

THE VIENNA DIALOGUE

Five PRO ORIENTE Consultations
with Oriental Orthodoxy

ON ECCLESIOLOGY
THIRD STUDY SEMINAR
JULY 1994

Published by
Alfred Stirnemann and Gerhard Wilflinger
on behalf of the
Foundation PRO ORIENTE

Booklet No. 7
Vienna 1995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PRO ORIENTE
 Hofburg, Marschallstiege II,
 A - 1010 Vienna
 Austria
 Tel. 533-80-21
 Fax: 533-80-214

Archbishop Mar Gregorios: Preamble	5
Alfred Stirnemann/Gerhard Wilflinger: Foreword by the Editor	7
Mons. Philipp Harnoncourt: Scholarly Achievement	9
List of the Papers on Ecclesiology of the Five Vienna Consultations	12
Ecclesiology-related Extracts from the Five Communiqués	13
Ecclesiology-related Extracts from the Summaries of the Five Vienna Consultations	16
List of participants	26
Program	28
Liturgy	29
 <i>Papers and discussions:</i>	
Father Hervé Legrand OP: Catholic Ecclesiology and the Search for Communion between East and West	30
Deacon Emile Maher Ishak: Oriental Orthodox Ecclesiology and the Search for Communion between East and West	44
Father Frans Bouwen PA: The Current Theological Discussion of the Problems of Uniatism and Proselytism in the Framework of the Theological Dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox	81
Archbishop Mar Gregorios: What is the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West	101
Father Makarios Tawfiq: What is the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West	114
Richard Potz: The Ecclesiological Status of the Oriental Catholic Churches: Their Role in the Ecumenical Movement and the Codex in the Light of Vatican II	124
Archbishop Mar Joseph Powathil: What is the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West	136
Archbishop Mesrob K. Krikorian: What is the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West	156
 Communiqué of the Third PRO ORIENTE Study Seminar „Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church“	 174
 Selected Literature	 179

ISBN: 3 - 901 188 - 07 - X

Cover Picture Credits: Syrian Cross Plate, Paris, Louvre; Coptic Embroidery, Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst; Romanesque Cross, Barcelona; Armenian Cross (Khatchkar), Sanahin; Ethiopian Cross, Pro Oriente, Vienna

Cover Layout and Design by Hedwig Bledl
Text Layout by Franz Gschwandtner

Printed by Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Ges.m.b.H., Horn, Austria 1995

PRO ORIENTE Publications in English

**The Oriental Orthodox - Roman Catholic
Vienna Consultations**

- * First Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, Papers and Minutes. Supplementary Issue Number 1 of the Periodical "Wort und Wahrheit" (Verlag Herder, Vienna 1972) 190 p.
- * Second Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, Papers and Minutes. Supplementary Issue Number 2 of the Periodical "Wort und Wahrheit" (Verlag Herder, Vienna 1974) 208 p.
- * Third Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, Papers and Minutes. Supplementary Issue Number 3 of the Periodical "Wort und Wahrheit" (Verlag Herder, Vienna 1976) 240 p.
- * Fourth Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, Papers and Minutes. Supplementary Issue Number 4 of the Periodical "Wort und Wahrheit" (Verlag Herder, Vienna 1978) 256 p.
- * Fifth Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, Papers and Minutes. Supplementary Issue Number 5 of the Periodical "Wort und Wahrheit" (Verlag Herder, Vienna 1989) 208 p.
- * Selection of the Papers and Minutes of the Four Vienna Consultations between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. Edited by Ökumenische Stiftung PRO ORIENTE in Vienna (1988) 286 p. (out of print)
- * Five Vienna Consultations between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church 1971 - 1988. Selected Papers in One Volume. Published and edited by the Ecumenical Foundation PRO ORIENTE - Vienna (1993) 370 p.

The PRO ORIENTE Dialogue within the Churches of Syriac Tradition

- * Syriac Dialogue No 1, First Non-Official Consultation on Dialogue within the Syriac Tradition, PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1994, 240 p. Available in English, French and Arabic.
- * Syriac Dialogue No 2, Second Non-Official Consultation on Dialogue within the Syriac Tradition, PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1996, planned in English, French and Arabic.



معهذه خدمتكم
مطرانيت حلب وتوابعا
للسريان الاثوذكس
حلب - سورية

Archbishop Mar Gregorios

Preamble

The acts of the Third Study Seminar on „Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church“ which are published by PRO ORIENTE demand a special attention from all those who are concerned. They are of vital importance for both Oriental Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. For, after so many centuries, theologians and representatives of the above mentioned churches are coming together and searching, with great interest, for ways of re-establishing communion between East and West. In doing so, they find it essential to deal with two issues, namely: **uniatism** and **proselytism** in the framework of the theological dialogue; in order to discover the role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in building new bridges on the way to this communion. However, the papers and the follow up discussions contained in this booklet are only the beginning of a deeper discussion on the issue of Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church.

My own church, the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, has demonstrated a deep commitment to find a solid and firm ground for achieving the much wanted communion between East and West. This commitment is clearly expressed in the meetings of the Heads of the Churches. It is especially manifest through the two common declarations jointly issued by our church and the Roman Catholic Church. The first one signed in 1971 by the late Patriarch H.H. Ignatius Jacob III and the late Pope H.H. Paul VI, and the second one signed in 1984 by H.H. Mor Ignatius Zakka I and H.H. John Paul II.

I take great pleasure in introducing this publication which I highly recommend, because it is a great inspiration for further dialogue. May Almighty God bless all those who contributed to its contents and those who took part in producing it.

