurist* 26 (January - October, 1966): 112. *Integrae servandae* was published *motu proprio* on the second last day of Vatican II when the bishops were no longer in session. *Motu proprio* means that a document is published in the Pope's name alone and on his initiative.

⁵Pope John Paul II, "Pastor bonus," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 80 (June 28, 1988): 841-923. FT: "La réforme de la Curie romaine Constitution «*Pastor Bonus*» I, *Documentation Catholique* 85 (2 October 1988): 897-912; "*Pastor Bonus II*," *Documentation Catholique* 85 (16 October 1988): 972-983.

steadily expanded. For example, on March 25, 1917, Pope Benedict XV disbanded the Congregation of the Index which, until then, had kept "vigilance over books which propounded error."⁶ He gave these responsibilities to the Congregation of the Holy Office thereby combining the doctrinal responsibilities of two separate congregations, the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index into one, the Holy Office.⁷ Pope Paul VI, in 1965, gave the SCDF the responsibility "to safeguard doctrine concerning faith and morals throughout the entire Catholic world."⁸ Pope John Paul II, in *Pastor bonus*, further consolidated the doctrinal responsibilities of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith by mandating that all the Vatican's dicasteries must submit any documents dealing with matters of faith or morals to the CDF before their publication.⁹

The promulgation of *Pastor bonus* in June 1988 had an immediate impact upon the development of the official Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report*. The Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity had anticipated that the Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report* could be completed before the end of 1988. By June 1988 the SPCU, renamed the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity (PCPCU), had completed a draft response to *The Final Report*, using the episcopal conference responses it had received to do so.¹⁰ The promulgation of *Pastor bonus*,

⁶Hamer, 343.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Integrae servandae*, 112.

⁹*Pastor Bonus*, art. 54: "Les documents qui doivent être publiés par d'autres dicastres de la Curie romaine sont soumis à son jugement préalable dans la mesure où ils concernent la doctrine de foi ou les mœurs."

¹⁰Christopher Hill, "The Fundamental Question of Ecumenical Method," in *Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity*, 222.

however, meant that the PCPCU was required to submit its draft response to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith for approval rather than forwarding it to the episcopal conferences for their comments.¹¹ The CDF rejected this draft and this marked a turning point in the development of the Roman Catholic response. From this point on, the CDF, rather than the episcopal conferences, exercised the determining role in the development of *The Official Response*.

According to *The Official Response*, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, two administrative, curial offices, were the joint authors of the response. Francis Sullivan, an ecclesiologist then teaching at the Gregorian University in Rome, observed:

I think it is important to note that this is not a case of collaboration between equal partners. The Apostolic Constitution *Pastor bonus* of 1988, which established the competence of the various dicasteries of the Holy See, gives the CDF the last word on any document coming from the other dicasteries, if it deals with matters of faith. *Pastor bonus* explicitly states that the PCPCU must work in close collaboration with the CDF in the preparation of any document that it wishes to publish.¹²

Even Cardinal Cassidy suggests that the CDF, rather than the PCPCU, had a greater influence upon the formal response. More surprising, however, is that neither the bishops nor the pope signed *The Official Response* of the Roman Catholic Church. This raises questions about the authority of the response. Edward Yarnold, a Roman Catholic member of ARCIC-I, reports that in 1992, when Pope John Paul II was asked to clarify the authority of this response he "referred to it as the 'Official'

¹¹*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (AAS) 80 (1988). Articles 48, 54 and 137 are particularly important in this regard. In *Pastor bonus* Pope John Paul II renamed the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity.

¹²Francis Sullivan, S. J., "The Vatican's Response to The Final Report of the First Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission," *Bulletin/Centro Pro Unione* 40-41/Fall-Spring (1991-1992): 36; *One in Christ* 28 (1992): 223-231; *Gregorianum* 73 (1992): 489-498. Cf. AAS 80 (1988) 873 (art. 48), 874 (art. 54), 896 (art. 137).

Response, given at a 'truly ecclesial' level."¹³ This response, unfortunately, does little to clarify the authority of this curial document.

The bishops' evaluations were not included nor referred to in *The Official Response*. This came as a surprise to the French Roman Catholic Episcopal Commission for Christian Unity: "We regret however that the final Response seems to take no notice of the important comments in 1985 in the replies of the Episcopal Conference of England and Wales and our own Conference . . . "¹⁴ Later they add,

The 'definitive Response' . . . seems completely to ignore the replies of the episcopal conferences which have been made public. Is this a healthy exercise of the collegiality and the ecclesiology of communion which form 'the central and fundamental concept' of Vatican II?¹⁵

How did the situation arise where an administrative office such as the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith speaks on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church and appears to have more doctrinal responsibility and authority than the bishops? I will try to answer this question in the following section.

The Bishops and the Holy Office

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Congregation of the Holy Office has exercised a formidable degree of authority in the Roman Catholic Church. Writing about the period

¹³Edward Yarnold, S.J., "Roman Catholic Responses to ARCIC I and ARCIC II (1993)," in *Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity*, 238.

¹⁴French Roman Catholic Episcopal Commission for Christian Unity, "Concerning the Holy See's Response to the Final Report of ARCIC I (1992)," in *Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity*, 173.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 180.

between the two Vatican Councils Yves Congar observed:

[The Curia's] function in the [Roman Catholic] Church is such that an administrative organ of purely ecclesiastical institution surpasses in authority the bishops whose function and dignity are of divine institution . . . the Holy Office, responsible for watching over the integrity of faith and morals, dominates all the other courts and, more or less directly, the entire practical life of the Church.¹⁶

To the surprise of many, the authority of the Holy Office was held in check during the Council because the Council crystallized something that had been growing in the college of bishops for years.

Edward Schillebeeckx, a Dutch theologian, observed that during the Council:

What many a bishop had kept to himself within his own diocese or only made public hesitatingly and with great prudence was, at Rome, whispered at the beginning in a timid and muted way. Bishops in this way discovered that all their colleagues had similar ideas and this led to a moral unanimity that had already existed before the Council, although it was only latent. The contact that the bishops had with each other . . . released something which for a long time clearly had been calling for official expression.¹⁷

Gathered in the council, the bishops experienced a renewed understanding of their authority in their local churches and their communion with their brother bishops. Thus empowered many bishops requested the reform of the Curia and in particular the Holy Office. Congar reports that Cardinal Frings voiced what was on the minds of these bishops when Cardinal Frings, in a Council speech,

attacked not the usefulness of the function performed by the Holy Office but the way in which it exercises it. The Holy Office is not bound by the usual rules of judicial and administrative procedure. It condemns writings without having heard their authors and without seeking information from their immediate superiors. This, said Cardinal

¹⁶Yves Congar, O.P., *Report from Rome II: On the Second Session of the Vatican Council*, trans. Lancelot Sheppard (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1964), 98.

¹⁷Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., "L'Eglise du Christ et l'homme d'aujourd'hui selon Vatican II (Le Puy, Lyons and Paris: n.p., 1965), 37; quoted in Yves Congar, O.P., "A Last Look at the Council," in *Vatican II Revisited by Those Who were There*, ed. Alberic Stacpoole (London: Geoffrey Chapman; Minneapolis: Winston, 1986), 354, note 13.

Frings, is something quite unacceptable and must be changed.¹⁸

Yet the reforms of the Curia that the bishops expected were not the reforms that Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II instituted. Although the authority of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith had been held in check during the Council, the promulgation of *Integrae servandae* and *Apostolica sollicitudo*¹⁹ by Pope Paul VI during the last session of the Council, and *Pastor bonus* by Pope John Paul II after the Council, appears to separate episcopal authority into its doctrinal and pastoral components. Combined, these documents attribute doctrinal authority to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and pastoral authority to the bishops. Despite the proven abilities of the bishops to act as *judices fidei* at the Council, these documents have made it difficult for them to do so since the Council.

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith has taken its responsibility for safeguarding doctrine very seriously in the post-conciliar Church and has had many opportunities to exercise these responsibilities since the Council. Its sphere of responsibility includes the ecumenical dialogues in which Roman Catholics participate. Thus, the CDF followed ARCIC-I very carefully and, like the episcopal conferences, the CDF submitted observations and evaluations on each of ARCIC-I's statements as these were completed. Of these only the 1982 "Observations" on *The Final Report* were ever published. Given the doctrinal nature of all the issues discussed by ARCIC-I even Christopher Hill, an Anglican member of ARCIC-I, expected that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith would be involved in the development of the *Official Response*:

¹⁸Congar, *Report from Rome II*, 99. One of Cardinal Frings' *periti* at the Council, Joseph Ratzinger, would become Cardinal Prefect of the very institution that Cardinal Frings critiqued during the Council.

¹⁹Both of these documents were issued *motu proprio*.

For Roman Catholics the response of Episcopal Conferences and Theological Commissions will be important but a final evaluation would still be made in Rome. The Roman Catholic decision would not be made solely by the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity; certainly the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Secretariat of State would also be involved.²⁰

The Roman Catholic episcopal conferences which had participated in Phase I also expected to be involved in Phase II but this was not to be.

The Official Response

The Official Response became public on December 5, 1991. Like the 1988 Lambeth Conference response to *The Final Report*, *The Official Response* is divided into two sections. One is entitled "General Evaluation" and the other "Explanatory Note." The similarities end here. The "General Evaluation" comprises four paragraphs, the first of which offers "a warm welcome to the Final Report."²¹ The other three paragraphs prepare readers for "a detailed summary of the areas where differences or ambiguities remain which seriously hinder the restoral of full communion in faith and in the sacramental life."²² According to Edward Yarnold, a Roman Catholic member of ARCIC-I, the introductory section is the key section and possesses a definitive authority that the "Explanatory Note" does not.²³

The affinities between *The Official Response* and the CDF's "Observations" are most pronounced in the "Explanatory Note." Its emphases upon the unresolved issues between Anglicans

²⁰Christopher Hill, "An Analysis of the Common Declaration of Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury," *One in Christ* 14 (1978): 262.

²¹*The Official Response of the Roman Catholic Church to ARCIC I*, *One in Christ* 28 (1992): 38.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Yarnold, "Roman Catholic Responses to ARCIC I and ARCIC II, 1993," 238.

and Roman Catholics overshadow the positive welcome of the "General Evaluation" and give the entire response a negative tone. In his assessment Christopher Hill remarks:

What seems to have happened is that the Council for Promoting Christian Unity has persuaded the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to accept a genuinely positive and ecumenical tone, while failing to persuade it to modify its substantive judgments.²⁴

Francis Sullivan, S.J., in his analysis of the text, writes:

I think an expert in source-criticism would not have much trouble deciding which elements of the *Response* are due primarily to the CDF, and which are the contributions of the PCPCU. It would be simple enough to compare the definitive *Response* with the *Observations* published by the CDF back in 1982. This comparison shows that practically every critical observation made by the CDF then, appears again in the final *Response*. From this fact one could safely conclude that the critical elements in the *Response* are the work of the CDF.²⁵

Anticipating that *The Official Response* would be criticized for its negative tone, the authors wrote:

It must, however, be remembered that the Roman Catholic Church was asked to give a clear answer to the question: are the agreements contained in this Report consonant with the faith of the Catholic Church? What was asked for was not a simple evaluation of an ecumenical study, but an official response as to the *identity* of the various statements with the faith of the Church.²⁶

This statement is telling for it demonstrates that the authors misunderstood their task. Anticipating that ARCIC-I's use of the term consonant might be unfamiliar to readers, the four episcopal conferences mentioned in Chapter 3 dealt, at length, with the distinction between consonance and identity. This distinction is crucial to the Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue and the members of the

²⁴Hill, "The Fundamental Question of Ecumenical Method," 223.

²⁵Sullivan, 37.

²⁶*The Official Response*, 46-47. My emphasis.

French Episcopal Commission for Christian Unity expressed astonishment "at the [CDF's] demands for an identity of formulations in an age when we live in a society which has become conscious of its multicultural character."²⁷ In their search for consonance with the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, the authors of *The Official Response* sought full correspondence,²⁸ conformity²⁹ and identity with Roman Catholic doctrinal formulations. As might be expected, they did not find them. In light of this it appears that the authors of *The Official Response* did not read the episcopal conference responses nor did they appropriate the following principle of ecumenism: "the substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of the faith is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another."³⁰

On a related matter, the authors of *The Official Response* were also aware that their method might be criticised for not being sufficiently ecumenical. In the first paragraph of the "Explanatory Note" the authors state that they will begin by identifying the achievements of ARCIC-I and then will present those aspects of *The Final Report* which "do not satisfy fully certain elements of Catholic

²⁷French Roman Catholic Episcopal Commission for Christian Unity, 173.

²⁸*The Official Response*, 45. "The above observations are not intended in any way to diminish appreciation for the important work done by ARCIC I, but rather to illustrate areas within the matters dealt with by the Final Report about which further clarification or study is required before it can be said that the Statements made in the Final Report *correspond fully* to Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist and on Ordained Ministry." My emphasis.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 39. "Still, as will be indicated further on, [The Catholic Church] looks for certain clarifications which will assure that these affirmations are understood in a way that *conforms* to Catholic doctrine." My emphasis.

³⁰Pope John XXIII, "Pope John's Opening Speech to the Council," in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (Piscataway, New Jersey: New Century Publishers, Inc., 1966), 715.

doctrine."³¹ Not surprisingly, the authors seem as uncomfortable with ARCIC-I's ecumenical method as they are with ARCIC-I's doctrinal formulations.

A weakness of *The Official Response* is the rushed quality of the text. Despite the fact that *The Official Response* draws heavily upon the "Observations" published in 1982, and took almost five years to complete, there are many errors within the text. Francis Sullivan, in his evaluation of *The Official Response*, found more than seventeen inaccuracies in direct quotes from *The Final Report*.³² These inaccuracies range from typographical errors to more serious content errors such as the addition of words, the deletion of words and the inversion of words. Rather than dwell on these I will now turn to some of the critical portions of *The Official Response* and identify sections of the text where the "Observations," rather than the episcopal conference evaluations, had an impact upon the positions adopted in *The Official Response*.

Real Presence and Transubstantiation

Although there are issues upon which the episcopal conference evaluations and *The Official Response* do agree,³³ it is instructive to examine those issues upon which they disagree. One of these

³¹*The Official Response*, 38.

³²Sullivan, "The Vatican's Response to The Final Report," 40, note 5. See Appendix 9 for some examples.

³³These include doctrinal issues surrounding the reservation and adoration of the Eucharist:

- i) "Because we believe that liturgical practice reflects our faith, we would like to see issues surrounding the adoration of Christ in the reserved Eucharist better clarified." ("Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 12).
- ii) "The question of reservation and adoration needs to be taken up again." ("RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales," 172).
- iii) "We recommend that these questions be submitted to ARCIC-II. Answers to them would have

is ARCIC-I's treatment of real presence and transubstantiation. The word transubstantiation does not appear in the text of *The Final Report* but only in a footnote. Overall, the episcopal conferences are satisfied with ARCIC-I's treatment of these doctrines as Chapter 3 and the following quotes indicate. The Bishops of England and Wales stated that "The statement [*Eucharistic Doctrine*] clearly maintains the real and true presence of Christ."³⁴ So too, the French Bishops argued, "In this balanced presentation [ARCIC-I's formulation of real presence] we can see the fruit of ecumenical dialogue and the enriching of one tradition by the other."³⁵

The Official Response adopts a different position. Like the analysis of *Eucharistic Doctrine* in the "Observations," *The Official Response* argues that there is still ambiguity in ARCIC-I's formulations. *Eucharistic Doctrine* par. 8 and *Elucidation* par. 6 "are insufficient, however, to remove all ambiguity regarding the mode of the real presence which is due to a substantial change in the elements."³⁶ Rather than defer to the episcopal conferences, *The Official Response* defers to the CDF. The authors of *The Official Response* ask ARCIC-II to respond to critiques such as this one. This decision is questionable because ARCIC-I had been disbanded when *The Final Report* was published. As a result, ARCIC-II, though not involved in the writing of *The Final Report*, was asked

an importance in any overall judgement as to the adequacy of *The Final Report* to express Catholic Faith [*sic*] regarding the Eucharist." ("U.S.A. National Conference of Catholic Bishops: Evaluation," 326).

iv) *The Official Response* adopts a different tone than the episcopal conferences when it addresses this issue: "... one remains with the conviction that this is an area in which real consensus between Anglicans and Roman Catholics is lacking." (*The Official Response*, 43).

³⁴"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 171.

³⁵"Response of the French Episcopal Conference," 336.

³⁶*The Official Response*, 43.

to respond to critiques such as this one, which it did.

ARCIC-II responded to the questions raised in *The Official Response* in its "Clarifications of Certain Aspects of the Agreed Statements on Eucharist and Ministry (1993)." With respect to the issue of transubstantiation and real presence, ARCIC-II argues that Pope Paul VI, in *Mysterium fidei* (1965), "did not deny the legitimacy of fresh ways of expressing this change even by using new words, provided that they kept and reflected what transubstantiation was intended to express. This has been our [ARCIC's] method of approach."³⁷ The episcopal conferences appeared more comfortable with this method than the authors of *The Official Response* who reserve judgement pending clarifications such as these.

Holy Orders and Apostolic Succession

One issue which the Bishops did not address, but which appeared in the "Observations" and then reappeared in *The Official Response*, is the question of the institution of Holy Orders. In the "Observations" the CDF criticized ARCIC-I because [ARCIC-I] does not state clearly enough that it is a tenet of the church's faith - the possible difficulties of a historical proof notwithstanding - that the sacrament of holy orders was instituted by Christ . . .³⁸ This issue did not arise in any of the episcopal conference evaluations studied in Chapter 3. Despite this, the criticism resurfaces in *The Official Response*, in an expanded form. Using the criticism found in the "Observations" as its point of departure, *The Official Response* adds that "the ARCIC document does not refer to the *character*

³⁷ARCIC-II, "Clarifications of Certain Aspects of the Agreed Statements on Eucharist and Ministry," *Origins* 24 (October 6, 1994): 302.

³⁸"Observations," 754.

of priestly ordination which implies a configuration to the priesthood of Christ."³⁹

Likewise, *The Official Response*, and the "Observations," gave more emphasis to apostolic succession than did the episcopal conference responses. According to *The Official Response*,

this question [of apostolic succession], then, lies at the very heart of the ecumenical discussion and touches vitally all the themes dealt with by ARCIC-I: the reality of the Eucharist, the sacramentality of the ministerial priesthood, the nature of the Roman primacy."⁴⁰

This quotation is a modified version of the following quote from the "Observations:

This question has been at the center of all ecumenical discussions and lies at the heart of the ecumenical problem; as a result it affects all of the questions treated by ARCIC: the reality of the eucharist, the sacramentality of the priestly ministry, the nature of the Roman primacy."⁴¹

Although the episcopal conference responses acknowledge that apostolic succession is a disputed point between Roman Catholics and Anglicans, the Bishops' Conferences of England and Wales, France and Canada, approach the issue from a more positive perspective. The U.S. Bishops do not even raise the issue in their response. The Bishops of England and Wales suggest that

the question of apostolic succession of the episcopal college and primate is approached in a most encouraging manner, for it is a problem which might seem at first to be intractable . . . Difficulties over agreement about the actual historical exercise of this authority, especially with regard to universal primacy, are approached in such a way as to hold real promise for the future."⁴²

Positive comments such as these seem to have had little effect on *The Official Response*.

The Official Response concludes in an ambiguous way. Rather than answering the questions

³⁹*The Official Response*, 43. Their emphasis.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 45.

⁴¹"Observations," 756.

⁴²"RC Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Response," 175.

of the ARCIC-I Co-Chairs, *The Official Response* requested ARCIC-II to submit some clarifications about *The Final Report*. Only then would the Catholic Church be able to say whether or not "the Statements made in the Final Report *correspond fully* to Catholic doctrine on the eucharist and on ordained ministry."⁴³ This was an interesting request because, as I noted earlier, ARCIC-II had not been involved in the writing of *The Final Report*. Nonetheless, ARCIC-II obliged and submitted the requested clarifications on September 4, 1993.

Six months after receiving the "Clarifications," Cardinal Cassidy wrote to the ARCIC-II Co-Chairs informing them that

This document has been examined by the appropriate dicasteries of the Holy See, and I am now in a position to assure you that the said clarifications have indeed thrown new light on the questions concerning eucharist and ministry in the Final Report of ARCIC-I for which further study had been requested. . . . The agreement reached on eucharist and ministry by ARCIC-I is thus greatly strengthened and no further study would seem to be required at this stage.⁴⁴

Unfortunately, Cardinal Cassidy does not clarify whether one of the appropriate dicasteries is the CDF nor does he say whether "the Statements made in *The Final Report* correspond fully to Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist and on Ordained Ministry"⁴⁵ as *The Official Response* indicated the Roman Catholic Church would. Since the CDF had played such a prominent role during Phase II, its silence at the end of Phase II was surprising. As a result, Phase II ended as ambiguously as *The Official Response*. To date the Roman Catholic Church has not stated clearly whether *The Final Report* is, or is not, consonant in substance with the faith of Roman Catholicism as requested by the ARCIC-I

⁴³*The Official Response*, 45. My emphasis.

⁴⁴"Clarifications," 299. In this letter Cardinal Cassidy also voices his dissatisfaction with ARCIC-II's clarifications regarding the reservation and adoration of the Eucharist.

⁴⁵*The Official Response*, 446.

Co-Chairs.

Conciliarity in an Ecclesiology of Communion: The Roman Catholic Experience

From the time that *The Final Report* was published in 1982, it was clear that the SPCU/PCPCU, the CDF and the episcopal conferences all had very different understandings of who should be involved in the process of responding to *The Final Report* and how. The SPCU/PCPCU and the CDF were the two Vatican dicasteries most involved in the development of *The Official Response*. Each dicastery invited episcopal conferences to participate in the process. But, as I outlined in Chapter 3, episcopal conferences have an ambiguous position in the authority structures of the Roman Catholic Church. It was clear from the beginning of Phase I that the PCPCU, the CDF and the episcopal conferences each interpreted the canons regarding episcopal conferences differently. These various interpretations had an impact upon the way in which *The Official Response* developed.

Cardinal Ratzinger, for example, adheres to a juridical interpretation of the canons referring to episcopal conferences. His position appears to have influenced the decision of the CDF not to include the episcopal conference responses in *The Official Response*. This contrasts with the position he adopted as a young theologian. In 1964 he had argued that episcopal conferences "have their prototype in the synodal activity of the regionally different 'colleges' of the ancient Church. They are also a legitimate form of the collegiate structure of the Church."⁴⁶ Ecclesiologists like Michael Fahey have developed similar positions by studying early church history as well as the contributions that Orthodox ecclesiology can make to Roman Catholicism in this area. Cardinal Ratzinger, however, abandoned the position of his youth and in 1985 he made some now famous comments regarding

⁴⁶Joseph Ratzinger, "The Pastoral Implications of Episcopal Collegiality," in *The Church and Mankind: Concilium I* (New York: Paulist Press, 1964), 63.

episcopal conferences. During an interview with Vittorio Messori, Cardinal Ratzinger said:

We must not forget that the episcopal conferences have no theological basis, they do not belong to the structure of the Church, as willed by Christ, that cannot be eliminated; they have only a practical, concrete function.⁴⁷

Unlike Cardinal Ratzinger, the ecclesiologist Avery Dulles argues that episcopal conferences are a necessary intermediary structure within the Roman Catholic Church:

It would be difficult to defend the view that there is no teaching authority between the universal magisterium of the popes and ecumenical councils, at one extreme, and that of the individual bishop in his own diocese at the other. The Catholic tradition has always recognized the authority of particular councils, as does the code in the canon just cited [Canon 753]. Particular councils have contributed in important ways to the development of Catholic doctrine. . . .

The teaching authority of a bishops' conference, to be sure, is not identical with that of a particular council, but such conferences have in fact taken on many of the functions previously performed by particular councils.⁴⁸

Dulles cites numerous particular councils and episcopal conferences, past and present, whose teachings have had a lasting impact upon the development of Catholic doctrine.⁴⁹ Although Dulles

⁴⁷Vittorio Messori, *The Ratzinger Report: An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church*, trans. Salvator Attanasio and Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985), 59. The same could be said of the CDF.

⁴⁸Avery Dulles, S.J., "Bishops' Conference Documents: What Doctrinal Authority?" *Origins* 14 (January 24, 1985): 530-531. Canon 753 reads: "Whether they teach individually, or in Episcopal Conferences, or gathered together in particular councils, Bishops in communion with the head and the members of the College, while not infallible in their teaching, are the authentic instructors and teachers of the faith for Christ's faithful entrusted to their care. The faithful are bound to adhere, with a religious submission of mind, to this authentic *magisterium* of their Bishops."

⁴⁹Dulles, "Bishops' Conference Documents," 531. "The Third Council of Carthage, in 397, pronounced on the canon of Sacred Scripture. A provincial council of Carthage in 418 issued the first decrees on the subject of original sin. The Second Council of Orange in 529 rejected what has come to be called semi-Pelagianism. The Council of Braga in 675 condemned the Priscillianists. And the 11th Council of Toledo in 675 drew up an important profession of faith." Some of the modern episcopal conferences to which he refers include the U.S.A., Germany, France, Africa, Asia and Latin America. I would add Canada to this list.

also argues that ancient councils "had many features that we might not wish to reduplicate"⁵⁰ he concludes that, consistent with the principle of subsidiarity, "regional bodies are needed for the effective functioning of the pastoral magisterium."⁵¹ In the post-conciliar Church, episcopal conferences are one of the forms these regional bodies have taken. Gatherings such as the second and third General Conferences of the Latin American Bishops in Medellin, Colombia (1968) and Puebla, Mexico (1979) and the statements emanating from them have had a significant impact upon the life of the Church since Vatican II. Dulles argues,

In actual practice the influence of conference documents, like that of encyclicals and even conciliar statements, depends less on the formal authority with which they are issued than on their intrinsic merits. Once a statement has been published it tends to shape its own history. If discerning readers find it persuasive and enlightening, it can produce an impact in excess of its juridical or official weight.⁵²

In 1988, one year after the episcopal conferences submitted their responses to the PCPCU, Cardinal Ratzinger expressed his understanding about the process used to respond to *The Final Report*:

In this case [ARCIC-I] we see ecumenical dialogue raised from the sphere of particular groups - which are not yet authoritative, however important and well authorised they may be - and transferred to the level of matters concerning the whole Church in a universal and obligatory way. Then the See of Peter speaks through one of its central organs, not indeed in a definitive manner, yet with an authority that carries more weight in the Church than a merely academic publication about the question would. . . . And finally the whole college of bishops, as successors of the apostles, are drawn into the dialogue in their capacity of responsibility for the whole

⁵⁰Dulles, "What is the Role of a Bishops' Conference?" *Origins* 17 (April 28, 1988): 793.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Dulles, "Bishops' Conference Documents," 533.

Church.⁵³

The ecclesiology underlying Cardinal Ratzinger's position is a two-tiered model which does not allow for any intermediary structures, such as episcopal conferences, between the diocese and the universal church. This model, according to Michael Fahey, took hold in Roman Catholicism after the Council of Trent although its origins predate the separation of the Churches of the East and the West in 1054. Fahey describes the origins of this two-tiered model and its ongoing influence in the Roman Catholic Church:

In the West, papal and patriarchal jurisdictions merged into one office, thus producing in the mind of the Roman church the conviction that it presided over the universal church. This historical process explains in part why today the Vatican has so much difficulty in accepting the competence of episcopal conferences over many matters, and why the Vatican's central administration holds on firmly to supervising the process by which bishops are appointed in every country. Such a two-tiered ecclesiology has undesirable implications, especially when it promotes an exaggerated sense of the diocesan bishop's responsibility to promulgate the theological opinions or the governing priorities of the pope.⁵⁴

This two-tiered model also has implications for conciliarity because it makes no provisions for conciliar structures between the universal and local churches. As a result there are no structures available to the diocesan bishops which would enable them to assemble with their counterparts in other dioceses to discuss matters which are of concern to their local churches.⁵⁵

⁵³Joseph Ratzinger, "Anglican-Catholic Dialogue: Its Problems and Hopes," in *Church, Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology*, (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 68.

⁵⁴Michael A. Fahey, S.J., "Eastern Synodal Traditions: Pertinence for Western Collegial Institutions," in *Episcopal Conferences: Historical, Canonical & Theological Studies*, ed. Thomas J. Reese, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 265.

⁵⁵Pope John Paul II in an "Ad Limina" address (March 31, 1998) to some Bishops from the United States argued that an episcopal conference "exists to foster the sharing of pastoral experience and to allow for a common approach to various questions that arise in the life of the church in a particular region or country." He also cautioned the bishops that an episcopal conference should not "[weaken]

The PCPCU and the episcopal conferences, on the other hand, supported an unarticulated ecclesiology which allows for intermediary structures, such as episcopal conferences, within the Church. This is consistent with the findings of the Faith and Order Commission's Bristol Report. Throughout the ages the Church has often sought intermediary structures between the local and universal Church. When synods began to disappear in Europe in the early nineteenth century, many Western European bishops, as well as bishops in North and South America, gathered on a regular basis "for purposes of consultation and common action."⁵⁶ They did so in national and regional meetings which were the precursors to the modern episcopal conferences. The need is equally strong today and is met, in part, through the annual plenary assemblies of episcopal conferences which are mandated by Canon Law.

Within an ecclesiology of communion the plenary assemblies of episcopal conferences may be understood as assemblies of local churches to which the bishops bring their churches. As a result, these assemblies are more than meetings and resemble the conciliar assemblies of local churches so familiar to the early church. Just as the early church needed regional and provincial synods to meet its needs, so too the Church today continues to need assemblies at an intermediary level for the effective functioning of the magisterium. Today these ecclesial needs are being met by national episcopal conferences like the CCCB and the NCCB, and international groups of episcopal conferences such as CELAM (Episcopal Council of Latin America) and FABC (The Federation of

the teaching and pastoral authority which belongs to bishops alone." "Bishops' Conferences," *Origins* 27 (April 30, 1998): 755.

⁵⁶Avery Dulles, S.J., "The Teaching Authority of Bishops' Conferences," in *The Reshaping of Catholicism: Current Challenges in the Theology of the Church* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 207.

Asian Bishops' Conferences).

Conclusions

The first phase in the development of the Roman Catholic response to *The Final Report* resulted in a sophisticated theological discussion by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the episcopal conferences. In the short term it was a wise decision to limit the number of episcopal conferences involved to those with close ties to the Anglicans in their respective countries.⁵⁷ These episcopal conferences drew upon their ecumenical and pastoral experiences with Anglicans and consulted with experts in ecumenism to develop their responses. They treated the CDF's "Observations" as a contribution to the evaluation process and engaged in a scholarly discussion of the issues contained therein. This theological debate was a significant contribution to the response process. It is clear from the comments of the French Episcopal Commission for Unity that they, too, thought their contribution was significant. More important, they expected that it would be an acknowledged part in the development of *The Official Response*.

The initial openness of Phase I contrasts with the secrecy that became the hallmark of Phase II. In the end, only a few Roman Catholics were involved in the process of responding to *The Final Report* and developing *The Official Response* of the Roman Catholic Church. Although the quality of the initial theological debate was high, the apparent absence of so many Roman Catholics from the entire process does not bode well, in the long term, for the reception of the doctrinal work of

⁵⁷"You will recall the purposes of circulating the work of the commission [ARCIC-I] to the bishops of those areas where Anglicans and Roman Catholics live side by side in considerable numbers and also of publishing it for study especially by theologians." Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to Bishop G. E. Carter, President of the CCCB, Prot. N. 3767/76 (November 18, 1976), TLS, 1, GS85-3 Box 2 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

ARCIC-I in Roman Catholicism. Nor does it bode well for the exercise of conciliarity within Roman Catholicism.

Edward Yarnold once described the following differences between Anglicans and Roman Catholics:

The Anglican mind is accustomed to a period of open discussion before decisions are taken; many Vatican decisions are promulgated without much evidence of a search to discover the mind of the faithful, often with apparent disregard of expert opinion, often too with a very unconvincing statement of the reasons which prompted the decision.⁵⁸

Although this statement was written well before the publication of *The Final Report* it captures, I believe, the methods adopted by both communions as they responded to *The Final Report*. The openness with which the Roman Catholic response process began was terminated very quickly. To use Yarnold's terms *The Official Response* appears to have disregarded the expert opinion of at least four episcopal conferences and the theologians they consulted.

It is also troubling that neither the bishops nor the pope signed *The Official Response* and that it was the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, a curial body, which responded for the Roman Catholic Church. In the wake of criticisms of *The Official Response*, Cardinal Cassidy remarked that the process of responding to *The Final Report* still raises questions about the reception process:

For example, what is the best way to go about consultation within the church, how to evaluate the often diverse and apparently contradictory results of consultations (i.e. agreements and differences on the same point) and the relationship of these results to authoritative decision making processes within the church.⁵⁹

The method finally adopted by the Roman Catholic Church also highlighted some strengths

⁵⁸Edward Yarnold, S.J., "Primacy and Conciliarity," *The Month* (March 1977): 80.

⁵⁹Cardinal Edward Cassidy, "The Measure of Catholic Ecumenical Commitment," *Origins* 22 (April 8, 1993): 742.

and weaknesses of doctrinal decision making in the Roman Catholic Church. A strength is that the episcopal conferences demonstrated their abilities to act as *judices fidei*. They had demonstrated this ability at the Second Vatican Council and then again by their sophisticated theological evaluations of *The Final Report*. A weakness is the disproportionate influence that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith exercises in Roman Catholicism. In response to the French Episcopal Commission for Unity's question about whether *The Official Response* manifests a healthy exercise of episcopal collegiality and the ecclesiology of communion, I would argue that it does not. It appears that the Roman Catholic Church has not yet appropriated the ecclesiological insights of Vatican II and made the shift to an ecclesiology of communion in its practice. As a result, a two-tiered ecclesiological model prevails and within this ecclesiology, conciliar structures like diocesan synods, the Synods of Bishops and episcopal conferences do not yet serve the magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church as effectively as they could. There exists an imbalance between primacy and conciliarity in Roman Catholicism and, as a result, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith exercises a disproportionate amount of doctrinal authority in the Roman Catholic Church. This situation will continue as long as this two-tiered ecclesiology persists and the balance between conciliarity and primacy remains skewed.

In the next chapter I will examine a variety of responses to *The Final Report* and demonstrate how the responses of these members of the people of God shed further light on conciliarity in the *koinonia* of the churches.