Gregorios Yohanna Ibrahim
Metropolitan of Aleppo

Gregorios Yohanna Ibrahim
Metropolitan of Aleppo

**The Oriental Orthodox - Roman Catholic
Ecumenical Dialogue**

PRO ORIENTE Booklet Series

- * Booklet Number 1, Communiqués and Joint Documents; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1990, 136 p. Available in English, Arabic and Malayalam, planned in Armenian, Amharic and German. (The communiqués of the first four consultations are also published in German in: Th. Piffel-Percevic/Alfred Stirnemann (ed.) *Das gemeinsame Credo*. Tyrolia Verlag, Innsbruck-Wien 1983. p.167ff.)
- * Booklet Number 2, Summaries of the Papers; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1991, 74 p. Available in English; German and Arabic; planned in other languages. (The German summaries of the first four consultations are also published in: Th. Piffel-Percevic/ Alfred Stirnemann (ed.) *Das gemeinsame Credo*. Tyrolia Verlag, Innsbruck-Wien 1983, p.167ff.)
- * Booklet Number 3, Middle East Regional Symposium, Deir Amba Bishoy, October 1991; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1993, 168 p. and Arabic, planned in other languages. (The christological papers of this conference are also published in German. In: R. Kirchschräger/A. Stirnemann (ed.). *Chalzedon und die Folgen*. Tyrolia Verlag Innsbruck-Wien 1992)
- * Booklet Number 4, On Primacy, First Study Seminar, June 1991; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1993, 92 p. Available in English, planned in the above mentioned languages.
- * Booklet Number 5, On Councils and Conciliarity, Second Study Seminar, June 1992; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1993, 68 p. Available in English, planned in the above mentioned languages.
- * Booklet Number 6, Kerala Regional Symposium, Kottayam, October 1993; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1995, 280 p. Available in English, planned in the above mentioned languages.
- * Booklet Number 7, On Ecclesiology, Third Study Seminar, July 1994; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1995, 194 p. Available in English, planned in the above mentioned languages.
- * Booklet Number 8, Lebanon Regional Symposium, Kaslik, September 1994, PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1996. Planned in English and Arabic.
- * Booklet Number 9, On Authority and Jurisdiction, Fourth Study Seminar, July 1996; PRO ORIENTE, Vienna 1997

Foreword by the Editors

Booklet No 7 documents the PRO ORIENTE study seminar on "Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church" held in Vienna from 1st to 5th July 1994. The topic was an obvious choice. It followed logically from the two previous study seminars on Primacy (in June/July 1991) and Councils and Conciliarity (June 1992). The special purpose of this kind of conference is to encourage updated research and a fresh discussion of hitherto unresolved questions of the ecumenical dialogue.

Originally, it all started with the historic Vienna Dialogue, five consultations held in 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978 and 1988, assembling theologians of the Oriental Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches after more than 1500 years of separation. Their first and foremost achievement was the so-called Vienna Christological Formula, overcoming the dispute of Chalcedon by expressing the mystery of Christ in new and uncontroversial language while conceding that in the final analysis divine truths will never be fully grasped by human perception. These efforts earned official recognition when the Formula was received into common declarations between heads of churches.

Other issues, however, have not yet found agreement. Hence, the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee with Oriental Orthodoxy, created in the wake of the 5th Vienna Consultation, felt the need to hold special meetings centering around one topic only. Drawing on the experiences and results of the previous talks, these study seminars should successively explore different areas of dissent in the light of most recent research. The eventual goal would be to bring together the various strands of findings in another large consultation pointing concrete ways to unity.

The PRO ORIENTE Vienna Dialogue series reflects the whole spectrum of our activities with Oriental Orthodoxy. Giving basic information on the five consultations and their benefit for the ecumenical dialogue at large in the first two booklets, the following volumes mirror in roughly alternative sequence our intention to contribute both to the enhancement of ecumenical awareness at the grass-roots and the promotion of expert studies at the top (see charts on the previous pages for a complete survey).

Let us conclude by expressing our thanks to all those who planned this study seminar and helped with the accompanying publication.

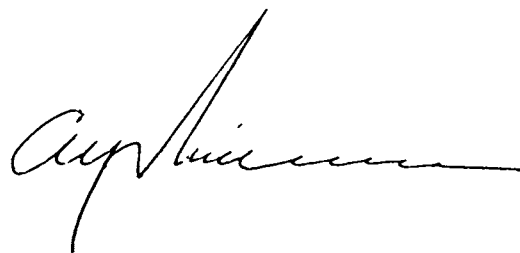
This is first of all the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee with the following members: H.G. Amba Bishoy, Metropolitan of Damiette, Kafr El Sheikh and Barari (Coptic Orthodox Church), H.G. Mar Gregorios Yohanna Ibrahim, Metropolitan of Aleppo (Syrian Orthodox Church), H.G. Archbishop Mesrob K. Krikorian of Central Europe and Sweden (Armenian Apostolic Church of the Catholicosate of Etchmia-dzin), H.G. Archbishop Aram Keshishian, Primate of Lebanon (now H.H. Catholicos Aram I, Armenian Apostolic Church of the Catholicosate of Cilicia), H.G. Archbishop Gabriel, Head of Foreign Affairs, Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Orthodox Church) and the Rev. Fr. Kondothra K. George, Vice-Principal of the Old Seminary in Kottayam (Syro-Indian Church) besides the PRO ORIENTE ecumenists Mons. Philipp Harnoncourt, professor for liturgical studies at the University of Graz, the Rev. Fr. Frans Bouwen, Editor of *Proche Orient Chrétien* and Regional Superior of the White Fathers in Lebanon, Jerusalem and Ethiopia, Mr. Peter Hofrichter, professor for patristics and

ancient church history at the University of Salzburg, and the President of PRO ORIENTE.

To Fr. Gerhard Habison and Fr. Joseph Zachariah we are indebted for having taken the minutes during the discussions, to Ms. Melitta Krcal for having done the compilation.

To Dr. Franz Gschwandtner we are grateful for the overall preparation and layout of this booklet.

Last but not least, our special thanks go to Prof. Harnoncourt, who contributed the scholarly achievement, and to Archbishop Mar Gregorios of Aleppo who had the kindness to write the preamble.



Philipp Harnoncourt

Farewell to Uniatism as a Way to Church Unity

The Scholarly Achievement of this Volume

For quite some time the existence of the Oriental Catholic Churches (also named Eastern Catholic Churches) was hardly a problem in the dialogue between the christian churches, let alone the subject of theological discussions. In the Middle East Christians were altogether in the situation of a threatened minority facing the Muslims and in Israel also vis à vis the Jews. As a result, common christian concerns took precedence over different church affiliations and structures.

The liturgies of the Oriental Catholic and Orthodox Churches were almost completely identical and the Roman Catholic way of dealing with Oriental churches was characterized by the promotion of the Latin Church on the one hand - even in places where a hierarchy of an Oriental Catholic Church had existed before, a Latin hierarchy was brought in! - and the clear preference of the Orthodox Churches as Oriental partners in the talks on the other hand.