CHAPTER 5

OTHER RESPONSES TO *THE FINAL REPORT*

Many of the Anglican and Roman Catholic theologians who had been members of ARCIC-I continued their dialogue in the public forum after ARCIC-I disbanded. They were joined in their scholarly exchanges by other theologians and professional ecumenists who had followed the work of ARCIC-I carefully over the years. These theologians and ecumenists offer distinctive vantage points from which to assess the work of ARCIC-I, so, in this chapter, I have chosen to study the contributions of the following groups: the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada, the Church of England Evangelical Council (CEEC), the Executive Council of the Evangelical Fellowship of the Anglican Communion and the joint work of the National Association of Diocesan Ecumenical Officers (NADEO)¹ and the Episcopal Diocesan Ecumenical Officers (EDEO).² Individual theologians also entered the scholarly debate and the ones whose work I decided to include in this chapter are Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, Jean-Marie Tillard, Martin Dudley and Gillian Evans.³

¹Membership in this association is open to all the Roman Catholic Ecumenical Officers appointed to Roman Catholic dioceses in the United States.

²Membership in this association is open to all Episcopalian/Anglican Ecumenical Officers in Episcopalian dioceses in the United States.

³I have had to adapt this chapter somewhat from my original proposal for the following reasons. I had hoped to analyse in this chapter the responses of ARC-Canada, ARC-USA and ARC-Australia. Of these only the work of ARC-Canada was easily accessible. In the interests of time and space I also had to reduce the number of theologians from sixteen to four. I had not originally intended to devote an entire section of this chapter to the work of Evangelical Anglicans. Once I began my research, however, I soon realized the importance of the Evangelical contributions to the Anglican-Roman

I chose these groups and theologians because they have all followed the work of ARCIC-I since its inception and have written about ARCIC-I and authority in the Church. My purpose in this chapter is to distill from their contributions any insights which may be pertinent to an understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion.

The Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada and The CCCB Response to *The Final Report*

On May 3, 1982, Irénée Beaubien, S.J., a member of ARC-Canada, wrote to Archbishop Antoine Hacault, then president of the CCCB's Ecumenical Commission, and informed him that the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada (ARC-Canada) had begun studying *The Final Report* and the CDF "Observations." Beaubien offered ARC-Canada's analyses to the CCCB "as part of our [ARC-Canada's] critic [*sic*] to serve the Canadian bishops in formulating their response and to assist the rest of the faithful in making their judgement about the Final Report."⁴ The collaborative method which developed between the members of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada (ARC-Canada) and the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB) as a result of this offer provides a possible model for future exercises of conciliarity as the following will demonstrate.

Until this point in time, ARC-Canada, like ARCIC-I, had worked as a joint commission and all its statements were written by the Anglicans and Roman Catholics together. For this project, ARC-Canada broke with this method and struck two subcommittees, one Anglican and the other Roman

Catholic bilateral dialogue.

⁴Irénée Beaubien, S.J., to S.E. Mgr Antoine Hacault, président Commission épiscopale d'oecuménisme, le 3 mai 1982, TLS, 2, GS87-1 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA. Beaubien also suggested in this letter that a meeting between the Roman Catholic members of ARC-Canada and the Bishops' Commissions for Ecumenism and Theology be held.

Catholic. Each analysed *The Final Report* and the "Observations" from a confessional perspective and prepared written reports. As promised, these reports were sent to the CCCB when completed.⁵ A comparison of these reports with the CCCB response sent to Rome, indicates that the Bishops used both the Anglican and Roman Catholic submissions in the development of their response. These reports enabled the Bishops to refine their thinking regarding the ecumenical method employed by ARCIC-I and the doctrinal issues contained in *The Final Report*.

Each subcommittee contributed to the CCCB response to *The Final Report* in different ways. The Anglican subcommittee contributed to the development of the CCCB's "methodology of evaluation."⁶ In its report, the Anglican subcommittee had suggested the following methodology for reading bilateral texts:

[T]he correct hermeneutic principle in reading the *Final Report* is that where there is apparent conflict or ambiguity, the more precise of two statements should be taken as authoritative and used to clarify the meaning intended by the members of ARCIC. This will eliminate the danger that a less precisely worded sentence dilutes the meaning of a clearer affirmation elsewhere in the report. If this principle is adopted, the *Final Report* is very clearly a strong and orthodox statement of the catholic faith.⁷

The CCCB incorporated this hermeneutic principle into its suggested method for reading *The Final Report*:

In general we [CCCB] assumed that the correct way of interpreting The Final Report

⁵These reports on the CDF "Observations" were also published in *One in Christ*: "Canadian ARC: Remarks on the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's 'Observations on the Final Report of ARCIC', 1983: Remarks by the Anglican Sub-Committee," *One in Christ* 20 (1984): 257-271. "Canadian ARC: Remarks on the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's 'Observations on the Final Report of ARCIC', 1983: Remarks by the Roman Catholic Sub-Committee," *One in Christ* 20 (1984): 272-286.

⁶"Remarks by the Anglican Sub-Committee," 258.

⁷*Ibid.*

was to allow a potentially ambiguous text to be clarified by a text that is more precise. We wished to eliminate the danger that a less precisely worded sentence, used at an earlier stage or in passing by the writers, would dilute the meaning of a clearer affirmation elsewhere in the text which shows a later and more developed understanding. On the basis of this principle, The Final Report can readily be seen as offering strong and orthodox statements of the Catholic faith.⁸

The fact that the Roman Catholic Bishops incorporated the methodological suggestion of the Anglican theologians into their response establishes an important precedent in the exercise of conciliarity. In their exercise of conciliarity, Roman Catholic Bishops ought to seek out expert theological opinion. In this instance the Roman Catholic Bishops consulted some of Canada's most experienced Anglican and Roman Catholic ecumenists, to good advantage.

The Canadian Bishops also took very seriously the report of the Roman Catholic subcommittee. It is interesting to compare the ways in which the Episcopal Conference incorporated the remarks of the Roman Catholic subcommittee into the CCCB response. For example, the Roman Catholic subcommittee had argued "that as a whole the *Observations* are expressive of a certain current of theological opinion within the Roman Catholic Church, one which prizes literal adherence to precise formulations, above all those of Vatican I and Trent."⁹ While asserting a similar point, the Bishops nuance the sentiments contained in the above quote. They argue that "[f]or some, the task [of plumbing the meaning of The Final Report] has been made more difficult by the fact that certain of the formulations of the Councils of Trent and Vatican I were omitted or at least given a secondary role."¹⁰ Nuancing such as this is found throughout the CCCB response and indicates that the CCCB

⁸"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops to the ARCIC-I *Final Report*," *Ecumenism* 88 (December 1987), 10.

⁹"Remarks by the Roman Catholic Sub-Committee," 273.

¹⁰"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 9.

was judicious in its use of the subcommittee reports.

The CCCB also condensed the remarks of the Roman Catholic report. This is noticeable in the CCCB's discussion of the reservation and adoration of the Eucharist. The Roman Catholic subcommittee presented a detailed analysis of the question and argued that

The *Observations* object to the divergence in theological judgements regarding the adoration of the Eucharist, claiming that such adoration is a dogmatic definition of Trent. First of all, Trent's definition refers to the adoration due to the Eucharist, acknowledging Christ's true and real presence in it. In this point there is no divergence from the mind of the *Final Report*, which acknowledges the permanent presence of Christ in the Eucharist.¹¹

The CCCB response is more succinct yet affirms the same point: "The statement of The Final Report on the adoration of Christ in the reserved Eucharist is consonant with our belief and with the dogmatic definition of Trent."¹²

Conclusions

There are other examples which would demonstrate that the submissions of the Roman Catholic subcommittee helped the Canadian bishops to formulate their response. It is equally important to note that the CCCB used the insights of both subcommittees in the development of its official response to *The Final Report*. As a result, the CCCB refined its own thinking on the methodological and doctrinal challenges presented by *The Final Report* and the CDF's "Observations" and developed a much stronger response to *The Final Report*. This process of consulting theological experts within and beyond one's communion could be used to good effect in future exercises of conciliarity. It is a first step towards fulfilling ARCIC-I's suggestion that a balanced relationship

¹¹"Remarks by the Roman Catholic Sub-Committee," 278.

¹²"Response of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops," 12.

between conciliarity and primacy includes "the responsible participation of the whole people of God."¹³

ARC Soundings: NADEO-EDEO Responds to ARCIC I

Over the course of the four years from 1983-1986, the members of NADEO and EDEO mandated a joint Standing Committee to undertake an ambitious project. The project, as originally conceived, intended to survey the entire NADEO and EDEO membership about *The Final Report* and ethics. The Standing Committee decided to table the proposed survey on ethics. It opted to incorporate questions about moral issues into the fourth survey and pose these ethical questions within the broader framework of authority in the Church.

The Standing Committee abridged the results of these four surveys and published them in 1990 as *ARC Soundings: A U. S. Response to ARCIC*. In the book they also included a fifth text entitled *How in the Church? A Study of Authority 1987* which the Standing Committee had written. *How in the Church?* describes the context in the United States in which the ecumenical officers minister. It also includes the Standing Committee's understanding of: i) ARCIC-I's ecclesiology of communion ii) the actual practise of authority in the Church and iii) the catholic tradition. Because it does not use the results of any of the surveys in its report, *How in the Church?* seems out of place in this volume even though it provides some interesting information about the Church in the United States.

ARC Soundings is a valuable text in many ways. First, it is the only evaluation of *The Final Report*, and its component statements, of which I am aware, to use the methods of the social sciences.

¹³*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

Second, it is the only evaluation of *The Final Report* which draws exclusively upon the insights and experiences of diocesan ecumenical officers. Third, it highlights, within the context of the United States, some pastoral implications of the doctrinal issues dealt with by *The Final Report*. Fourth, *ARC Soundings* was a joint Anglican-Roman Catholic venture from its inception to the publication of its results.

Despite its many strengths, there are methodological limitations to *ARC Soundings*. Many of these limitations can be traced to the Standing Committee's decision to abridge the reports and omit "various statistical tables and appendices, and some commentary, which we think are not necessary for the general reader."¹⁴ Although this decision spared the general reader the tedium of reading tables and appendices, even the general reader could have benefitted from more of these. For example, there are places in *ARC Soundings* where there appear to be errors in the tabulation of the results.¹⁵ Without access to the original questionnaires¹⁶ and answers or the full reports it is hard to assess how significant these inconsistencies are. The authors of *ARC Soundings* also did not include important information regarding the way that the surveys were designed, pretested and evaluated. Nor did they identify the statistical method of analysis that they used to interpret the results of the surveys or the

¹⁴*Ibid.*, v.

¹⁵I will cite one apparent inconsistency. According to the 1984 "Progress Report" which tabulated the results of the first survey sent to the Ecumenical Officers, 141 responses were returned. (*ARC Soundings*, 4) Two paragraphs later it is reported that "Personal study of the *Final Report* took a variety of forms. 112 individuals indicated that they had studied the Report alone, 38 individuals with members of their church, 54 individuals in an ARC setting, and 23 individuals in a wider ecumenical setting." (*Ibid.*) These numbers add up to 227. Since this number is much greater than the 141 responses received and no explanation is given, one begins to wonder about the reliability of the other numbers recorded in the reports.

¹⁶When this chapter was written the original documents were inaccessible. They had been boxed and prepared for shipping to the archives at Notre Dame University.

statistical significance of their results.

Limitations such as these did not dissuade me from studying this text and using the results with caution. I decided to include the work of *ARC Soundings* in my dissertation because these surveys provided a forum for a self-selected group of ecumenical officers to evaluate *The Final Report*. As I have noted in the previous chapters, the dialogue between Roman Catholics and Anglicans has taken place, to a large degree, among a small group of theologians and bishops. Some clergy, some Anglican laity and even fewer Roman Catholic laity have also participated. For the most part, however, the laity, parish priests and ecumenical officers were underrepresented in the evaluation process.

ARC Soundings, by contrast, offers the "uniquely important"¹⁷ perspective of the ecumenical officers, in the United States, in both communions. Their perspectives are important because the ecumenical officers work at the diocesan or local church level and "mediate between the hierarchy/clergy and the laity."¹⁸ They are "loyal and committed to [their] own Churches, and serve by appointment of [their] own bishops."¹⁹ *ARC Soundings* describes their role in the following terms:

As a people who have pastoral sensitivity, theological training, loyalty to their Church, and a commitment to unity, they seek to serve various "publics", and to assist them in knowing how to move toward visible unity in a way that is consonant with faith, tradition, and the inspiration of the Spirit in the "Kairos", this special time for ecumenism.²⁰

The majority of the respondents (66% of the Roman Catholics and 75% of the Episcopalians) to the

¹⁷Preface to *ARC Soundings*, v.

¹⁸Introduction to *Progress Report 1984*, in *ARC Soundings*, 2.

¹⁹*Progress Report 1984*, in *ARC Soundings*, 9.

²⁰Introduction to *Progress Report 1984*, in *ARC Soundings*, 2.

survey on authority are over the age of forty-five (45) and ordained men. For the most part they are also volunteers. Even though "these persons have been delegated by competent authority to advance the ecumenical enterprise"²¹ in a diocese, they often do so without receiving a stipend for their work or formal ecumenical training.²² *ARC Soundings* reports that fewer than one in three Episcopalians and only one in three Roman Catholics receives a stipend for their diocesan ecumenical work. "Perhaps more ominously a large number (four in ten Roman Catholics, and just under half of all Episcopalians) receive no release time for this work."²³ Even though they represent the institutional Church in their respective dioceses, their ecumenical portfolios are not their primary responsibility within the diocese. Yet in the face of the many demands on their time, an impressive number of ecumenical officers took the time to complete these surveys. The volume of responses to all the questionnaires over the course of four years indicates their strong commitment to the dialogue between Anglicans and Roman Catholics.

Whither the Wind: A Telltale of Authority 1988

As I noted earlier, four questionnaires were sent to the ecumenical officers. The fourth of these surveyed the ecumenical officers "on the issue of authority and their own ministry"²⁴ and did so from within an ecclesiology of communion. Based upon the ninety-nine survey responses

²¹*Whither the Wind: A Telltale of Authority 1988*, in *ARC Soundings*, 124.

²²*Ibid.*, 143.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Whither the Wind*, 124.

received,²⁵ the Standing Committee wrote its report, *Whither the Wind: A Telltale of Authority 1988*, and this report will be the focus of this section.

The ecumenical officers who responded to this survey indicated that "both in the document [*The Final Report*] and in our relationship more generally, wideranging agreement exists on a number of questions of theology, touching on sacrament [*sic*] and ministry."²⁶ There is also substantial agreement between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church regarding the authority of Sacred Scripture, Tradition and Councils in the Church,²⁷ the theology of the Eucharist²⁸ and the ministry of the baptized.²⁹ The authority of the bishops, including the Bishop of Rome, and the authority of the laity, however, continue to be points of division between the two communions.³⁰

Koinonia and Episcopate in Whither the Wind

The Standing Committee, which constructed the survey questions and collated the results, has a strong commitment to the ecclesiology of communion³¹ and this is explicated, at length, in *How in the Church?* It's not clear from *Whither the Wind* whether the ecumenical officers share this

²⁵This survey had a small number of responses (99) when compared to the 193 ecumenical officers who had responded to the questionnaire about ministry and ordination in 1986. The results of the survey on ministry and ordination are found in *Who in the World? A Study of Ministry 1986* in *ARC Soundings*.

²⁶*Whither the Wind*, 124.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*, 147.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*, 124.

³¹This is very evident in the Standings Committee's own report *How in the Church? A Study of Authority 1987*.

commitment although the Standing Committee presumes they do. The Standing Committee argues that the *koinonia* principle is important to the studies contained in *ARC Soundings* and framed its survey questions with this principle in mind. Whether the ecumenical officers framed their responses with the same principle in mind is not clear.

In the fourth survey the Standing Committee asked the ecumenical officers how *episcopate* is currently exercised and how the ecumenical officers would like it exercised "in the ideal church of the future."³² A striking aspect of *Whither the Wind* is that the ecumenical officers employ a broader definition of *episcopate* than does ARCIC-I in *The Final Report*. In *The Final Report*, *episcopate* refers, first, to the oversight exercised by diocesan bishops over their local churches. Second, it refers to the primatial aspect of *episcopate* which is exercised by bishops of prominent sees over a communion of local churches. Third, it refers to the *episcopate* exercised by bishops gathered in councils. Fourth, it refers to the authority of those ordained to exercise *episcopate*.

By contrast, the ecumenical officers in *Whither the Wind* accord to the laity an *episcopate* that ARCIC-I does not. *Whither the Wind* appears to equate the responsible participation of the laity in decision making with *episcopate* and references to this *episcopate* of the laity appear throughout *Whither the Wind*. The Standing Committee writes, "Both [Roman Catholic and Episcopalian ecumenical officers] regard the proper exercise of *episcopate* by the laity as something neither of us has yet realized and a goal to which we both should aspire."³³ There is "very strong sentiment" in both communions:

that laity are now afforded too small a voice in the governance of the Roman Catholic Church. There is also strong feeling (RC 83%; E 92%) that an increased role for the

³²*Whither the Wind*, 125.

³³*Ibid.*

laity would have a positive impact on Anglican/Roman Catholic relations.³⁴

The commitment of the ecumenical officers to the laity and to lay participation in ecclesial governance is laudable and is one with which ARCIC-I would sympathise. ARCIC-I, nonetheless, would still make a distinction between *episcopate* and responsible lay participation in decision making and not conflate the two. *Whither the Wind*, on the other hand, broadens the definition of *episcopate* beyond that of ARCIC-I and this understanding of the *episcopate* of the laity weaves its way through *Whither the Wind*.

A strength of *Whither the Wind* is that it identifies some of the pastoral implications of ARCIC-I's statements on authority. The ecumenical officers identified, in the ideal church, how and by whom they think authority should be exercised and under what circumstances. Based on the responses to these questions, the Standing Committee concludes that the ecumenical officers are flexible about who exercises authority, when and how they do it. In both communions "There seems a clear openness to dispersal of authority, in which each level, each order has a legitimate voice, but none is singly dominant and certainly not across all the areas."³⁵ These levels to which they refer include the parochial, the diocesan, the national and the universal. Roman Catholics, in particular, would like to see an increased role for the local congregation, the diocese and the national church in decision making. The Standing Committee concludes that the ecumenical officers seem willing to accept "the notion of wider authority for the laity."³⁶ The commitment of the ecumenical officers to the participation of the laity surfaces here as well. "[I]t is clear that the members of the laity are

³⁴*Whither the Wind*, 131.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 142.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 143.

expected to be more than simply passive recipients of authoritative definitions from whatever source."³⁷

Although it does not appear from *Whither the Wind* that the ecumenical officers were asked specific questions about synods and councils, the Standing Committee reports that

There is also a sense that the local congregation deserves a louder voice in the councils of the church than it has hitherto been afforded. In particular, many local matters should involve both the congregation *and* the diocese, with the precise way the balance should be set up being not yet clear, and depending on which communion one belongs to.³⁸

This is an interesting conclusion but hard to use without further information regarding the basis for this statement. The Standing Committee also reports that

the pattern of responses involving the national church and bishops and priests as orders is suggestive of a willingness to see collegiality fostered and the idea of responsibility broadened. It would appear that the idea of national autonomy within a universal church is one that strikes a responsive chord in both our communions.³⁹

With respect to moral decision making, the ecumenical officers reported that they would like to see the national church exercise greater influence than the international church.⁴⁰ Similarly, when it comes to taking official positions on public issues, both groups of respondents would like to see the national church "at least on a par with the international church, and perhaps somewhat more influential."⁴¹ In this regard the Episcopalians would like to see the international church play "a role much higher than

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*, 142-143. Their emphasis.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 140.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 139.

it does in Anglicanism, but marginally more *restricted* than Rome is seen as doing."⁴²

The Standing Committee also observes that "Roman Catholics are more open to the importance of *national* authority than one might have expected"⁴³ and that a number of Episcopalian respondents "are more open to primacy and other responsibility than might have been supposed."⁴⁴ Given the Roman Catholic commitment to primacy and the Anglican commitment to conciliarity the openness of the Roman Catholic and the Episcopalian respondents is interesting. It may indicate a convergence towards an ideal church which has achieved the balance between conciliarity and primacy suggested by ARCIC-I, one which also includes the responsible participation of the whole people of God, especially the laity.

NADEO-EDEO: Conclusions

Without access to the detailed tables or the data which these surveys generated, the conclusions that I can draw about NADEO-EDEO's understanding of conciliarity and primacy in an ecclesiology of communion are modest. According to the Standing Committee, the ecumenical officers seem open to giving the local congregation "a louder voice in the councils of the church than has hitherto been afforded"⁴⁵ and in the resolution of many local matters "both the congregation *and* the diocese" ought to be involved.⁴⁶ Underlying these positions is a commitment to the principle of

⁴²*Ibid.*, 139. Their emphasis.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 125. Their emphasis.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁶*Ibid.* Their emphasis.

subsidiarity and to the participation of the laity in authoritative decision making. The ecumenical officers are generally open to "the notion of wider authority for the laity."⁴⁷

Another challenge in analysing *Whither the Wind* is that it is sometimes difficult to separate the Standing Committee's ecclesiological convictions from those of the ecumenical officers. Although the Standing Committee has appropriated the ecclesiology of communion of ARCIC-I, is committed to it and can articulate its merits, it is not clear that the ecumenical officers have similarly appropriated it. Although the Standing Committee argues that "The *koinonia* ecclesiology of *The Final Report*, as well as the ecumenical officers' perceptions of an 'ideal' church, offer a common vision,"⁴⁸ caution needs to be exercised. There is not enough information provided in *Whither the Wind* to draw this conclusion.

As I noted in the introduction to this section, despite its many strengths, there are limitations to *ARC Soundings*. Nonetheless, I think that NADEO-EDEO has made a contribution to the ecumenical movement because it has demonstrated that questionnaires can be one tool, among many, used to evaluate bilateral texts and, when used judiciously, can render valuable information.

NADEO-EDEO has also made a contribution to the discussion about conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion because *ARC Soundings* draws upon the pastoral experiences of those who are ministering in ecumenical contexts. The ecumenical officers from both communions appear to have a similar understanding of the way in which authority ought to be exercised in this ideal church. The openness of some of the Episcopalian ecumenical officers to primacy and a similar openness of some of the Roman Catholics to conciliarity, combined with their commitment to

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 143.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 152.

increased lay and clerical participation in decision making is noteworthy. It seems to indicate that the ideal exercise of *episcopate* which the ecumenical officers envision resembles that outlined in *The Final Report* in *Authority in the Church I* paragraph 22.⁴⁹ Yet they also acknowledge that authority is not currently exercised in this ideal way in either of their communions. Nonetheless, they appear to experience a "convergence on what *should* happen in the ideal church of the future"⁵⁰ and that is an important first step.

To sum all this up . . . Still, the basic outlook of ARCIC in the *Final Report* seems to strike a resonant cord among those most intimately involved in day-to-day Anglican/Roman Catholic relations and the more general quest for growing visible unity among Christians of all traditions.⁵¹

Evangelical Anglicans Respond to *The Final Report*

Julian Charley, the sole Evangelical representative on ARCIC-I, wrote, "It has been significant that, from the moment that ARCIC began to publish any of its material, the most thorough theological critique of its work from the Anglican side has consistently come from evangelicals."⁵² Evangelical Anglicans "followed [ARCIC-I's] work with the greatest interest, and have studied each Agreed Statement and each *Elucidation* as it has been published."⁵³ When *The Final Report* was published

⁴⁹Cf. *Authority in the Church I*, par. 22: "The *koinonia* of the churches requires that a proper balance be preserved between the two [conciliarity and primacy] with the responsible participation of the whole people of God."

⁵⁰*Whither the Wind*, 125.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 146.

⁵²Julian Charley, *Rome, Canterbury, and the Future*, (Bramcote Notts.: Grove Books, 1982), 27.

⁵³John Stott, *Evangelical Anglicans and the ARCIC Final Report: An Assessment and Critique*, (Bramcote Notts.: Grove Books, 1982), 3.

in 1982, the Church of England Evangelical Council (CEEC) prepared an assessment and critique of it. Charley lauded this document for "its fairness and incisiveness."⁵⁴ In 1982 Charley published his assessment of *The Final Report* entitled *Rome, Canterbury, and the Future* in which he addresses some of the critiques raised by his Evangelical associates in their assessment and critique. Then, in 1988, in anticipation of the Lambeth Conference scheduled for June of that year, the Executive Council of the Evangelical Fellowship of the Anglican Communion, of which the CEEC is a member, commissioned *An Open Letter to the Anglican Episcopate*.⁵⁵ Over five hundred (511) Evangelical leaders from thirty-five countries⁵⁶ signed this *Open Letter* which emphasized many of the same themes as the CEEC's *Assessment and Critique of The Final Report*. The *Open Letter* (1988), the *Assessment and Critique* (1982), and *Rome, Canterbury, and the Future* (1982) are the three texts to which I will refer in this section. Of the many issues which the Evangelicals raise, I will address the following: Scripture, Tradition and the Marian dogmas, the inerrancy of Councils, primacy, and the ecclesiology of communion.

Scripture, Tradition and the Marian Dogmas

The Evangelicals who signed the *Assessment and Critique* argue that *Authority in the Church*

⁵⁴Charley, 27.

⁵⁵*An Open Letter to the Anglican Episcopate: An Evangelical Open Letter about the work of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, addressed to all the Archbishops and Diocesan Bishops of the Anglican Communion*. Bramcote Notts.: Grove Books Limited, 1988. A precedent for this type of letter had been set in 1977 when one hundred and twenty-five Anglican evangelical leaders had also signed, prior to the 1978 Lambeth Conference, an *Open Letter to the Anglican Episcopate*. The 1977 letter focused upon the bilateral dialogues in which the Anglican Communion was officially involved. The 1988 letter focused solely upon the work of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission.

⁵⁶*Open Letter*, 2.

I "contains no explicit affirmation of the supremacy of Scripture, although this is fundamental to Anglicanism."⁵⁷ Ensuring that the statements in *The Final Report* are compatible with Scripture is so important to the Evangelicals that they think that the ARCIC-I Co-Chairs ought to have asked whether the ARCIC-I statements contained in *The Final Report* are "agreeable to Scripture"⁵⁸ not whether they were consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans and Roman Catholics.

The absence of an explicit affirmation of the supremacy of Scripture in *Authority in the Church I* is exemplified, in their estimation, by the way in which ARCIC-I develops its understanding of the relationship between Scripture and Tradition. While the Evangelicals will concede that "tradition is exceedingly important for the interpretation of Scripture"⁵⁹ they argue that "an appeal may always be made from tradition back to the Scripture that it claims to interpret."⁶⁰ The *Open Letter* states their concern thus: "[W]hat needs to be clarified is that, *however tradition is viewed*, it must be made subordinate to Scripture. The failure of the Commission to grasp the nettle of the Marian dogmas is a case in point, those of her Immaculate Conception (1854) and of her Bodily Assumption (1950)."⁶¹ Upon the promulgation of the 1950 dogma regarding the Assumption of Mary, Archbishops Geoffrey Fisher and Cyril Garbett said, "The Church of England refuses to regard as requisite for a saving faith any doctrines or opinions which are not plainly contained in the Scriptures

⁵⁷*Assessment and Critique*, 9.

⁵⁸*Open Letter*, 14.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 9. Their emphasis.

(17 August 1950).⁶² Both the *Open Letter* and the *Assessment and Critique* argue that ARCIC-I has not grasped that the Marian dogmas remain a nettle for many Evangelical Anglicans. "The simple truth is that they [the Marian dogmas] cannot be defended from Scripture, although *Observations* insists on them as 'true and authentic dogmas which pertain to the fulness of faith' (B.111.3)."⁶³

Inerrancy of Councils and Primacy

Another concern raised by the 1982 *Assessment and Critique* is taken up by the *Open Letter*. In both texts the Evangelicals critique ARCIC-I's understanding of the authority and inerrancy of Councils and contrast ARCIC-I's position with that of the Thirty-Nine Articles. In the *Assessment and Critique* the Evangelicals state that

inspite [*sic*] of what the Commission says, the claim that *any* Council under *any* circumstance is inerrant contradicts Article XXI which seems to say that any Council 'may err', since not all its members will be 'governed with the Spirit and Word of God'.⁶⁴

This section from ARCIC-I⁶⁵ is also addressed by the Evangelicals in the *Open Letter*. "So we hope the Commission is saying [in its Elucidation] that the decisions of councils are open to correction by Scripture, and that they have no binding authority 'unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture'(Article XXI)."⁶⁶

Just as the question regarding the inerrancy of councils is a point of difference between

⁶²Quoted in the *Open Letter*, 9.

⁶³*Assessment and Critique*, 10.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 11. Their emphasis.

⁶⁵*Authority in the Church I*, par. 19. *Elucidation*, par. 3.

⁶⁶*Open Letter*, 9.

ARCIC-I and the Evangelicals, so too is ARCIC-I's position that "a universal primacy will be needed in a reunited Church."⁶⁷ To this the CEEC in 1982 asked "But why?" arguing that "nowhere in the New Testament is there even the smallest hint that a universal pastor would be necessary."⁶⁸ In their *Open Letter* the Evangelicals again question the necessity of a universal pastor. "We are not at all convinced that an earthly pastor with universal oversight is desirable, let alone necessary."⁶⁹ They do concede, however, that a model of primacy based upon that exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Ecumenical Patriarch in the Orthodox Churches would be more acceptable to them. This model of primacy "involves neither infallibility, nor universal jurisdiction, nor even 'primacy', but a seniority expressing historical continuity, visible unity, personal affection and brotherly support."⁷⁰

"Observations" and The Evangelicals

The shadow of the CDF "Observations" looms over the *Assessment and Critique* and the *Open Letter* just as it did over the Roman Catholic episcopal responses. Although both documents are very critical of the "Observations," the Evangelicals, nonetheless, agree with at least three points made by the CDF in the "Observations." First, the Evangelicals agree with the CDF that there are ambiguities in *The Final Report* that have led to various interpretations, some of which are not helpful

⁶⁷*Authority in the Church II*, para. 9.

⁶⁸*Assessment and Critique*, 12.

⁶⁹*Open Letter*, 10.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 15-16. A similar point had also been raised in the *Assessment and Critique*, 13.

to the dialogue and are "contradictory."⁷¹ Second, the Evangelicals and the CDF agree that all the statements and elucidations of *The Final Report*, except *Authority in the Church II*, ought to be harmonized or "fused."⁷² Third, both groups agree that ARCIC-I did not pay sufficient attention to "the classical formularies of both Churches."⁷³ The classical Roman Catholic formularies include the teachings contained in the documents from the Councils of Trent, Vatican I and Vatican II. On the Anglican side these include the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal.

Julian Charley, in his assessment of *The Final Report*, addresses the request of the CEEC and the CDF to incorporate the *Elucidations* into the body of the respective ARCIC-I statements. ARCIC-I, he recounts, decided that even though further clarifications or *Elucidations* may be needed to understand the original statements, these clarifications would not substantively change the Statements.⁷⁴ He argues very strongly that the Commission should not rework the statements of *The Final Report* in order to incorporate the *Elucidations* and argues: "Untidy though it may seem, further *Elucidations*, I suggest[,] would be a more profitable method of dealing with some of these specific difficulties."⁷⁵

The CEEC and the CDF both agree that ARCIC-I should have been clearer about the relationship of *The Final Report* to the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal. Charley counters this with the observation that ARCIC-I was as explicit as it could be given

⁷¹*Assessment and Critique*, 15.

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Charley, 28.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

the range of liturgical forms used throughout the Anglican Communion and the fact that not all the provinces of the Anglican Communion are required to accept all of the Thirty-Nine Articles. He believes that "there are more fruitful ways today of establishing these vital truths"⁷⁶ such as the authority of Scripture and the nature of the Sacraments. This can be achieved, he said, without:

reverting again to the polemical terms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I fear it might also encourage the kind of reference to past statements that evangelicals especially find as frustrating in the methodology of Catholic documents like *Observations*.⁷⁷

In their treatment of primacy, those who wrote the *Assessment and Critique* criticise ARCIC-I's choice of the ecclesiology of communion: "We suspect that the Commissioners' choice of *koinonia* (communion) as their controlling model of the Church and as the fundamental concept of their statements was the influential background to their commendation of the papacy."⁷⁸ ARCIC-I would agree that it was from within an ecclesiology of communion that it developed its understanding of primacy and conciliarity. ARCIC-I's understanding of primacy, however, is more nuanced and more carefully developed than this statement would suggest.

Given the Evangelical interpretation of *Authority in the Church II* as an attempt to "commend to Anglicans an acceptable form of papal primacy" it is not surprising to observe a tendency in the *Open Letter* and the *Assessment and Critique* to identify primacy with the papacy and to use the terms interchangeably. This, too, contrasts with the care that ARCIC-I took not to use the words "the papacy" and "the Pope" in its discussion of universal primacy. This decision is consistent with the way

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 29.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Assessment and Critique*, 12-13.

in which ARCIC-I developed its understanding of universal primacy within an ecclesiology of communion. It was only after carefully laying the groundwork and identifying different ways that primacy could be exercised in an ecclesiology of communion that ARCIC-I suggested:

Though it is possible to conceive a universal primacy located elsewhere than in the city of Rome, the original witness of Peter and Paul and the continuing exercise of a universal *episcopate* by the see of Rome present a unique presumption in its favour (cf. Authority II, paras. 6-9).⁷⁹

Conclusions

In light of the strong Evangelical commitment to Sacred Scripture, it was not surprising to read their critiques of ARCIC-I's treatment of Scripture, Tradition and the Marian dogmas or primacy. Nor was it surprising to discover the Evangelical concern raised by ARCIC-I's treatment of the inerrancy of Councils. It was surprising, however, to read the critique of ARCIC-I's ecclesiology of communion since this is the prevailing ecclesiology of the Anglican Communion. So too it was surprising to discover that there were points of agreement between the Evangelicals and the CDF, although the reasons for their agreement were often different.