For Rome, more often than not, the existence of the Oriental Catholic Churches seemed to be a burden, first of all because, pointing to their own ancient tradition in spirituality, liturgy, theology and jurisdiction, they kept fighting back the considerable pressure to become increasingly dominated by the curia, and secondly because Rome was repeatedly faced with the accusation to have brought about a split among the Oriental Churches through unions with Rome (i.e. through the recognition of the jurisdictional primacy of the Pope), thus having thrown into doubt their separate identity and authenticity. Representatives of the Oriental Catholic Churches were rarely involved in the official ecumenical dialogue between Orthodox Churches and the Catholic Church of Rome.

The Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches appreciated the Oriental Catholic Churches, for their theologians and hierarchs, being on the average better educated than Orthodox theologians and hierarchs, could give them valuable backing in their church political struggle with the state authorities and in their defence of the rights of Christians in view of the increasingly intolerant attitude of Islamic institutions and organizations. Moreover, the common national and ethnic interests encouraged cooperation.

In Europe, the situation was different. Following the break-down of the communist dictatorships in Europe and the removal of the so-called "iron curtain", the church political situation and thus the ecumenical climate have radically changed: The Eastern Catholic Churches, which had been abolished, i.e. dissolved and banned in the communist dictatorships (with the exception of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria), and which - according to official diction - had voluntarily returned to their Orthodox mother churches, had not only survived against the odds of severe persecution in the underground but partly even experienced a heroic rise and renewal of their sense of identity. This was especially true of Western Ukraine. Democratic states, the CSCE and the Holy See in Rome called for the lifting of this ban mainly because of the violation of human rights implied. Shortly after reform-oriented governments had complied with this demand in 1989/90, the Oriental Catholic Churches called for the com-

plete restoration of their old rights: restitution of all church buildings including schools and hospitals and the return into the Greek Catholic Church of the members of those families, who had formerly been Catholic but joined the Orthodox Churches after the ban (their number was particularly large in Romania). The respective Orthodox Churches saw these two demands not only as a substantial weakening of their own existence (in the Ukraine up to 2000 Orthodox priests were said to have joined the Metropolis of Lviv of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with their communities) but also as a hostile step of the Catholic Church directed against the Orthodox Churches in general and as an exposure of her intention to destroy the Orthodox Church or to incorporate it into the Catholic Church.

These repeatedly made accusations seemed justified, because Rome had for many years emphatically demanded the re-establishment of the illegally repressed Oriental Catholic Churches and the people of those states and regions - primarily in the Ukraine, in Eastern Slovakia and in Romania - had great esteem for these churches, which had rather accepted persecution and torture under a communist regime than collaborated with those in power. Moreover, the Communist Party was refined and skillful enough to put the blame for the abolition of the Oriental Catholic Churches on the Orthodox Churches, to whom the authorities had partly left the former Catholic Churches.

Emerging from the underground, the Oriental Catholic Churches did have a number of priests educated and consecrated after a fashion, but only a few of their teachers and bishops had learned about the developments of ecclesiology during and after the Second Vatican Council. Thus, their attitude towards the Orthodox Churches did not project anything which would have portrayed them as legitimate sister churches of the Catholic Church. Many felt that the favourable circumstances would now allow them to engage in missionary activity among the Orthodox Christians in order to make everybody Catholic.

The official Catholic/Orthodox ecumenical dialogue was suspended in Munich in June 1991, pending the official settlement of the question of the Oriental Catholic Churches regarding their rights and their tasks. Representatives of the Oriental Catholic Churches vigorously demanded to be involved in the inter-church negotiations, since it was their existence and position within the communion of christian churches that was at stake.

Things which had been officially recognized as necessary for many years but were rather difficult to realize could be tackled much easier in Vienna, that is to say in a quasi non-official way and on neutral ground. And because the disputed ecclesiological issues were especially delicate and explosive and emotionally charged in the European context, the foundation PRO ORIENTE started by opening ecclesiological dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches and those Catholic Churches which had run (or been taken) away from them, often contemptuously called "uniates". In doing so, PRO ORIENTE could build on the relevant discussions and results of its five consultations (1971-1988) with the Oriental Orthodox Churches. This is why they are partly included in this volume. The dialogue, which was now continued in Vienna, saw for the first time the participation of a number of high-ranking representatives of the Oriental Catholic churches concerned.

It is comprehensible that the old massive accusations were re-emerging, the Oriental Catholic Churches were destined and advised by Rome to entice away into the

Catholic Church individual Orthodox Christians or larger groups with their hierarchy. In order to dispel these accusations of "making proselyts" it was pointed out clearly that "uniatism" was no suitable method for restoring the unity of the divided churches.

However, without merely concentrating on the negative sides of the nowadays undisputed legitimacy of the Oriental Catholic Churches and allowing the dialogue to become stalled by this position, the third Vienna PRO ORIENTE study seminar also came up with positive approaches and prospects for ecumenical dialogue (in particular in the contribution of Frans Bouwen PA, Jerusalem). Western theological formation puts the representatives of the Oriental Catholic Churches in a better position than their Orthodox partners when it comes to familiarizing Catholics of the Roman Church with the special features and spiritual values of the Oriental churches. This is a fact which proved very helpful and important at Vatican II. On the other hand though, it was also pointed out that Rome's way of dealing with the Oriental Catholic Churches - i.e. the respect or non-respect for their separate identity and authentic tradition - would give the Orthodox churches a taste of what they would have to expect when complete mutual recognition between the churches comes about.

It may well be said that this documentation of the study seminar on "Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church" is of enormous importance and significance for ecumenical theology and for the ecumenical movement as a whole,

- because these talks took place,
- because the most important theological as well as the emotional problems between the churches were discussed,
- because a suitable strategy for further steps was proposed,
- because the ground for the official dialogue was prepared,
- because it showed that serious obstacles obstructing the dialogue can be eliminated or at least sidetracked and how this is to be done.

These experiences and the results of the PRO ORIENTE study conference should be made known to a large public. And in this way the dialogue may be carried on with vigour, this time increasingly involving the Oriental Catholic Churches in Europe, i.e. the so-called Greek Catholic Churches.

The annex of selected literature facilitates the introduction and further study of the wider topic of ecumenical ecclesiology.

List of the Papers on Ecclesiology of the Five Vienna Consultations

See also the subjects of „Primacy“ and of „Councils and Conciliarity“ for further information with the referring „List of Papers on Primacy“ in „Booklet No 4 - First Study Seminar - On Primacy“ p.10 , and the „List of Papers on Councils and Conciliarity“ in „Booklet No 5 - Second Study Seminar - On Councils and Conciliarity“ p.10.

Vardapet Mesrob K. Krikorian, Vienna: Anathemata, Schism and Heresy (Wort und Wahrheit“ Supplementary Issue No 2 = WW 2, p.107)

Horst Herrmann, Münster: Anathemata, Schism, Heresy (WW 2, p.116)

Alexander Dordett, Vienna: Canon Law, Faith and Sacramentality (WW 2, p.163)

Bishop Gregorius, Cairo: The Church of Christ as a Local Church (WW 3, p.35)

Wolfgang Beinert, Bochum: The Church of Christ as a Local Church in the first five centuries (WW 3, p.42)

Mar Severius Zakka Iwas, Baghdad: Necessity and Signs of „Communio“ between the Local Churches (WW 3, p.60)

Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios, New Delhi: Necessity and Signs of „Communio“ between the Local Churches (WW 3, p.71)

Hermann J. Vogt, Tübingen: Necessity and Signs of „Communio“ between the Local Churches (WW 3, p.77)

Metropolitan Geevarghese Mar Osthathios, Kottayam: Binding Dogmatic Decisions and the Historicity of the Life of the Church (WW 3, p.199)

Karl Lehmann, Freiburg: Binding Dogmatic Decisions and the Historicity of the Life of the Church (WW 3, p.210)

Emmanuel Lanne OSB, Chevetogne: The connection between the post-Tridentine concept of primacy and the emerging of the Uniate Churches (WW 4, p.99)

Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios, New Delhi, and John F. Long SJ, Rome: Could the paper of the International Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission on Authority in the Church form a basis for discussion between Ancient Orientals and Catholics? (WW 4, p.216)

Father Edward J. Kilmartin SJ, Rome: Ecclesiological Implications of Classical Eucharistic Prayers (WW 5, p.85)

Mons. Philipp Harnoncourt, Graz: The Faith of the One Church, Expressed in Different Rites and Texts in Christian Liturgy (WW 5, p.111)

Father Tadros Malaty Yacoub/Father Bishoy Aziz, Cairo: What Future Unity Do We Envisage? (WW 5, p.116)

Archbishop Mar Theophilos George Saliba, Beyrouth: What Future Unity Do We Envisage? (WW 5, p.118)

Mons. Philipp Harnoncourt, Graz: What Future Unity Do We Envisage? (WW 5, p.120)

Bishop Mesrob K. Krikorian, Vienna: What Subjects Are Still to Be Studied in the Dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Theologians? (WW 5, p.142)

Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios, New Delhi: What Subjects Are Still to Be Studied in the Dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Theologians? (WW 5, p.143)

Ecclesiology-related Extracts from the Five Communiqués

See also the subjects of „Primacy“ and of „Councils and Conciliarity“ in the „Booklet No 4 - First Study Seminar - On Primacy“, p.11 and „Booklet No 5 - Second Study Seminar - On Councils and Conciliarity“, p.11.

*The Third Vienna Consultation:*¹

1. PRO ORIENTE, to which we owe so much should be requested to take the necessary steps to prepare a fourth unofficial consultation in Vienna in the nearest possible future which will focus mainly on: ... b) the status of the Catholic Churches of Oriental Rites - ecclesiological and practical considerations.

*The Fourth Vienna Consultation:*²

B.5. There was general agreement that in all our Churches three elements were integrally related to each other: primacy, conciliarity and the consensus of the believing community, though their relative importance has been differently understood in different situations.

¹The Vienna Dialogue. Booklet No 1 - Communiqués and Joint Documents. Vienna 1991, p. 71f., and „Wort und Wahrheit. Supplementary Issue No 3“ (=WW 3), Vienna 1976, p.224

²Booklet No 1, p.86f., and WW 4, 1978, p.232-234

6. While in the Roman Catholic Church, primacy of the Bishop of Rome is regarded as of universal scope, the Oriental Orthodox Churches historically practiced regional primacy; but these have exercised and continue to exercise primatial jurisdiction also over a national diaspora widespread in many continents of the world.

7. In the view of the Oriental Orthodox Churches primacy is of historical and ecclesiological origin, in some cases confirmed by ecumenical councils. In the view of the Roman Catholic Church, the historical development of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome has its roots in the divine plan for the Church. In both cases conviction about the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit was the basis for these views and yet provides the common ground for coming to mutual agreement in the future and for a common understanding of the Scriptural witness.

(...)

9. There was agreement that infallibility or, as the Oriental Orthodox Churches prefer to say, dependable teaching authority, pertains to the Church as a whole, as the Body of Christ and abode of the Holy Spirit. There was no complete agreement as to the relative importance of the different organs in the Church through which this ineradicable teaching authority is to find expression.

C.10. We were agreed that we should work towards a goal of full union of sister Churches - with communion in the faith, in the sacraments of the Church, in ministry and within a canonical structure. Each Church as well as all Churches together will have a primatial and conciliar structure, providing for their communion in a given place as well as on a regional and world-wide scale.

11. The structure will be basically conciliar. No single Church in this communion will by itself be regarded as the source and origin of that communion; the source of the unity of the Church is the action of the triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It is the same Spirit who operates in all sister Churches the same faith, hope and love, as well as ministry and sacraments. About regarding one particular Church as the centre of the unity, there was no agreement, though the need of a special ministry for unity was recognized by all.

12. This communion will find diverse means of expression - the exchange of letters of peace among the Churches, the public liturgical remembering of the Churches and their primates by each other, the placing of responsibility for convoking general synods in order to deal with common concerns of the Churches, and so on.

13. The Oriental Catholic Churches will not even in the transitional period before full unity be regarded as a device for bringing Oriental Orthodox Churches inside the Roman Communion. Their role will be more in terms of collaborating in the restoration of eucharistic communion among the sister Churches. The Oriental Orthodox Churches, according to the principles of Vatican II and subsequent statements of the See of Rome cannot be fields of mission for other Churches. The sister Churches will work out local solutions, in accordance with differing local situations, implementing as far as possible the principle of a unified episcopate for each locality.

*The Fifth Vienna Consultation.*³

With regard to an ecclesiological basis for the unity of the Church, the Consultation saw the need both for autonomy and decentralization of authority on the one hand, and for some central coordination on the other. The concrete theological and practical principles for working this out were not fully agreed upon but it is hoped that the studies mentioned above will make a significant contribution to further agreement on this matter.