The work of the Evangelicals is a genuine contribution to the bilateral dialogue between Anglicans and Roman Catholics and raised some valuable points. Although they appear to resist ARCIC-I's ecclesiology of communion and ARCIC-I's understanding of primacy within that ecclesiology, they offer important perspectives on the work of ARCIC-I that need to be taken seriously. In terms of my dissertation topic, however, their contribution was less direct. Rather, it reinforces ARCIC-I's position that the responsible participation of the whole people of God needs

⁷⁹*Elucidation to Authority in the Church*, par. 8. cf. *Authority in the Church I*, par. 23: "The only see which makes any claim to universal primacy and which has exercised and still exercises such *episcopate* is the see of Rome, the city where Peter and Paul died."

to be involved in exercises of conciliarity. The Evangelicals represent one of the many responsible participants in this ongoing dialogue between Roman Catholics and Anglicans.

Dialogues with Cardinal Ratzinger's Articles

Of the many scholarly exchanges which occurred in the wake of *The Final Report*, Cardinal Ratzinger's article "Anglican-Catholic dialogue: Its problems and hopes"⁸⁰ generated "an extraordinary lively reflection"⁸¹ in his estimation. For the most part this exchange took place in the short-lived journal *Insight: A Journal for Church and Community*.⁸² Because *Insight* is defunct, I was unable to obtain any of the responses to his article which were published in it. Fortunately, however, Jean-Marie Tillard, a member of ARCIC-I, published his two-part response to Cardinal Ratzinger in *The Tablet* and Martin Dudley, an Anglican scholar, published his response in *One in Christ*. As a result, this section of my thesis will examine the exchange which Cardinal Ratzinger's article initiated, and in which Jean-Marie Tillard and Martin Dudley engaged.

In the writing of his article, and a later "Postscript," Cardinal Ratzinger tries to step out of his role as Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and initiate a theological discussion about the Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue. Tillard argues that this "is an unprecedented

⁸⁰Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. "Anglican-Catholic Dialogue: Its Problems and Hopes." In *Church, Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology*, 65-98. New York: Crossroad, 1988.

⁸¹Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, "Postscript," in *Church, Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology*, (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 88.

⁸²"Authority - Tradition - Unity: The Response to Cardinal Ratzinger." *Insight: A Journal for Church and Community* 1 no. 4 (December 1983). The respondents to Cardinal Ratzinger's article included Christopher Hill, a member of ARCIC-I and ARCIC-II; Graham Leonard, then Bishop of London; Cecily Boulding, O.P., a member of ARCIC-II; Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B.; Edward Yarnold, S.J., a member of ARCIC-I and ARCIC-II and William Ledwich.

manner of action, the risks and implications of which will not escape anyone."⁸³ Tillard further suggests that "In a matter such as this, it is impossible to draw the line between the outlook which is required by the office [Cardinal Prefect of the CDF] and the pure and simple expression of personal reflection [as a theologian]."⁸⁴ Nonetheless, Ratzinger attempts this with mixed results.

Ratzinger is one of the few theologians to include a discussion of conciliarity in his evaluation of ARCIC-I but he never articulates his understanding of this theological concept. His arguments are often difficult to follow because it is not clear to whom he is referring when, for example, he argues that people "often have romantically simplified ideas about [conciliarity]."⁸⁵ Nor is it clear what these romantically simplified ideas are. He observes that "Today the model of the Church's 'conciliarity' increasingly surfaces in order to clarify the relationship between the universal Church and the particular Church."⁸⁶ He argues from a philological point of view that this is a mistake and then challenges the inner idea of the council proposed in what he describes as the slogan of conciliarity.⁸⁷ From his philological study of the concepts *communio* and *concilium* he concludes that i) "A council serves the Church but not *vice versa*" and ii) "A council discusses and decides but then comes to an end."⁸⁸ He uses this research to argue against "the idea of a perpetual conciliarity of the Church as

⁸³Tillard, "Dialogue with Cardinal Ratzinger (1): Tradition and Authority," *The Tablet* (7 January 1984): 15.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Ratzinger, "Anglican-Catholic dialogue," 75-76.

⁸⁶Ratzinger, "Postscript," 92. In recent years, ecclesiologists have made a distinction between the local church and the particular church. Ratzinger appears to use the terms synonymously.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 93.

a basic form of its unity."⁸⁹ Since the context of his paper is the Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue it is presumed that he is arguing against ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity. It is, however, difficult to determine where ARCIC-I argues for the idea of a perpetual conciliarity as a basic form of Church unity for example.

Another equally ambiguous argument about conciliarity surfaces in his "Postscript" in which he writes:

But even the inner idea of the council presupposed in the slogan of "conciliarity" is wrong. What is assumed here is that the council, the harmony of all the local Churches, is at the same time the only form of expression of the universal Church *qua* universal Church, its only constitutional organ. I have already pointed out in the preceding contribution [*Anglican-Catholic Dialogue: Its Problems and Hopes*] on the Anglican-Catholic dialogue that one cannot see how under such conditions a universal council could come into being at all.⁹⁰

Since the question of the role of a council seems to be at the root of Ratzinger's critiques, Tillard, in his response, answers the question "What then is the role of a council?" According to Tillard:

[A council] is the occasion - also under the guidance of the Spirit - when the Church, faced with a serious conflict of positions, declares which one of them is in accord with the core of the apostolic faith. It is an occasion of discernment and of judgment. It gives the Church the assurance that the doctrine in question is "manifestly a legitimate interpretation of biblical faith" (*Authority* II, 29), although the terms in which the doctrine is formulated may not be taken directly from Scripture. . . . The council reads Scripture in the light of the Church's life, the latter representing the sole authorised commentary from which it must itself seek instruction. For this reason ARCIC has described conciliar decisions as constraining to the extent that they are in line with orthodox tradition, consistent with Tradition.⁹¹

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹Tillard, "Dialogue (1)," 16.

Throughout his article Ratzinger is concerned to protect the universal church. Tillard agrees that

Cardinal Ratzinger puts his finger on a crucial point in the ecumenical dialogue when he writes, in his *Insight* article (p. 5): "The universal Church is not a mere external amplification, contributing nothing to the essential nature of Church in the local churches, but it extends into that very nature itself"⁹²

But, as Tillard points out, ARCIC-I and Cardinal Ratzinger approach the question regarding the relationship between the universal church and the local church from different, but not mutually exclusive, starting points. Cardinal Ratzinger emphasises the importance of the universal church and argues that "the priority of the universal Church always preceded that of particular Churches."⁹³ ARCIC-I begins with the local eucharistic community under the presidency of the bishop or his delegate⁹⁴ but does not sacrifice the important relationship of the local church to the universal. ARCIC-I's ecclesiology of communion affirms that "a *koinonia* which is not open to the universal Church does not possess its fullness."⁹⁵ Equally important in ARCIC-I's thinking is that "the *koinonia* is realised not only in the local Christian communities, but also in the communion of these communities with one another."⁹⁶ Although the positions of ARCIC-I and Cardinal Ratzinger have different starting points, both ways of understanding the relationship of the local church to the

⁹²Ratzinger, "Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue," quoted in Tillard, "Dialogue with Cardinal Ratzinger (2): Christian Communion," *The Tablet* (January 14, 1984), 39.

⁹³Ratzinger, "Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue," 75.

⁹⁴Tillard, "Dialogue (2)," 40.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁶*Authority in the Church I*, par. 8 quoted in Tillard, "Dialogue (2)," 39.

universal church, according to Tillard, are acceptable and neither excludes the other.⁹⁷ Ratzinger disagrees and concludes "that the model of conciliarity is unsuitable for the oneness of the universal Church in and from the particular Churches and should be given up."⁹⁸

Ratzinger is more open to Dudley's article and in his "Postscript" Ratzinger gives Dudley credit for:

carefully [working] out the individual elements of the concept of authority from recent statements of the Anglican Communion in order then to evaluate their position theologically within the Christian ecumenical scene on the basis of the classical concept of the *via media*.⁹⁹

Like Tillard, Martin Dudley had to choose which of the concerns raised by Cardinal Ratzinger that he, as an Anglican, would address in his article. Dudley chose to examine "the prevailing understanding of doctrinal authority in Anglicanism"¹⁰⁰ and then to "[enquire] about the position and status of the monuments of the Anglican tradition as they emerged from the Reformation."¹⁰¹

Dudley notes that many Roman Catholics assume that the Thirty-Nine Articles exercise the same authority throughout the Anglican Communion as do conciliar canons and decrees in Roman Catholicism. In response to Cardinal Ratzinger's query about the "force these Articles and the Book of Common Prayer actually have,"¹⁰² Dudley clarifies the role of the Thirty-Nine Articles in

⁹⁷Tillard, "Dialogue (2)," 40.

⁹⁸Ratzinger, "Postscript," 95.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁰⁰Martin Dudley, "Waiting on the Common Mind: Authority in Anglicanism," *One in Christ XX* (1984): 62.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*

¹⁰²Ratzinger, "Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue," 81.

Anglicanism. He argues that within historic Anglicanism the Thirty-Nine Articles are very important but they are not inerrant¹⁰³ and "contradicting one of the Articles is not a sin."¹⁰⁴ Dudley describes The Thirty-Nine articles as "only one monument of the Anglican tradition."¹⁰⁵

The other monuments of Anglicanism include the Prayer Book and the Ordinal.¹⁰⁶ Both of these monuments, as he calls them, are part of a tradition that "maintains the faith of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church"¹⁰⁷ and are "built up by the [three] different strands of doctrinal authority in Anglicanism."¹⁰⁸ The first of these strands consists of the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic Creeds; the second consists of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Prayer Book, the Ordinal and homilies; and the third gives authority to "reason, to historical and philosophical inquiry, and to the necessities of pastoral care."¹⁰⁹ This third strand includes "the realities of preaching and worship, the writings of Anglican scholars and teachers, the lives of Anglican saints and confessors, and the utterances of convocation, synod, and council."¹¹⁰

In the last section of Dudley's article he presents the structures of authority within the

¹⁰³Dudley, 68. Although the term inerrant is generally reserved for discussions about Sacred Scripture, Dudley uses it in this context.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

Anglican Communion "which have great moral power even when they lack concrete authority."¹¹¹ These include the Bishops who exercise doctrinal authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury around whom the entire Anglican Communion is united "in an intense loyalty,"¹¹² the Lambeth Conference, the Primates' meeting begun in 1978, the Anglican Consultative Council begun in 1968 and the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission begun in 1978. The last three developed as a result of decisions made at the 1968 and 1978 Lambeth Conferences. As well, every province has "some form of synod or governing body, consisting of bishops, clergy, and laity."¹¹³ To sum up the Anglican understanding of authority Dudley quotes from the 1948 Lambeth Conference:

Authority, as inherited by the Anglican Communion from the undivided Church of the early centuries of the Christian era, is single in that it is derived from a single Divine source, and reflects within itself the richness [*sic*] and historicity of the divine Revelation, the authority of the eternal Father, the incarnate Son, and the life-giving Spirit. It is distributed among Scripture, Tradition, Creeds, the Ministry of the Word and the Sacraments, the witness of saints, and the *consensus fidelium*, which is the continuing experience of the Holy Spirit through His faithful people in the Church. It is thus a dispersed rather than a centralized authority having many elements which combine, interact with, and check each other; . . . Where this authority of Christ is found mediated not in one mode but in several we recognize in this multiplicity God's loving provision against the temptations to tyranny and the dangers of unchecked power.¹¹⁴

Conclusions

Cardinal Ratzinger, in his "Postscript," concludes that the debate on authority begun by his

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 72.

¹¹²Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism*, (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1958), 430 quoted in Dudley, 73.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, 74.

¹¹⁴"Report of the 1948 Lambeth Conference," quoted by Dudley, 76-77.

article "produced important exemplifications of detail and has illuminated the question of authority a bit more"¹¹⁵ and "was abundantly fruitful precisely in its differences."¹¹⁶ Cardinal Ratzinger is more satisfied with this debate on authority than I am. While Tillard's article on the role of councils and Dudley's article on authority in Anglicanism were helpful, Ratzinger's comments regarding conciliarity were less so. He is one of the few theologians to address the question of conciliarity in his assessment of *The Final Report*. Unfortunately, he does not do justice to ARCIC-I's careful work on authority nor to the careful way in which ARCIC-I outlines the relationship between conciliarity and primacy in an ecclesiology of communion. His dismissal of conciliarity as a slogan is puzzling. As a result, his work was less helpful to the present discussion of conciliarity than anticipated.

Gillian Evans and the Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue

In the years since the publication of *The Final Report*, Gillian Evans has contributed to the ecumenical dialogue on authority with many articles and books about Anglican conciliar theory,¹¹⁷ Orthodox and Roman Catholic ecclesiology,¹¹⁸ and the ecclesiology of communion.¹¹⁹ In 1994 she

¹¹⁵Ratzinger, "Postscript," 91.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷Gillian R. Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory: Provincial Autonomy and the Present Crisis," *One in Christ* 25 (1989): 34-52.

¹¹⁸Gillian R. Evans, "Orthodox and Roman Catholic Ecclesiology: the Recent Scene and the Residual Difficulties," *One in Christ* 30 (1994): 35-52.

¹¹⁹Gillian R. Evans, "Partly the Church: Some Ecumenical Implications," *Mid-Stream* 31 (October, 1992): 326-339; "Ut Unum Sint: The Communion of Many Churches," *Science et Esprit* XLVIII/1 (1996): 15-31.

published a book entitled *The Church and the Churches: Toward an Ecumenical Ecclesiology*.¹²⁰ She brings to the discussion her experiences as a member of the Faith and Order Advisory Group of the Church of England General Synod and as a member of the Archbishops' Group on the Episcopate as well as her scholarly background as an historian. From her various writings it is possible to draw together some of her thoughts regarding conciliarity as well as identify some avenues for further research on this topic.

Although conciliarity entered the ARCIC-I discussion on authority with little fanfare, as an ecclesiological concept it is slowly starting to receive the attention it deserves in scholarly discussions. Evans has contributed to this discussion through several articles including "Anglican Conciliar Theory: Provincial Autonomy and the Present Crisis" in which she provides a survey of Anglican conciliar theory. Using as her point of departure the Committee Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1867 which studied the "relations and functions of . . . synods" she writes:

Anglican provincial autonomy is a function of a synodical or conciliar pattern of Church government. That is to say, it depends ultimately upon the Communion's sense of its heritage of conciliar theory and practice. So we must begin with that heritage.¹²¹

This article provides an historical overview of the development of Anglican conciliar theory from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. She explains that this conciliar or synodical form of Church government is part of the Anglican Communion's heritage. It influenced, and continues to influence, the Anglican understanding of provincial autonomy and the relationship of provincial or national synods to the universal church.

¹²⁰Gillian R. Evans, *The Church and the Churches: Toward an Ecumenical Ecclesiology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹²¹Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 35.

She also provides some helpful background to the ongoing resistance of the Anglican Communion to describing the Lambeth Conferences as Councils. Referring to the initial request of the Canadian bishops in 1867 to convoke a 'National Synod of the bishops of the Anglican Church at home and abroad'¹²² in the wake of the Colenso affair in South Africa¹²³ she writes that it "was conceived by the Canadians at this stage as essentially conciliar, indeed as the next best thing to 'the assembling of a General Council of the whole Catholic Church'."¹²⁴ Evans notes that this Canadian request engendered a discussion in the Lower and Upper Houses of Convocation of the Church of England which surfaced "strong prejudices . . . on the subject of councils, and both clergy and bishops expressed views much coloured by sixteenth century and subsequent Anglican theology."¹²⁵ She suggests that the sixteenth century "polemical preoccupations" regarding the summoning of councils combined "with their potential for error . . . and with their authority"¹²⁶ had made it "difficult for anyone to develop a positive, balanced and comprehensive conciliar theory."¹²⁷

¹²²R. T. Davidson, *Origin and History of the Lambeth Conferences, 1867 and 1878* (London: n.p., 1988), 32; quoted in Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 43.

¹²³"In 1863 John Colenso, a Bishop of Natal, appealed to the British Privy Council against a judgement of his own Archbishop deposing him for his opinions. The case raised a principle of provincial jurisdiction with such ramifications that it prompted the Canadian bishops to declare themselves 'disturbed by recent declarations in high places in our Motherland, in reference to the Colonial Branches of the Mother Church,'" R. T. Davidson, *Origin and History of the Lambeth Conferences, 1867 and 1878* (London: n.p., 1988), 32; quoted in Gillian R. Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 43.

¹²⁴Davidson, 34; quoted in Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 44.

¹²⁵Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 44.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 35.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*

As I noted in Chapter 2, when the first Lambeth Conference was convoked in 1867, the Archbishop of Canterbury took great pains to reassure the assembled bishops that

It has never been contemplated that we should assume the functions of a general synod of all the Churches in full communion with the Church of England, and take upon ourselves to enact canons that should be binding upon those here represented. We merely propose to discuss matters of practical interest and pronounce what we deem expedient in resolutions which may serve as safe guides to further action.¹²⁸

Evans comments, "This experiment [of a Lambeth Conference] was seen as something new in Anglican - and indeed in Christian - conciliarity."¹²⁹ In the years since the first Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Communion has struggled to protect 'provincial autonomy' while maintaining the communion's 'unity in faith.' Evans argues that even during the 1930 Lambeth Conference, which discussed at length the regional autonomy of the Anglican Communion, there was no discussion regarding the:

interrelatedness or complementarity of primacy and conciliarity, although an Anglican primacy is seen as of the essence of the Anglican system, if the Anglican Communion is 'a fellowship, within the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces or Regional Churches, in communion with the See of Canterbury'.¹³⁰

As the Anglican Communion grapples with the challenges posed to its communion by the ordination of women to the episcopacy in some provinces, the question of how to balance the rights of the provinces as autonomous bodies with the unity of the faith which the larger communion shares has been brought into sharper focus. In Evans' estimation, the 1988 Lambeth Conference began to

¹²⁸Davidson, 10; quoted in Evans, "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 46.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*

¹³⁰Lambeth, 1930, Committee Report on the Anglican Communion, 55 (I.3); quoted in Evans "Anglican Conciliar Theory," 50.

weigh seriously "the right to independence"¹³¹ of the provinces against "the duty to act with catholic intention."¹³² This duty to act with catholic intention "is now much in Anglican minds, as making greater and more proper claims than that of 'rights' and 'independence'."¹³³ Evans argues that the 1988 Lambeth Conference functioned as both a Conference and "in some measure as a Council."¹³⁴ She writes:

The emergency¹³⁵ which now faces the Anglican Communion is comparable in scale to those dealt with in some of the major councils of the early Church. In framing its Resolution on this question the Lambeth Conference of 1988 behaved like the Conference its nineteenth century founders designed it to be; it did not intrude on provincial rights. But it also behaved in some measure as a Council, and perhaps that is a sign of growth, for it was only to protect local independence that there was such strong resistance to the idea that the first Lambeth Conference should be a 'Council'; it was, in short, a matter of fear. What is to be learned ecclesiologically from this supreme test of decision-making *per partes* may prove to be of great ecumenical value, even if it sets back ecumenical progress towards the mutual recognition of ministries with the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches by many decades, as it seems it must.¹³⁶

In "Anglican Conciliar Theory" Evans demonstrates the tension which exists within the Anglican Communion between the Communion's commitment to "provincial autonomy" and its "duty to act with catholic intention." In "Orthodox and Roman Catholic Ecclesiology: the Recent Scene and the Residual Difficulties," she contributes in one way to the discussion of conciliarity in an

¹³¹"Anglican Conciliar Theory," 52.

¹³²*Ibid.*, 52.

¹³³*Ibid.*

¹³⁴*Ibid.*

¹³⁵The emergency to which she refers is the decision of some provinces of the Anglican Communion to ordain women to the episcopate and the threat to communion that this presents.

¹³⁶"Anglican Conciliar Theory," 52.

ecclesiology of communion by examining the Orthodox understanding of autocephaly and jurisdiction. Like the Anglican Communion, the Orthodox Church is regionally governed and both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church cherish this aspect of their ecclesiastical structure. Evans makes a distinction, however, between the way in which provincial autonomy is understood in Anglicanism and the way in which autocephaly is understood in Orthodoxy. Provincial autonomy is a relatively recent development in Anglican theology and she argued in 1988 in "The Paradox of Lambeth" that "These nervous, defensive reactions are the real base on which the theory of Anglican provincial autonomy rests. The theology which explains and justifies the theory and the practice has lagged behind."¹³⁷ She raises this issue of provincial autonomy again in "The Problem of Authority" in which she argues:

Autonomy is different [from autocephaly]. It has to do with juridical or legislative rather than ecclesial independence. There is no defining sense of the sacramental completeness of each autonomous province. That has been our Anglican pattern. There is no underlying assumption of a bond of faith.¹³⁸

This 'underlying assumption of a bond of faith' is one of the aspects that distinguishes 'provincial autonomy' in the Anglican Communion from 'autocephaly' within the Orthodox Church. As Evans understands it:

In Orthodoxy an autocephalous Church is free from the jurisdiction of any other, and itself claims no jurisdiction over autocephalous sister-churches. It forms, sacramentally, a complete community which is fully the Church. But it does so on the understanding that it is a microcosm rather than a fragment of the whole. The structural difference is crucial. It also holds itself bound to maintain the common faith

¹³⁷Gillian Evans, "Unity and Autonomy: The Paradox of Lambeth, 1988," *Anglican and Episcopal History* LVIII (September 1989): 367.

¹³⁸Gillian R. Evans, "The Problem of Authority," in *The Future of Anglicanism*, ed. Robert Hannaford (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1996), 20.

which is shared with the other autocephalous churches.¹³⁹

With respect to jurisdiction, too, there is a great deal of independence within Orthodoxy because "an autocephalous Church can choose its own president and bishops without any Church elsewhere having right of confirmation or right of veto. It has no jurisdiction over sister-Churches."¹⁴⁰ Nor does the Ecumenical Patriarch exercise authority over any of the autocephalous churches. His is a role of *primus inter pares*.¹⁴¹ The apparent independence of the autocephalous churches does not extend, however, to the unity of the faith, for each bishop must protect the Orthodox faith. "These recognised limits preventing diversity of faith and interference in one another's order or discipline are deemed to preserve the communion of all these local churches."¹⁴²

The role of the Ecumenical Patriarch as the *primus inter pares*, who exercises a primacy of honour, is more familiar to the Anglican Communion than to the Roman Catholic. This is because within the Anglican Communion's regional ecclesiastical structure each province has its own metropolitan and the Communion has a primate at Canterbury. In a similar way, the Orthodox have historically had a number of Patriarchates. As a result "the concept of a universal Primate has been much weaker"¹⁴³ than in Roman Catholicism. Within Roman Catholicism, the "Bishop of Rome," who is the Patriarch of the West, exercises jurisdiction over the local churches of the West in a way that neither the Ecumenical Patriarch nor the Archbishop of Canterbury does in his respective communion.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁴¹Gillian Evans, "Orthodox and Roman Catholic Ecclesiology," *One in Christ* 30 (1994): 39.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

This contributes to the negative feelings that both the Orthodox and the Anglican Communion harbour towards the primacy exercised by the Bishop of Rome.

Another issue still being discussed by Roman Catholics and the Orthodox is the relationship of the local Church to the universal Church. For the Anglican Communion, the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, "the diocese with its bishop is historically the local Church, and the fundamental unit of Church organisation; all three Communities continue to stress its importance."¹⁴⁴ Yet within the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, both episcopally structured communions, there are intermediary structures in the form of provinces and patriarchates between the local and universal Church. This contrasts with the Roman Catholic Church which maintains a bipolar, centrally organised structure. Despite this bipolar structure, Evans observes that within Roman Catholicism, there is, nonetheless,

a tendency . . . to seek to create, in the form of the national episcopal conferences within the western single ancient patriarchate, structures which would resemble those of the multiple ancient patriarchates of the East. This has the disadvantage of being without historical support and therefore an artificial construction.¹⁴⁵

She notes that Vatican II drew some parallels between episcopal conferences and patriarchates in *Lumen Gentium* 13. "*Lumen Gentium* certainly regards intermediate ecclesial entities as more than administrative necessities or historical accidents."¹⁴⁶ In her estimation, however, the Council did not develop these concepts in as much theological depth as they warrant and as could be helpful in the

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 46.

ongoing dialogue with the Orthodox.¹⁴⁷ Although the ecclesiological status of episcopal conferences continues to be debated within Roman Catholicism, Evans argues that in the day to day operations of the Roman Catholic Church "there is a practical acceptance that the [Roman Catholic] Church has *de facto* a triadic structure."¹⁴⁸ Within this triadic structure the national episcopal conferences are used by the Vatican as an intermediary structure between the universal Church and the local Church in the administration of Church affairs. The soliciting of responses to *The Final Report* is a prime example. Both the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity wrote to the presidents of the national episcopal conferences, rather than individual bishops, and invited national conference responses rather than individual episcopal responses.

Conclusions

Evans' work in Anglican conciliar theory and Orthodox and Roman Catholic ecclesiology reinforces the importance of including the Orthodox in the ecumenical dialogue on conciliarity and primacy. Although Evans observes that "the Orthodox Churches have been less concerned with systematic ecclesiology insofar as this is a matter of structures and authority,"¹⁴⁹ it seems that the Orthodox Church's understanding of conciliarity and primacy and their relationship differs sufficiently from the Roman Catholic or the Anglican to warrant further study. Studies such as these could help to develop the understanding of the relationship between conciliarity and primacy in an ecclesiology

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 46. Cf. *Lumen Gentium* 13d, *Lumen Gentium* 23d and John D. Faris, *The Communion of Catholic Churches Terminology and Ecclesiology*, (Lebanon: The "Preferred Book" Publishing House, 1985), 35, 40.

¹⁴⁸Evans, "Orthodox and Roman Catholic Ecclesiology," 46.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 37.

of communion.

Conclusions: Conciliarity in an Ecclesiology of Communion

My goal in this chapter was to explore the contributions that a broader spectrum of theologians and professional ecumenists could make to the understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion. Some contributed to an understanding of the practical exercise of conciliarity and others contributed to a theoretical understanding. With respect to the practical exercise of conciliarity, the method of the CCCB, for example, indicated that Bishops can benefit from consultations with theologians from the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church especially in doctrinal and methodological matters of concern to both communions. The result in this instance was a very sophisticated response to *The Final Report* that was much stronger because of this consultation. There is no reason to assume that if this had been a formal exercise of conciliarity the results would be different.

The work of NADEO-EDEO also contributed to an understanding of the practical exercise of conciliarity. This work represents a first step towards marrying social science methodologies with theological and ecumenical research. Though the results in this instance are uneven, nonetheless, it seems that the methods of the social sciences, if used judiciously, could yield results that are valuable to theologians and ultimately bishops in their exercise of conciliarity.

NADEO-EDEO also raised the issue of the involvement of the laity in Church governance. Although the ecumenical officers went beyond the definition of *episcopate* found in ARCIC-I they may have done so to emphasise their commitment to a greater involvement of the laity in Church governance, especially in the Roman Catholic Church. The NADEO-EDEO emphasis on the laity,

if taken a step further, suggests that Bishops, in their exercise of conciliarity, could benefit from the responsible participation of the whole people of God.

In its definitions, ARCIC-I did not specify who constitutes the whole people of God. Nor did ARCIC-I limit this constituency to members of the Anglican Communion or the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps in the ideal Church of the future bishops may seek, as the occasion warrants, the responsible participation of those both within and beyond the boundaries of their respective communions.

The contributions of the Evangelicals were both practical and theoretical. When over 500 church leaders take the time to sign an *Open Letter* as so many Evangelical leaders did before the 1988 Lambeth Conference, their contributions deserve serious consideration. From a practical perspective, the Evangelical contributions demonstrated the importance of including a wide range of voices in the exercise of conciliarity. From a theoretical perspective it was helpful to read their critiques of ARCIC-I's understanding of authority and understand the bases for these.

Cardinal Ratzinger's article was less directly helpful either practically or theoretically although Tillard's explanation of the role of a council and Dudley's explanation of the authority of the various monuments of the Anglican tradition were more so. Cardinal Ratzinger's contributions, on the other hand, were limited despite the fact that he is one of the few theologians to examine the concept of conciliarity explicitly. His dismissal of conciliarity as a slogan and his apparent lack of regard for the work that ARCIC-I conducted on this topic rendered his work the least useful to this dissertation.

In contrast, Gillian Evans' scholarly treatment of conciliar authority in Anglicanism provided important historical information regarding the development of conciliar theory in the Anglican Communion. This, combined with her research in Orthodox and Roman Catholic ecclesiology,

demonstrated that ARCIC-I's contribution is but a first step in the discussions regarding conciliarity, primacy and the participation of the whole people of God. To date discussions on conciliarity have often been overshadowed by discussions regarding the divisive issue of primacy. Her work, however, suggests that in the dialogue between Anglicans and Roman Catholics both communions could benefit from further study of the Orthodox experience of synods, patriarchates and the relation of these to the exercise of primacy. In fact, such research may contribute to an understanding of both conciliarity, primacy and the role that the whole people of God could play in these exercises of *episcopate*.

In this chapter I focused upon the work of theologians and professional ecumenists to explore some of the ways in which they might assist bishops to make responsible doctrinal and pastoral decisions in the Church. These included theological studies, the judicious use of social science methods and consultations with theologians, professional ecumenists and the oft-neglected clergy and laity. These consultations could take place both within and beyond one's own communion. As ARCIC-I describes them, "primacy and conciliarity are complementary elements of *episcopate*"¹⁵⁰ and studies of conciliarity ought to complement the many studies of primacy currently underway. This chapter indicates that very few of these theologians or ecumenists studied conciliarity *per se*. By choosing to use the methods they did to study *The Final Report* and its statements on authority they have laid foundations for both theoretical and practical applications of conciliarity in the Church of the future. Since ARCIC-I is a beginning step in this direction, in the next chapter I will suggest areas for further research, identify some of the contributions that ARCIC-I has made to an understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion and conclude the work of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁰*Authority in the Church I*, 22.

PART III

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

"Synods and councils of various kinds are as old as the Church"¹ and yet conciliarity, which refers to the longstanding church practice of holding synods, is still an unfamiliar term for many Roman Catholics and Anglicans. Despite its relative unfamiliarity I have maintained throughout this dissertation that conciliarity is an ecclesiological concept that warrants study. I think that ARCIC-I has rendered a service to the ecumenical community by recovering conciliarity from the tradition and identifying this longstanding need in the Church to hold synods. "Ever since the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) the churches have realized the need to express and strengthen the *koinonia* by coming together to discuss matters of mutual concern and to meet contemporary challenges,"² wrote ARCIC-I. In this concluding chapter I will present some of the other contributions that ARCIC-I's *Final Report* makes to an understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion. I will begin with a brief review of my dissertation chapters, identify areas for future research and then list three of ARCIC-I's contributions.

I began this dissertation by describing the chilly relationship which existed between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion from the middle of the nineteenth century until the

¹*Christus Dominus*, footnote 69, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (Piscataway, New Jersey: New Century Publishers, Inc., 1966).

²*Authority in the Church I*, par. 8.

middle of the twentieth century. Roman Catholic documents like "Pope Leo's rather mild *Ad Anglos* (1895) and his traumatic *Apostolicae Curae* (1896)"³ followed by Pope Pius XI's *Mortalium Animos* (1929) and the "Instruction from the Holy Office to Local Ordinaries on the Ecumenical Movement" (1949) all contributed to the cool relationship which existed at official levels. Yet there were moments of warmth during this one hundred year period. These moments were often the result of the personal relationships that flowered between individual Anglicans and Roman Catholics. A case in point is the friendship between Lord Halifax, an English Anglican, and Abbé Portal, a French Roman Catholic. Their friendship resulted in the Malines Conversations, a series of Anglican-Roman Catholic conversations held between 1921-1926.⁴ These conversations stand out because they anticipated ARCIC-I by many years:

The questions raised and discussed at Malines have been the same questions raised and explored in recent years by the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission: ARCIC. And the answers flowing from ARCIC echo the answers which flowed from Malines.⁵

There were other periods of thaw and in the introduction to my dissertation I identified some of the people and events in the fifteen years prior to Vatican II which helped to pave the way for official Anglican-Roman Catholic relations after the Council.

Vatican II was the watershed moment in the history of Anglican-Roman Catholic relations during the twentieth century. The ecclesiological and ecumenical principles adopted by the Council

³John A. Dick, *The Malines Conversations Revisited* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 40.

⁴*Ibid.*, 11. The five bilateral conversations held at Malines occurred in December 1921, March and November 1923, May 1925 and October 1926.

⁵Dick, 11-12.

provided the Roman Catholic Church with the theological foundation it needed to embrace the modern ecumenical movement. These principles include those found in *Lumen Gentium* 8, *Gaudium et Spes* 62, *Unitatis Redintegratio* 4, 11, 16, 17 and Pope John XXIII's opening speech at the Council.

After the Council the Roman Catholic Church chose the Anglican Communion as one of its first dialogue partners. Formal dialogues between Anglicans and Roman Catholics began shortly thereafter with the approval of both communions. *The Final Report*, which is the result of twelve years of Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue, is a testament to the many Anglicans and Roman Catholics during the twentieth century who persevered in their commitment to Anglican-Roman Catholic relations in the face of great odds.

In Chapter 1 I described the theological concepts that are foundational to my dissertation. I discussed the ecclesiology of communion, the place of conciliarity within that ecclesiology, the complementary relationship between conciliarity and primacy as elements of *episcopate* and the role of the people of God in responsible decision making. I also situated ARCIC-I's discussion of conciliarity within a broader ecumenical discussion on conciliarity then taking place in the Faith and Order Commission. ARCIC-I used a concise style throughout *The Final Report* and this was true of its treatment of conciliarity. It was thus necessary to expand and exegete what ARCIC-I had said about conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion. Research conducted by the Faith and Order Commission on conciliarity, especially *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* (1968), was helpful in this regard.⁶

⁶Faith and Order Commission. *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement* World Council of Churches Studies No. 5. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968).

In my study of conciliarity I assumed that the Faith and Order Commission and ARCIC-I were both correct when they identified the longstanding need for assemblies to meet the contemporary challenges facing the Church in each era. I extrapolated from these statements and assumed that this need exists in the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church to this day. I thus presumed that if I examined each communion closely I would find examples of this need in the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church even if the balance between conciliarity and primacy might be skewed in one direction or another as ARCIC-I suggested it would.

I decided to compare the ideal relationship among conciliarity, primacy and the people of God suggested by ARCIC-I with the actual relationship which is experienced in the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion. Thus I studied the processes used by Anglicans and Roman Catholics to develop their respective responses to *The Final Report*. These processes provided me with the data I needed to examine how the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church used the conciliar structures available in their respective communions to deal with the doctrinal questions contained in *The Final Report*.