In order to move forward the recommendations made here, the Consultation proposes to PRO ORIENTE, the formation of a small group which will meet more frequently and search out the most effective methods to implement these recommendations and encourage the continuation of this work. Among its activities will be to gather from the church those further issues which they consider necessary for, or of vital importance to the dialogue between our churches and arrange for the proper discussion of these. Some of these issues which have already been suggested among the participants are a consideration e.g. of the „procession of the Holy Spirit“ and the „immaculate conception.“

Furthermore the Consultation renews the statement of the 1976 meeting and earnestly requests that a Joint Commission composed of bishops, theologians and pastoral ministers be set up by churches represented here which will:

- a) look more closely into the agreements and disagreements which have been uncovered in these unofficial consultations and present them to Church authorities and people for study and action;
- b) examine the issues and actions which continue to harm relations between the churches and make specific recommendations for changing the situation;
- c) make recommendations to the churches regarding practical steps that need to be taken towards promoting common action, where possible, and further steps towards unity.

Finally, the Consultation urgently appeals to all of the churches represented here to set up a joint official body to engage in that formal dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the family of the Oriental Orthodox Churches which will have as its objective the achievement of full communion in faith and sacramental life.

³Booklet No 1, p.103, and WW 5, 1989, p.150/1

Ecclesiology-related Extracts from the Summaries of the Five Consultations

*Alois Grillmeier SJ, 2nd Vienna Consultation:*⁴

Being closely linked to the authority of councils, the related issues of *Anathema, Schism and Heresy* were also treated in Vienna with Vardapet Mesrob K. Krikorian (Vienna) speaking for the Oriental Orthodox side and professor Horst Herrmann (Münster) for the Roman Catholic side. According to the former, it should be possible for Church leaders to carry out two measures without any hesitation or delay: firstly, the lifting of mutual anathemata pronounced against patriarchs or theologians in connection with the Christological controversies of the 5th and 6th centuries, and this in a public ceremony; secondly, anathemata in liturgical books should be dropped accordingly. There should be mutual avoidance of unnecessary claims (such as the mutual recognition as „saints“ of theologians who had been considered „heretical“ for 1500 years, to give only one example). The creation of new books on church history, written in a spirit of ecumenical understanding was an important task.

Horst Herrmann approached the same subject from a different angle. He put forward two contrasting concepts of what church might be: the „Church of total absorption“ (finding its expression in the strictness of narrowly defined formulae of faith as well as in the insistence on Canon law, particularly on Penal law), on the one hand, and the principle of „partial identification“ on the other hand. Applied to the overall topic, this means: „If this idea contains some truth, then it follows - for us, at least - that also the juridical formulation of the intentions of the Church can never result in something hermetically closed and self-contained. On the contrary: Canon Law, being a transitory *emergency law*, has the indispensable task to remind man in his search for his own nature that he can permanently change and he is obliged to do so. It is in the nature of the law of the right Church to point out the principally preliminary and reformable nature of all created beings and, as a consequence of it, their permanent re-shaping which continuously goes on.“⁵ Here Herrmann pointed to the fact, „that the revival movement, especially among young people, is based on a 'craving for a home' (a home also in the structures of a religious law!). It is a craving for credible values, for spiritual orientation and commitment.“⁶

These thoughts were complemented by the paper read by Alexander Dordett (Vienna) on *Canon Law, Faith and Sacramentality*. Following H. Dombois, his way of setting canon law in an overall perspective is this: „There are the coming together of God and man, the relation of religious action, the connections of the limbs in the Body of Christ, so that we refer to canon law as a *professing* and a *liturgical law*.“⁷ - „The essence of the Church is its unity in the faith, in the sacraments and in the communion of prayers. the outer system is on the periphery, not in the centre. It is this centre which provides the basis for the law, determines and modifies it.“⁸

⁴Booklet No 2, Summaries of the Five Consultations, Vienna 1992, p.21f.

⁵Second Vienna Consultation, Vienna 1974 (=WW 2), p.124

⁶Ibidem

⁷WW 2, p.170

⁸Ibidem, p.171

*Alois Grillmeier, 3rd Vienna Consultation:*⁹

After this recapitulation of the two previous Consultations a fresh step forward was made by studying each other's concepts of Church, i.e. ecclesiology in the East and the West, with a special emphasis on the notion of Councils. First Bishop *Amba Gregorios* (Cairo) and Prof. Dr. *Wolfgang Beinert* (Bochum, now Regensburg) spoke about *The Church of Christ as Local Church*. „The notion of „Church“ may be approached either from its universality or from the local church. Whereas Amba Gregorios put the first aspect at the center of his analysis, moving towards the second from this standpoint, W. Beinert started from the „rediscovery of the local Church“ and went on to put the question of the realization of the Church according to the New Testament: „The church exists only *in* and *from* the local churches.“¹⁰ From that point he traced the development of New Testament ecclesiology, by considering the chief indicators of the local-church-character of the *Una Catholica*, i.e. faith, sacramental communion and service, especially in ministry. As the Commission of Cairo which met after Vienna in 1977 showed, there was as yet no common understanding of the relationship between „universal“ and „local“. However, the third set of issues, *Necessity and Signs of 'communio' between the Local Churches*“ (Metropolitan *Paulos Mar Gregorios*, New Delhi, Prof. Dr. *H.J. Vogt*, Tübingen, and Archbishop *Mar Severius Zakka Iwas*, Baghdad) was rather useful in clarifying each other's perceptions. „Particularly the early synodal activity which at first hardly crossed the borders of the imperial provinces, shows that the correspondence among the communities was not based on a groundless urge for communication or on only a postulated general right for information. Rather did the communities, at least those which had entered the light of history, experience and exercise, through their bishops, but also through other members of the clergy, the *sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* (the Concern of all churches).“¹¹

(...)