I also examined as many of the responses prepared by each communion as I was able to find. The breadth of participation in the Anglican Communion was impressive. The depth of the Roman Catholic episcopal conference responses was equally impressive although the breadth of Roman Catholic participation was less so. The episcopal responses I studied in Chapter 3 were theologically sophisticated, nuanced and demonstrated a sensitivity to ecumenical method and language. With the help of their theological experts, the episcopal conferences had capably analysed the doctrines contained in *The Final Report*.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 contain the detailed results of my research. Chapter 2 began with a brief

history of the Anglican Communion's conciliar structures. Here I discovered the richness of the Anglican synodical tradition and how the provincial synods developed their responses to *The Final Report*. The conciliar structures already in place across the communion facilitated an impressive breadth of participation in the evaluation process.

I also discovered the Anglican Communion's commitment to provincial autonomy. This commitment means that the Anglican Communion tolerates the various ways in which synods have developed in individual provinces. The advantage of this is that individual provinces have developed diverse synodical models to meet the needs of the local churches. This diversity, however, does create tensions in the communion. One of the tensions I noted in Chapter 2 is the difference from province to province in the "relative weight given to the bishops or houses of bishops in relation to that of the diocesan or provincial synods in the exercise of dispersed authority."⁷ As a result *episcopate* is not exercised in a univocal way across the communion.

Anglicans are proud of the way in which the laity can participate in synods. "The development of the role of the laity in the councils of the Church, involving the sharing by lay men and women in the governance of the Church, has become one of the hallmarks and glories of Anglicanism."⁸ Despite the Anglican commitment to lay participation in synods this too seems uneven across the communion and there are noticeable differences in lay participation from province to province.

Chapter 3 follows the method of Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 I began with the history of

⁷Anglican Consultative Council, *Bonds of Affection: Proceedings of ACC-6 Badagry, Nigeria 1984* (London: Anglican Consultative Council, 1984), 28.

⁸*Report of the Committee on the Final Report to the Standing Commission on Ecumenical Relations* (n.p., n.d.), TMs, 4, GS87-1 Box 1 Ecumenical Office Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Office ACC/GSA.

conciliarity in Roman Catholicism and discussed the synod of bishops, diocesan synods and episcopal conferences. Although the Roman Catholic Church has not been known recently for its synodical tradition in the way that the Anglican Communion has, in Chapter 3 I demonstrated that, since Vatican II, synods are again part of Roman Catholic ecclesial life.

ARCIC-I argues that when churches are separated from one another there is a danger that an imbalance will develop between conciliarity and primacy, "even to the point of serious imbalance."⁹ Chapters 2, 3 and 4 demonstrated that in the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church a serious imbalance has developed between conciliarity and primacy. The balance is tipped towards conciliarity in the Anglican Communion and towards primacy in the Roman Catholic. Within the Roman Catholic Church the imbalance between conciliarity and primacy is further complicated by the doctrinal authority wielded by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, an administrative body in the Roman Catholic Curia.

In Chapter 4 I argued that during the period when synods waned in the Roman Catholic Church the influence of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith expanded. By the end of the twentieth century, the CDF sometimes appeared to exercise more doctrinal authority in the Roman Catholic Church than the bishops. This was evident in the influence that the CDF exerted upon the official response of the Roman Catholic Church to *The Final Report*. This is important for the discussion regarding conciliarity in the Roman Catholic Church for it suggests that when churches are separated from one another the possibility also arises for administrative bodies to assume and exercise the doctrinal authority that rightfully belongs to those who exercise *episcopate* in the communion.

⁹*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

In Chapter 5 I studied the responses of a select group of Anglican and Roman Catholic theologians, professional ecumenists and pastors to see whether they could contribute to this study about conciliarity. As I noted in my conclusion to that chapter some of these responses were more helpful than others. While completing the research for Chapter 5 it became clear that ARCIC's discussions about authority could benefit from further inquiries into the ecclesiologies of the churches of the East and the ways in which conciliar and primatial authority are exercised in them.

Sobornost, Conciliarity and the Orthodox Churches

Like the Anglican Communion, the prevailing ecclesiology in the churches of the East is an ecclesiology of communion in which synods play an important role. Michael Fahey has written, "the churches of the Christian East . . . have preserved a profound understanding of the church's conciliar or synod (sometimes called synodical) character."¹⁰ Synods are very important in the life of the Orthodox Church and "Orthodox theologians trace the Church's synodical institution back to the election of Matthias and of the seven deacons, and to the Council of Jerusalem, underlining the fact that the latter's decisions were taken 'in agreement with the whole Church'."¹¹ Throughout the millennia the Orthodox have developed conciliar structures to meet their ecclesial needs. These conciliar structures include provincial synods, permanent synods, synods *endimousa* and ecumenical councils. Individual patriarchates and autocephalous churches also developed synods.¹² The

¹⁰Michael A. Fahey, S.J., "Eastern Synodal Traditions: Pertinence for Western Collegial Institutions," in *Episcopal Conferences: Historical, Canonical and Theological Studies*, ed. Thomas J. Reese, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 253.

¹¹Pierre Duprey, "The Synodical Structure of the Church in Eastern Theology," *One in Christ* VII (1971): 152-153. Cf. Acts 6:5.

¹²*Ibid.*, 169.

importance given to synods in Eastern ecclesiology is rooted in the Orthodox conviction that synods are the most appropriate way for the Church to deal with "grave problems."¹³ According to Pierre Duprey, a member of ARCIC-I, this is because "it is only by meeting in synod and listening to what the Spirit is saying to the Church that it will be able to *find* the solution."¹⁴ This is a very traditional understanding of the important role that the Holy Spirit plays in councils and can be found in the writings of Yves Congar as well:

It is Christ and the Holy Spirit who act in councils and are the real authors of their decrees so that the final judgment, the sole act which is properly the conciliar act, is the common act of the assembled college *and* of the Holy Spirit.¹⁵

In ARCIC's ongoing discussions about authority the Orthodox understanding of *sobornost* also deserves exploration. As early as 1932, Sergius Bulgakov, a Russian Orthodox theologian, translated *sobornost* as conciliarité (conciliarity).¹⁶ Though a nineteenth century neologism,¹⁷ it would be helpful to explore what the Orthodox understanding of *sobornost* could contribute to ARCIC's understanding of conciliarity. Three key questions to guide this research would be: How does *sobornost* serve the diversity and unity of the koinonia? What is its relationship to primacy? and What role do the people of God play in its exercise?

This latter question is important because ARCIC-I argued for a balance between conciliarity

¹³*Ibid.*, 162.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 163. His emphasis.

¹⁵Yves Congar, "Remarks on the Council as an Assembly and on the Church's Fundamentally Conciliar Nature," in *Report from Rome II: The Second Session of the Vatican Council*, trans. Lancelot Sheppard (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1964), 190. His emphasis.

¹⁶*Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, s.v. "Sobornost," by Sergei Hackel.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

and primacy with "the responsible participation of the whole people of God."¹⁸ The Co-Chairs of ARCIC-I, in their preface to *Authority in the Church I*, stated, "The Roman Catholic Church has much to learn from the Anglican synodical tradition of involving the laity in the life and mission of the Church."¹⁹ One of the striking contrasts between the conciliar structures of the Anglican Communion and those of the Roman Catholic Church is the way in which the clergy and laity can participate in decision making in the Anglican Communion.

ARCIC-I's Contributions

This brings me to the contributions that ARCIC-I's *Final Report* makes to an understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion. I will briefly identify three contributions and then expand upon each. First, ARCIC-I's commitment to an ecclesiology of communion influenced the way in which it developed its understanding of authority in general and conciliar and primatial authority in particular. ARCIC-I demonstrated that questions relating to authority in the church look very different when the starting point is the local eucharistic community gathered under the presidency of the bishop or the bishop's delegate. Second, ARCIC-I was very careful in *Authority in the Church I* to develop its understanding of conciliarity and primacy as complementary elements of *episcopate* which need to be in a balanced relationship in order to serve the *koinonia* effectively. The dimension of service is vital to ARCIC-I's understanding of *episcopate* and enables ARCIC-I to break free of the legalistic and juridical understandings of *episcopate* that prevail in other ecclesiologies. Third, ARCIC-I has recovered conciliarity from the tradition, identified it as an important ecclesiological concept, and

¹⁸*Authority in the Church I*, par. 22.

¹⁹Co-Chairmen's preface to *Authority in the Church I*, 50.

emphasised the need for assemblies that has existed within the Church since the Council of Jerusalem.

Koinonia and Authority

The first contribution ARCIC-I makes to ecumenical discussions about authority is the way it develops its understanding of authority from within an ecclesiology of communion. The introduction to *The Final Report* claims that "Fundamental to all our Statements is the concept of *koinonia* (communion)."²⁰ *Koinonia* is the rich, multivalent term which provides the ecclesiological framework for all of ARCIC-I's statements. The trinitarian, participatory and relational aspects of *koinonia* influenced ARCIC-I's understanding of authority as service to the *koinonia*. According to ARCIC-I, authority takes many forms within the *koinonia* and all of these serve the *koinonia*. In matters of faith, Sacred Scripture, creeds, conciliar definitions and patristic writings all enjoy authority in the Christian communion.²¹

Authority is also exercised by those with the charism of *episcopate*. ARCIC-I argues that this charism is a "[gift] of the Spirit for the edification of the Church."²² Those people with this charism serve the whole community²³ and they do so in the following ways. They are the focus of unity for the community and they establish and maintain the *koinonia* between communions. They teach the faith, provide for the sacraments in the local church and maintain the local church in holiness and

²⁰Introduction to *The Final Report*, 5.

²¹*Authority in the Church I*, par. 18.

²²*Ibid.*, par. 5.

²³*Ibid.*

truth.²⁴ When those exercising this charism of *episcopo* are involved in an ongoing, reciprocal and participatory discernment of God's will for the Church with the entire people of God they exemplify the relational, participatory and trinitarian dimensions of *koinonia* that are so central to ARCIC-I's understanding of authority.

Although an ecclesiology of communion is crucial to ARCIC-I's understanding of authority, appropriating an ecclesiology of communion does not guarantee that the ideal proposed by ARCIC-I would be easily achieved. The Anglican experience is a case in point. Despite the fact that the prevailing ecclesiology in the Anglican Communion is an ecclesiology of communion, the balance between conciliarity and primacy is still tipped towards conciliarity at the expense of primacy and towards diversity at the expense of unity. This imbalance is partly the result of the Anglican commitment to provincial autonomy and partly the result of the Anglican resistance to universal primacy.

The Anglican Communion has appropriated an ecclesiology of communion in a way that the Roman Catholic Church has not yet. It has been difficult for the Roman Catholic Church to make the institutional shift to the ecclesiology of communion in its ecclesial practice suggested by Vatican II. A consequence of this is that the conciliar structures which exist in the Roman Catholic Church do not yet balance the primatial ones currently in use. The shift to an ecclesiology of communion would be an important step in the recovery of the conciliar nature of the Roman Catholic Church that began with the Second Vatican Council.

²⁴*Ibid.*, par. 17.

Episcopate, Service and Koinonia

Episcopate as service is central to ARCIC-I's treatment of authority and is a natural outgrowth of the ecclesiology of communion. According to ARCIC-I, those who have received this gift of service to the community exercise it within the local community but they must always be cognizant that their local community is part of the universal communion.²⁵ When the Commission argues for a complementary and balanced relationship between conciliarity and primacy in the *koinonia*, it does so because this balance will enable conciliarity and primacy to serve the *koinonia* most effectively at the local and universal levels of the church.²⁶ *Authority in the Church: Elucidation* emphasises that service to the *koinonia* is an important aspect of ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity and primacy. In this elucidation ARCIC-I articulates the ways in which each of these serve the *koinonia*: "Faith, banishing fear, might see simply the prospect of the right balance between a primacy serving the unity and a conciliarity maintaining the just diversity of the *koinonia* of all the churches."²⁷

ARCIC-I intentionally uses the term *episcopate* rather than episcopacy in its discussions of authority. Although the Anglican Communion and Roman Catholic Church are episcopally structured churches and *episcopate* in these contexts is exercised by bishops, other communions exercise this charism in different ways. By linking conciliarity to *episcopate*, rather than episcopacy, ARCIC-I creates the possibility of bilateral discussions about conciliarity and primacy with communions in which this charism is exercised differently.

ARCIC-I's understanding of *episcopate* as service challenges Anglicans and Roman Catholics

²⁵*Authority in the Church I*, pars. 5, 8.

²⁶*Ibid.*, par. 23.

²⁷*Authority in the Church: Elucidation*, par. 8.

to reconsider how *episcopate* is exercised in the local communion and in the communion of the local communions and how it currently serves both. For Roman Catholics this means reconsidering Vatican II's teaching on the local church, the role of the bishop within the local Church and the role of the bishop in the communion of the local communions. For Anglicans this includes re-examining the ways in which *episcopate* is exercised throughout the communion, especially the working relationship between the local bishops and the provincial synods.

Synods and Councils: An Ecclesial Necessity

The definition of conciliarity presented to the 1967 Bristol meeting of the Faith and Order Commission emphasised the necessity of conciliarity in the life of the church:

By conciliarity we mean the fact that the Church in all times needs assemblies to represent it and has in fact felt this need. These assemblies may differ greatly from one another; however, conciliarity, the necessity *that* they take place, is a constant structure of the Church, a dimension which belongs to its nature.

... Synods and councils are the historical expression of this basic necessity. They are to be found in one form or another in all churches. Everywhere and at all times there are assemblies which not only serve for joint counsel, but also confront the local church, larger groups of congregations, or even the totality of the churches with an authoritative claim.²⁸

ARCIC-I has recovered conciliarity from the tradition. It has highlighted a concept that is often overlooked because the more contentious and divisive issues surrounding papal primacy tend to overshadow it. By linking conciliarity to primacy as a complementary element of *episcopate* and echoing the 1967 Faith and Order position that conciliarity represents a longstanding need in the Church, ARCIC-I makes a contribution to the ecumenical dialogue on authority.

If the experience of Roman Catholic bishops during the nineteenth century is indicative then

²⁸*Councils and the Ecumenical Movement*, 10. Their emphasis.

this need is perhaps stronger than even ARCIC-I or the Faith and Order Commission suggests. An anti-conciliar sentiment prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church from the late Middle Ages until well into the twentieth century and in its wake synods virtually disappeared. The need for them, however, did not.

This need was so strong in post-revolution Europe that, at different times during the nineteenth century, various episcopal assemblies took place. The bishops of Belgium were among the first to assemble and they met in 1830. According to Joseph Komonchak, a Roman Catholic ecclesiologist, this assembly of the Belgian Bishops "established a model of episcopal consultation and collaboration which was to be imitated in many European countries, in Latin America, in Australia, and in missionary countries throughout the nineteenth century."²⁹ Komonchak observes: "A very broad range of concerns marked the agendas of these regional and national meetings, as the bishops attempted to deal with the century's rapid social, economic, political and cultural changes."³⁰ To these could be added the century's religious changes as well.

These gatherings, though never called synods, "were often urged for the same motives, were assigned the same topics, and performed many of the same functions as the councils."³¹ They became the precursors to the national episcopal conferences so familiar in Roman Catholicism today. Despite the needs that these episcopal assemblies addressed, pope after pope refused to acknowledge them

²⁹Joseph Komonchak, "Introduction: Episcopal Conferences under Criticism," in *Episcopal Conferences: Historical, Canonical and Theological Studies*, ed. Thomas J. Reese, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 2.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*

as synods or to give them any juridical standing or legislative authority.³² To this day the national episcopal conferences which grew out of these assemblies continue to meet important ecclesial needs yet they still occupy an ambiguous place in the authority structures of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic experience during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries illustrates that this need for assemblies is very strong. Yves Congar argues that "the conciliar nature is fundamental to the Church."³³ Underlying the Church's "fundamentally conciliar nature," according to Congar, is the "trinitarian nature of the Church."³⁴ These assertions are consistent with ARCIC-I's understanding of conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion. *The Final Report* reminds Roman Catholics and Anglicans that conciliarity and primacy are part of their common heritage and their future discussions about primacy need to include its complement conciliarity. More important, ARCIC-I has highlighted an everpresent need in the church that may be overshadowed at times but never disappears.

Conclusions

A conciliar renaissance began in the Churches of the West during the last half of the twentieth century. The birth of the World Council of Churches (1948) and the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) are just two examples of this renaissance. ARCIC-I's discussions about conciliarity took place during this conciliar renaissance in the 1970s. Lukas Vischer, who was director of the Faith and Order Commission during this time period (1965-1979), once wondered "the extent to which the churches

³²The resistance of the popes to call these gatherings synods was mirrored, during the same time period, by the resistance of the Anglican Communion to describe the Lambeth Conference as a synod.

³³Congar, 194.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 184.

of today manifest true conciliarity."³⁵ I sought to answer a similar question in this dissertation: "What is conciliarity and to what extent do the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church manifest conciliarity today?"

ARCIC-I argued there has been a need in the Church since the Council of Jerusalem for assemblies which "express and strengthen the *koinonia* by coming together to discuss matters of mutual concern and to meet contemporary challenges."³⁶ The realization of this need has taken various forms throughout the centuries and even within traditions. The structures have changed, the details have changed and the methods have changed..³⁷ The need, however, has remained. The need can be met, according to ARCIC-I, by the balanced relationship between conciliarity and primacy with the responsible participation of the people of God. In time, this ideal may be achieved. For now the dialogue must continue.