The seventh topic *Binding Magisterial Statements and the Historical Nature of the Life of the Church* represented the highlight of the issues raised and discussed. Unfortunately, the Armenian Archbishop *Tiran Nersoyan* from New York had not been able to come to the meeting. Surely, he would have contributed crucial points on the matter, as previous Consultations showed. but the two papers actually read by Metropolitan *Geevarghese Mar Osthathios*, Kottayam, and Prof. DDr. *Karl Lehmann*, Freiburg, entirely made up for his absence, in spite of their differences in detail. Metropolitan *Geevarghese Mar Osthathios* stressed that what was needed in this time and age, was the renunciation of any pyramid-shaped hierarchic set-up and a transformation in terms of the Trinitarian structure of the Church; to his mind the Sobornost concept of Orthodoxy represents a combination of hierarchic and democratic principles. He particularly expanded on Khomiakov, and his idea of the church as an organic society and gave special emphasis to reception as a test for the authenticity of a dogma. Since Khomiakov, however, only wants to recognize the first seven Councils and excludes the later ones, he introduces a totally anti-ecumenical principle. but the

⁹Booklet No 2, p.27ff.

¹⁰Third Vienna Consultation, Vienna 1977 (=WW 3), p.44

¹¹WW 3, p.80. - H.J. Vogt, who stressed that the necessity of *communio*, i.e. of a give-and-take between the individual Churches, can be documented both in the early Church and in subsequent periods of church history. Without any doubt a useful ecumenical subject.

speaker himself did not insist on Khomiakov. His opinion was made clear above all in point six of his guidelines for the future: Though we cannot go back to the faith and structure of the undivided Church in toto, the future should be in the line of the patristic tradition (Basilus was given special prominence by the speaker!). Hence the joint search for the faith of our common Fathers which has to be done by the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant Traditions, to arrive at an ecumenical theology which is acceptable to all and binding on all under the Holy Spirit.¹² Professor Lehmann started by explaining the document „Mysterium Ecclesia“ issued by the Roman Congregation of Faith in 1973, which in its No 6 acknowledges that dogmatic formulations are determined by history, something which was unprecedented in any official statement.¹³ First of all, he called for dogmas to be placed in the whole context of ecclesiastical tradition of faith and showed the way „unhistorical isolation“ was determined by history. This would make for the preservation of an equilibrium and a correspondence with the rest of religious truths. Nor was it proper to conceive the history of tradition along the lines of a purely intellectual process or merely in the sense of holding dogmatic tenets to be true. With M. Blondel he underlined that „dogmas are far less the result of a dialectical reflection on the texts, than an expression of the constant reality proved in life.“¹⁴ Any dogma has not so much a protective function, it rather stands in the service of faith to the church. In point two Lehmann then spoke about the reasons for the emergence of dogmas from the life of the Church. The origins of theology and dogma must not be seen exclusively in the negative fact of (opposition to) heresy. He also felt that the definition of dogma offered by Piet Schoonenberg¹⁵ was too narrow: „Dogma is, so to speak, the line of defence of the faith. It does not immediately give us the source and the current of the tradition of faith; it is rather the reverberation in which the current moves.“¹⁶ Lehmann explored the strains in the relationship between formula and substance or purpose of dogmas. The formula character must not be overstretched (exaggerated), because any dogma does not primarily spring from an authoritarian act of swearing everybody in on a concept that must now be adhered to but rather from the creation, by virtue of the jointly found wording, of a community of communication in faith. Thus, the dogma would move much closer to the life of the Church in all its aspects. Finally, Lehmann examined the relationship of *sensus fidei* and responsible teaching authority, something which was after all given a new basis just by the Second Vatican Council. This led him on to a „new understanding of the development of dogmas“ which must not become intellectually lopsided. The history of dogmas is a true and authentic history of faith (and not a mere history of theology or „history of dogmas“ in an academic sense). Here, Lehmann was largely speaking *pro domo*, i.e. with a view to the current situation within the Roman Catholic Church. The speech of his Oriental counterpart, however, demonstrated that the same kind of problems were a reality of life there too.

By way of conclusion, thinking focused on any *practical consequences* that might emerge from the three Vienna Consultations held so far, with papers presented by Bishop *Amba Samuel*, Cairo, Vardapet Dr. *Mesrob K. Krikorian* and Dr. *Walter Kirch-*

¹²WW 3, p.209

¹³Lehmann refers to his commentary in „Nachkonziliare Dokumentation“, volume 43, Trier 1975

¹⁴WW 3, p.12, referring to „Geschichte und Dogma“, Mainz 1963, p.86

¹⁵Die Interpretation des Dogmas, Düsseldorf 1969, p.62

¹⁶WW 3, p.213

schläger. Naturally, the first speaker, being the representative of the biggest community among the Oriental Orthodox Churches, the Coptic Church, was able to offer a number of experiences, particularly since official talks with that Church had been taken up by Pope Paul, not least as a consequence of the First Vienna Consultation of 1971. In Egypt, we shall see something like a test case for an actual realization of unity. The speaker suggested to stipulate in the Communiqué of the Third Non-Official Consultation the following points:

1. „We will work out during a time limit of *no more than five years* a scheme of the practical steps needed to reach the real unity and full community which we envisage.“

2. „These five years should be planned together in a detailed time-table for each step which should be announced also in this meeting.“

3. „A small permanent committee (of five Oriental Orthodox members and five Roman Catholic members) has to correspond with one another and meet at least twice a year for the practical implementation of these steps and its follow-up. They should report to the churches concerned.“¹⁷

This framework of a five-year plan should include the discussion and clarification of theological issues according to a pre-established order of priorities:

1. final agreement on the remaining open questions in Christology,
2. ecumenical councils,
3. recognition of saints,
4. lifting of anathemata,
5. other minor dogmas, which could be regarded as accepted local traditions rather than as universal doctrine of the whole united Church,
6. the form of the unity we envisage.

*Wilhelm de Vries SJ, 4th Vienna Consultation:*¹⁸

In addition, the consultation dealt with two other questions: with the problem of the Uniate Churches and the *Paper of the International Anglican - Roman Catholic Commission on Authority in the Church* as a possible basis for discussion. the question of such a possibility was answered in the negative by Mar Gregorios and in the affirmative by *Father John F. Long SJ*.

Dom Emmanuel Lanne OSB, in his paper entitled *The connection between the post-Tridentine concept of primacy and the emerging of the Uniate Churches* put his finger on the actual cause of this problem, i.e. the fact that the Uniate Churches were formed on the basis of an ecclesiology which is no longer valid today. The known resentment of the non-Catholic Orientals against the Uniate Churches was borne out by the discussion. This time round, however, representatives of these churches also had a chance to take the floor.

¹⁷WW 3, p.181

¹⁸Booklet No 2, p.49f.

A.1. Only Dom Emmanuel Lanne's paper was directly concerned with the role the Oriental Catholic Churches. At the beginning of modern times Byzantine „oikoumene“ in a way came to be superseded by the Catholic one. This leads with the parallel struggle of the Tridentine reform against Protestantism to a reinforced centralization in Rome. The concrete consequences for the East: In its relationship with Rome the Church came to be replaced by the „rite“. The nature and existence of Uniate Churches were downgraded to variations of liturgical life! Correction of this at least rather „oblique“ view of the Eastern Churches was initiated and carried forward to a considerable extent by Vatican II.

2. The Oriental Catholic Churches were represented by a member of the Coptic, Armenian and South-Indian Malankara Churches each. Only the representative of the Church last mentioned took the floor in the discussion.

(...)

B.6. It is not by chance that the national aspects come up for debate when one talks at the Oriental Orthodox Churches; they are and want to remain what they have been right from the beginning, i.e. national churches. Hence, we are confronted here with an essential characteristic of the East in general, with the all-important feature of their church-being as opposed to the Catholic Church and their concept of universality and catholicity of the Church of Jesus Christ. Even a planetary but national jurisdiction in our opinion does not mean universality, rather stands in sharp contrast to it. This is the very reason of the Orientals' alert suspicion of universal primacy of Roman Catholic coinage. It seems to jeopardize their national identity at their most tender spot. Conversely, this is not a minor source of difficulties for Roman administration, i.e. Roman exercise of primacy when dealing with the Uniate Eastern Churches as soon as they want to set up their own church tradition in the „Western diaspora“, against the background of a Latin environment.

(...)

9. It is difficult to imagine the assignment of *teaching* authority - and an inerrable at that - to the Church as a whole. While „Eastern Orthodoxy“ (see above) does know the infallible „guardian ministry“ of the pleroma, it does not concede it any teaching authority. Vatican II distinguishes clearly between the „supernatural sense of faith“ of the faithful as a whole, emanating from the Holy Spirit and preventing the entire people of God from error, and the infallible teaching authority exercised by the shepherds appointed by God (Dogm. Const. on the Church No 12 and 25): Hence, it is the Church as a whole that is infallible in *faith*, and it is the church teaching authority that is infallible in *proclamation*, subject to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. - This is why I do not quite understand this statement. At this point it could have been an inconclusively discussed concession to the Oriental Orthodox who had earlier referred back to the community as a reason for their rejecting Chalcedon, and repeatedly tended to assign teaching to the vardapets, i.e. the theologians rather than the bishops.

C.10. Maybe it should not be ignored that the expression „union of sister Churches“ avoids any article. Surely, this is to be understood in the sense of „union as sister Churches.“ The Church's set-up as a community of sister Churches ought to be

¹⁹Booklet No 2, p.55f.

maintained by all means. No absorption, no centralization, no subjection! This is precisely what the Orientals fear for their Churches from Rome and they believe to be confirmed in this fear by the experiences made by the Uniate Churches. Are they really entirely wrong in doing so? - After all, this might be a statement of the foundations and preconditions of future unity, but the question remains: „all Churches together“ - on a „world-wide“ scale - is this really possible in the final analysis without a universal jurisdictional primacy? Its exercise, however, would not and should not be identical with Roman practice in the history of Western Christianity. I hold the view that, since Vatican II at least, there have been visible signs of change.

11. Of course it is theologically true that all unity and community within the Church has its sole origin in the triune God and can only be lived in this light (compare Jn 17!). A different question, particularly in view of God's Work of Salvation, is that of which function the „secondary causes“ appointed and called by Him ought to or may take on in this respect. Besides, not only the Oriental Orthodox but the East in general likes to make a particular point of the action of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and rightly so. Curiously enough therefore, the distrust with which they view a „primacy of divine law,“ a primacy that is wholly based on divine order and hence wholly left to the discretion of the Holy Spirit. And it was precisely in this matter that - even during this Consultation - they demanded canonical, i.e. juridical, in other words, human safeguards against any abuse of the infallible teaching authority for instance. - The necessity of a special (service) ministry of unity was recognized. Now even according to Oriental tradition there exists no ministry within the Church that is not rooted in a local church and remains an integral part of it. In the event of the existence of such a special „ministry of unity“ its holder will invariably be identified with his church. It is an open question whether in this way that church would not hold a special place in her own right and within the community after all.

(...)

13. This text raises a whole range of questions. What, mind you, is the idea behind „collaborating“ in „the restoration of eucharistic communion“ of those Churches that are united with Rome? „Intercommunion“ more appropriately: mutual admission to the communion, as a rule, is seen by the Orientals as „camouflaged proselytism“ on the part of the Uniates; if this came about, what one can imagine is a one-way street at best: the admission of uniate Catholics by the non-uniate Orientals. But would the latter really be prepared to make such a concession? - And what exactly is meant by sister churches in this context: non-uniate and uniate Churches of the same tradition? or non-uniate Oriental Churches and the Catholic Church as a whole? The question becomes especially pressing when one thinks of the working out of „local solutions“ and even more so when it involves the realization of the former principle of one-town-one-bishop; after all, it is a „unified episcopate“ that is under discussion! as of when should one strive for this true ideal of church government? And in doing so should the different „traditions“ continue to be allowed for? One door, however, has been left open: the latter is to be done „as far as possible.“ - At any rate, it must be made plain without any reservations: the Oriental Orthodox cannot be regarded as a „field of mission“, which in the past unfortunately used to be the case not only on the part of the Catholics but also on the part of the Anglicans and the Protestants. On the other hand though, it is a genuine ecumenical progress that the existence and the service of the Catholic Oriental Churches were judged positively in this context.

c) Ecclesiologically vital for the continuation of the Consultation was the paper presented by *Father Edward Kilmartin SJ*, professor at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, on *Ecclesiological Implications of Classical Eucharist Prayers*.²¹ Here, the often invoked ecclesiological notion of „diversity in unity“ was being verified in a precise and exemplary way by means of those texts of the ancient Church which give evidence of the Trinitarian and Christological faith in its genuine execution and at the same time in the context of action of the Body of Christ. The most important of the various eucharistic prayers used in the different Churches date from the fourth to fifth centuries and show a form largely developed as early as in the third century (i.e. by Hippolytos), ultimately going back to prayer patterns of the time of the New Testament and even to the Jewish *Berakah* as a preliminary stage. Its basic structure already contains the *thanksgiving* for God's saving activity for the benefit of the chosen people and the *petition* for the completion of the salvation. These elements furnish the structural pre-conditions for the Trinitarian and Christological as well as the soteriologically defined thanksgiving of the Church, and likewise for the petition which, drawing on the Church's saving experience, extends to the whole of redeemed mankind.