"[The Final Report], far from ending the dialogue, actually helps to begin a process of extensive prayer, reflection and study that will represent a marked advance towards the goal of an organic union between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion."³⁸ This dissertation on conciliarity is situated within this trajectory of prayer, reflection and study. It is my hope that the current study on conciliarity in an ecclesiology of communion will contribute, in some way, to the goal of organic union envisioned by ARCIC-I.

³⁵Lukas Vischer, foreword to *Councils and the Ecumenical Movement: World Council of Churches Studies No. 5* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968), 6.

³⁶*Authority in the Church I*, par. 9.

³⁷Vischer, 5.

³⁸Herbert J. Ryan, S.J., foreword to the American Edition of *The Final Report*, vi.

APPENDIX I

SECTION OF ARCHBISHOP PANGRAZIO'S SPEECH TO VATICAN II

Although all the truths revealed by divine faith are to be believed with the same divine faith and all those elements which make up the Church must be kept with equal fidelity, not all of them are of equal importance.

Some truths are *on the level of our final goal* such as the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation and Redemption, God's love and mercy toward sinful humanity, eternal life in the perfect kingdom and others.

Other truths are *on the level of means toward salvation*, such as that there are seven sacraments, truths concerning the hierarchical structure of the Church, the apostolic succession, and others. These truths concern the means which are given by Christ to the Church for her pilgrim journey here on earth; when this journey comes to an end, so also do these means.

Now doctrinal differences among Christians have less to do with these primary truths on the level of our final goal, and deal mostly with truths on the level of means, which are certainly subordinate to those other primary truths.

But we can say that the unity of Christians consists in a common faith and belief in those truths which concern our final goal.

If we explicitly make these distinctions in conformity with the hierarchy of truths and elements, I think the existing unity among all Christians will be seen more clearly, and it will become evident that all Christians are already a family united in the primary truths of the Christian religion.

Source: Andrea Pangrazio, "The Mystery of the History of the Church," in *Council Speeches of Vatican II*, ed. Hans Küng, Yves Congar, O.P. and Daniel O'Hanlon, S.J. (New York: Paulist Press, 1964), 191-192. His emphasis.

APPENDIX 2

SOLEMN DECLARATION OF THE 1893 GENERAL SYNOD (CANADA)

Solemn Declaration

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost Amen.

We, the Bishops, together with the Delegates from the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, now assembled in the first General Synod, hereby make the following Solemn Declaration:

We declare this Church to be, and desire that it shall continue, in full communion with the Church of England throughout the world, as an integral portion of the one Body of Christ composed of Churches which, united under the One Divine Head and in the fellowship of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, hold the one Faith revealed in Holy Writ, and defined in the Creeds as maintained by the undivided primitive Church in the undisputed Ecumenical Councils; receive the same Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation; teach the same Word of God; partake of the same Divinely ordained Sacraments, through the ministry of the same Apostolic Orders, and worship one God and Father through the same Lord Jesus Christ, by the same Holy and Divine Spirit Who is given to them that believe to guide them into all truth.

And we are determined by the help of God to hold and maintain the Doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded in His Holy Word, and as the Church of England

hath received and set forth the same in "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons;" and in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religions; and to transmit the same unimpaired to our posterity.

Source: H. R. S. Ryan, *Aspects of Constitutional History: The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1993), 55-56.

APPENDIX 3

LAMBETH CONFERENCE 1988: RESOLUTION 8

"This Conference:

1 Recognises the Agreed Statements of ARCIC I on 'Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination', and their Elucidations, as consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans and believes that this agreement offers a sufficient basis for taking the next step forward towards the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith.

2 Welcomes the assurance that, within an understanding of the Church as communion, ARCIC II is to explore further the particular issues of the reconciliation of ministries; the ordination of women; moral questions; and continuing questions of authority, including the relation of Scripture to the Church's developing tradition and the role of the laity in decision-making within the Church.

3 Welcomes 'Authority in the Church' (I and II), together with the Elucidation, as a firm basis for the direction and agenda of the continuing dialogue on authority and wishes to encourage ARCIC II to continue to explore the basis in Scripture and tradition of the concept of a universal primacy, in conjunction with collegiality, as an instrument of unity, the character of such a primacy in practice, and to draw upon the experience of other Christian Churches in exercising primacy, collegiality and conciliarity.

Source: *The Truth Shall Make You Free: The Lambeth Conference 1988* (London: Church House Publishing, 1988), 210.

APPENDIX 4

LAMBETH CONFERENCE 1988: EXPLANATORY NOTE TO RESOLUTION 8

This Conference [Lambeth 1988] has received the official responses to the *Final Report* of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC I) from the member Provinces of the Anglican Communion. We note the considerable measure of consensus and convergence which the *Agreed Statements* represent. We wish to record our grateful thanks to Almighty God for the very significant advances in understanding and unity thereby expressed.

In considering the *Final Report*, the Conference bore two questions in mind:

- (i) Are the *Agreed Statements* consonant with Anglican faith?
- (ii) If so, do they enable us to take further steps forward?

Eucharistic Doctrine

The Provinces gave a clear 'yes' to the statement on *Eucharistic Doctrine*.

Comments have been made that the style and language used in the statement are inappropriate for certain cultures. Some Provinces asked for clarification about the meaning of *anamnesis* and bread and wine 'becoming' the body and blood of Christ. But no Province rejected the Statement and many were extremely positive.

While we recognise that there are hurts to be healed and doubts to be overcome, we encourage Anglicans to look forward with the new hope which the Holy Spirit is giving to the Church as we move away from past mistrust, division and polarisation.

While we respect continuing anxieties of some Anglicans in the area of 'sacrifice' and 'presence', they do not appear to reflect the common mind of the Provincial responses, in which it was generally felt that the *Elucidation of Eucharistic Doctrine* was a helpful clarification and reassurance. Both are areas of 'mystery' which ultimately defy definition. But the Agreed Statement on the Eucharist *sufficiently* expresses Anglican understanding.

Ministry and Ordination

Again, the Provinces gave a clear 'yes' to the Statement on *Ministry and Ordination*.

The language and style have, however, been a difficulty for some Provinces, especially in the Far East. Wider representation has also been called for from Africa. Though this has now been partially remedied in ARCIC II, there is still currently no representation from Latin America, a subcontinent with very large Roman Catholic populations.

An ambivalent reply came from one Province which has traditionally experienced a difficult relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. This seems to reflect the need for developing deeper links of trust and friendship as ecumenical dialogue goes forward.

While some Provinces asked for a clarification of 'priesthood' the majority believed this had been dealt with sufficiently - together with the doctrine of the eucharist - to give grounds for hope for a fresh appraisal of each other's ministries and thus to further the reconciliation of ministries and growth towards full communion.

Authority in the Church

The Responses from the Provinces to the two Statements on *Authority in the Church* were generally positive.

Questions were, however, raised about a number of matters, especially primacy, jurisdiction and infallibility, collegiality, and the role of the laity. Nevertheless, it was generally felt that *Authority in the Church* (I and II), together with the *Elucidation*, give us real grounds for believing that fuller treatment can be reached, and that they set out helpfully the direction and agenda of the way forward.

Source: *The Truth Shall Make You Free: The Lambeth Conference 1988* (London: Church House Publishing, 1988), 211-212.



APPENDIX 5

SECRETARIATUS
AD CHRISTIANORUM UNITATEM FOVENDAM

E Civitate Vaticana, die March 17, '82

Prot. N. 1124/82/5
(In responsione fac mentio huius numeri)

To the President of the Episcopal Conference
of Canada

Your Excellency

The Holy Father has this week authorised the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity to circulate copies of the "Final Report" of the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission to Episcopal Conferences in countries in which the Anglican Church is also present. I therefore have great pleasure in sending you herewith a copy of this document.

You will see that, in addition to material with which you are already familiar (the statements on the Eucharist, Ministry and Ordination, and Authority I), the Report also contains important new material: -an Introduction on the basic notion of koinonia; -Elucidations on the statements already published; and -a second statement on Authority, which examines the questions concerning the Primacy which were left unresolved by "Authority I" in 1976.

With this report the Commission has completed the work assigned to it (although, of course, further questions remain to be studied in the Anglican/Catholic dialogue). It has submitted its findings to the authorities of both Communions for their formal judgement. This is an important moment, for it is the first time that an international dialogue has reached this stage.

The process of evaluation is not one that can be carried out in a short time; the results of over ten years of dialogue call for serious study by the Church. This Secretariat therefore asks your Episcopal Conference to examine this Report carefully and to send a considered judgement on the work done, above all on whether it is consonant in substance with the faith of the Catholic Church concerning the matters discussed. We should also value your views on the agenda for the next stage of this dialogue.



SECRETARIATUS
AD CHRISTIANORUM UNITATEM FOVENDAM

E Civitate Vaticana, die

Prot. N.
(In responsione sat merito huius aemuli)

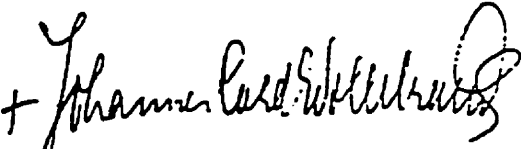
Since the dialogue is, of its nature, concerned with matters of faith, the S.Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith will shortly be sending to Episcopal Conferences a paper it has prepared on this report, and will invite Conferences to send it their comments and any supplementary information they have so that the work of evaluation may proceed.

Permission has been given for publication of the Report, as the work of the Commission, on March 31st. There will be a press conference in London on March 29th.

I am therefore happy to send the enclosed report for study by your conference, and I need hardly stress the importance we attach to this stage of our work.

With all good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely in Christ,


+ John Cardinal Willebrands
President

6587-1

BN1

*Ecumenical Office
ARCIC Final Report
& Commentaries*



SACRA CONGREGATIO
PRO DOCTRINA FIDEI

APPENDIX 6

00193 Romae, 2 / IV / 1982
Piazza del S. Ufficio, 11

PROT. N. 42/76
(in responsione fiat mentio huius numeri)

Exc. me Domine,

ex mandato Summi Pontificis haec Congregatio pro Doctrina Fidei examini doctrinali subiecit relationem finalem (Final Report) Commissionis Internationalis Anglicano - Catholicae (ARCIC), quam Ipse Summus Pontifex a Co-Praesidibus ipsius Commissionis accepit.

Examine peracto haec Congregatio observationes circa supradictum textum omnibus Conferentiis Episcoporum nunc transmittit tamquam contributionem suam ad dialogum proseguendum simulque desiderium exprimit ut Episcopi observationes supradictas attente considerare velint.

Quia ARCIC relationem finalem Commissionis publici iuris fecit, singulae Conferentiae Episcoporum observationes huius Congregationis etiam publice edere possunt, ut fideles textum finalem ARCIC in luce principiorum doctrinae catholicae facilius diiudicare queant.

Haec Tecum communicans omni qua par est reverentia permaneo

Tibi addictissimus
in Domino

Mgr. Card. Lehinger

GS87-1 Box 1
Ecumenical Office
ARC Dialogue Meeting 1982

Omnibus Praesidibus
Conferentiarum Episcoporum

APPENDIX 7

ORDINARY GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS 1967-1994

1. The First Ordinary General Assembly

Dates: September 29 - October 29, 1967

Participants: 197

Goal: "... the preservation and the strengthening of the Catholic faith, its integrity, its force, its development, its doctrinal and historical coherence." Pope Paul VI

Recommendations:

Set up an International Theological Commission (1969)

Revision of the Code of Canon Law (1983)

2. The Second Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "The Ministerial Priesthood and Justice in the World"

Dates: September 30 - November 6, 1971.

Participants: 210

Apostolic Exhortation: none

3. The Third Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "Evangelization in the Modern World"

Dates: September 27 - October 26, 1974

Participants: 209

Apostolic Exhortation: *Evangelii Nuntiandi*

4. The Fourth Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "Catechesis in our Time"

Dates: September 30-October 29, 1977

Participants: 204

Apostolic Exhortation: *Catechesi tradendae*

5. The Fifth Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "The Christian Family"

Dates: September 26-October 25, 1980

Participants: 216

Apostolic Exhortation: *Familiaris consortio*

6. The Sixth Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "Penance and Reconciliation in the Mission of the Church"

Dates: September 26 - October 25, 1980

Participants: 221

Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: *Reconciliatio et paenitentia* (first time the term "post-synodal" is used)

7. The Seventh Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "Vocation and Mission of the Lay Faithful in the Church and the World"

Dates: October 1-30, 1987

Participants: 232

Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: *Christi fideles Laici*.

8. The Eighth Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "The Formation of Priests in [*sic*] Circumstances of the Present Day"

Dates: September 30 - October 28, 1990

Participants: 238

Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: *Pastores dabo vobis*

9. The Ninth Ordinary General Assembly

Topic: "The Consecrated Life and Its Role in the Church and the World"

Dates: October 2-29, 1994

Participants: 245

Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: *Vita consecrata* (published March 25, 1996)

Source: Holy See Press Office, November 15, 1997

<http://www.ucanews.com/~ucasian/primer-chron.htm> Accessed: May 5, 1998

APPENDIX 8

EXTRAORDINARY AND SPECIAL SYNODS 1967-2000

1. The First Extraordinary General Assembly

Topic: "Cooperation between the Holy See and the Episcopal Conferences"

Dates: October 11-28, 1969

Participants: 146

2. Special Assembly for the Netherlands

Topic: "The Pastoral Situation in The Netherlands"

Dates: January 14-31, 1980

Participants: 19

3. The Second Extraordinary General Assembly

Topic: "The Twentieth Anniversary of the Conclusion of the Second Vatican Council"

Dates: November 24-December 8, 1985

Participants: 165

4. Special Assembly for Europe

Topic: "So that we might be witnesses of Christ who has set us free"

Dates: November 28-December 14, 1991

Participants: 137

5. Special Assembly for Africa

Topic: "The Church in Africa and Her Evangelizing Mission Towards the Year 2000: 'You Shall Be My Witnesses' (Acts 1:8)"

Dates: April 10-May 8, 1994

Participants: 242

Apostolic Exhortation: *Ecclesia* in Africa (September 14, 1995)

6. Special Assembly for Lebanon

Topic: "Christ is Our Hope: Renewed by His Spirit, in Solidarity We Bear Witness to His Love"

Dates: November 26-December 14, 1995

Participants: 70

Apostolic Exhortation: "Une Espérance nouvelles pour le Liban" (May 10, 1997)

7. Special Assembly for America

Topic: "Encounter with the Living Jesus Christ: the Way to Conversion, Communion and Solidarity in America"

Dates: November 16, 1997-December 12, 1997

Participants: 233

8. Special Assembly for Asia

Topic: "Jesus Christ and Saviour and His Mission of Love and Service in Asia: '... That They May Have Life, and Have it Abundantly'" (Jn. 10:10)

Dates: April 19-May 14, 1998

9. Special Assembly for Oceania

Topic: "Jesus Christ and the Peoples of Oceania: Walking His Way, Telling His Truth, Living His Life"

Dates: November 22-December 12, 1998

10. Special Assembly for Europe

Topic: "Jesus Christ, Alive in His Church, Source of Hope for Europe"

Dates: October 1-23, 1999

Sources:

Holy See Press Office, November 15, 1997

<http://www.ucanews.com/~ucasian/primer-chron.htm>

Accessed: May 5, 1998

<http://www.solt3.org/synodlist.htm> Accessed: April 30, 2000

APPENDIX 9

THE FINAL REPORT AND THE OFFICIAL RESPONSE: A BRIEF COMPARISON

<i>The Final Report</i> (1982)	<i>The Official Response</i> (1991)
"Anglicans and Catholics can agree in much of the truth that these two dogmas are designed to affirm." . . . "Nevertheless, the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption raise a special problem for those Anglicans who do not consider that the precise definitions given by these dogmas are sufficiently supported by Scripture. . . . Anglicans would also ask whether, in any future union between our two Churches, they would be required to subscribe to such dogmatic statements."¹	"Catholics and Anglicans can agree in much that the dogmas of the immaculate conception and assumption are designed to affirm," . . . "The dogmas of the immaculate conception and the assumption raise a special problem for those Anglicans who do not consider that the precise definitions given by these dogmas are sufficiently supported by Scripture. . . . Anglicans would also ask whether, in any future union between our two churches, they would be required to subscribe to such dogmatic statements."²
"In spite of our agreement over the need of a universal primacy in a united Church, Anglicans do not accept the guaranteed possession of such a gift of divine assistance in judgement necessarily attached to the office of the Bishop of Rome by virtue of which his formal decisions can be known to be wholly assured before their reception by the faithful." (AII, 31)³	"In spite of our agreement over the need for a universal primate in a united church, Anglicans do not accept the guaranteed possession of such a gift of divine assistance in judgments necessarily attached to the office of the bishop of Rome by virtue of which his formal decisions can be known to be wholly assured before their reception by the faithful"(AII,31)⁴.

¹*Authority in the Church II*, par. 30.

²"The Official Response," *Origins* 21 (December 19, 1991): 444.

³AII, 31 refers to *Authority in the Church II*, par. 31.

⁴"The Official Response," 444.

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