The eucharistic activity invariably embraces the entire saving work of the Triune God and particularly the action of the Holy Spirit for the Church in its universality and time-transcending integrity, in which the local Church is given a sacramental share and thereby is *essentially linked with all the other local Churches celebrating the Eucharist*, forming an inner unity.

The speaker then took the special example of the individual elements of the anaphora to illustrate the various aspects of this unity: thanksgiving, sanctus, narrative of institution, anamnesis-offering-prayer, epiklesis and intercessions.

In spite of the variety of the texts, all ancient church traditions show a similar development in structure and in substance ranging from Hippolytos' Anaphora to the Apostolic Constitutions and the Antiochian and Alexandrian Anaphoras. The second part of the paper illustrated the eucharistic action under the leadership of bishops and presbyters and with the participation of deacons as well as all sectors of the community *as a mirror of the structure of the Church*, with each local Church being in turn the exact likeness of every other local Church and the image of the universal Church. Moreover, ordination rites are a particularly good expression of the link between the ministry and the action of the Triune God as well as its connection with the entire Apostolic succession. At the same time they witness the whole range of the threefold ministerial duties of Martyria (witness to the Gospel), Leitourgia (worship of God) and Diakonia (mutual service of love). The Apostolic succession whose undivided character is shown (e.g. in the episcopal ordination prayer of Hippolytos) and enacted in every ordination thus also implies that every bishop beyond the link with his own local Church is called to *care for all local Churches and their unity*.

The third part of the paper tried to offer an approach to the understanding of the Petrine ministry of the Pope for the unity of the Church by way of eucharistic ecclesiology. When each Church is the exact likeness of every other local Church celebra-

ting the Eucharist and the mirror of the universal Church this does not exclude, but rather demand that there be between the Churches a possibility of verifying ortho-Eucharist in the framework of ecclesial koinonia as well as in the vertical dimension of liturgical tradition and Apostolic succession. Such a special authenticity within the koinonia on the part of certain Apostolic local Churches which in case of doubt is in particular secured by the Roman Catholic Church and the koinonia with its bishop, is indeed being witnessed in that stage of the liturgically determined ecclesiology of koinonia of the ancient Church which precedes the development of the Imperial Church.

This approach trying to interpret the papal ministry in terms of eucharistic ecclesiology, attracted great attention among participants and was also echoed, in the final Communiqué.²² - Instead of talking about a „sacramental authority“ of the Pope in relation of the universality of his office there was a preference already during the discussion for the expression „rooted in the sacramentality of the Church.“

Mons. Philipp Harnoncourt suggested by the very title of his brief, succinct paper on *The Faith of the One Church in the Expression of Different Rites and Texts within the Christian Service*²³ the ecumenical vision behind the choice of „liturgy“ as a main theme for the Fifth Consultation: liturgy is a fundamental expression of the faith of the Church; *taking precedence over dogmatic definitions* and theological reflection. This results from liturgy being an essentially dialogical process of the proclamation of revelation and God's saving action on the one hand and human response of faith in his direct turning to God on the other hand.

The principle of „lex orandi-lex credendi“ (law of praying-law of believing) can be historically verified. The substance of faith is formulated in baptismal and eucharistic prayers, before it is secured in dogmatic definitions. The liturgical activity reflects the „hierarchy of truths“ which has its origin and goal in the „one truth“ of the Triune God and his Salvation. This „Truth“ itself is the essence especially of the celebration of the Eucharist and witnessed in eucharistic prayers.

But manifestation of the one mystery of salvation is always realized in the local Church. Thus, through their sacramental-liturgical acts all local Churches partake of the One Church. The elements which are common to all churches are easily recognizable in liturgy: praise of God, anamnesis of his saving deeds and epiklesis, the structural elements of lecture, gospel, prayer, hymns, symbolic acts. In the concrete form of liturgical tradition however, this is done in different texts and rites, which for all that thus realize the life of the One church in a special way.

4. Models of Future Unity

The second major topic of the Consultation was: *What Future Unity Do We Envisage? Possible Models of Future Unity*. Two short papers dealing with this subject could not fully bear out the peculiar significance of the issue did however point to areas of incipient convergence and took the edge off the transition to the third major topic of the Consultation, the issue of primacy.

a) *Mons. Philipp Harnoncourt*²⁴ continued to develop his ecclesiological concept of „unity in diversity.“ Not only liturgy is through its history and nature evidence of the

²⁰Booklet No 2, p.67f.

²¹WW 5, pp.85-98

²²Booklet No 1, p.86

²³WW 5, pp.111-113

²⁴WW 5, pp.120-123

fact that the different ecclesial traditions are no contradiction to unity, but rather its multifarious mirror. The rightful diversity of traditions also extends to their dogmatic, theological and disciplinary, and naturally even more so to their ethnical and cultural aspects. This dogmatic and theological diversity arises from the *inexhaustibility of the revealed mystery* itself which can never be fully accessible in a single or ultimate dogmatic definition nor grasped by the mind. Thus dogmatic statements are invariably subject to the tension between apophatic and kataphatic theology and their different modes of expression and invariably stand in need of *dialectical completion* for their correct interpretation.

The complex diversity of ecclesial traditions is in the final analysis also a realization of the biblical *diversity of charismata*. This idea has also found fundamental formulation in the Consultations on the Church as well as in the Constitution on Liturgy and in the Decree on Ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council. - From among the models of unity discussed on the international level of ecumenism that of „reconciled diversity might be taken as a point from where to go on but the impression must be rejected that „diversity“ as such needs „reconciliation.“

b) The short paper read by the Coptic Orthodox priest Father *Tadros Malaty* was a very terse formulation of future unity as a *Return to the Ancient Pre-Chalcedonian Church*.²⁵ At that time each Church undisputedly enjoyed its own tradition in keeping with Apostolic tradition. Future unity of the Church would have to be founded on complete unity of faith, thus inseparably linked with love. This was still hampered by historical psychological difficulties vis à vis the Roman Catholic Church as well as by unresolved questions of faith. Still to be clarified were the questions of the procession of the Holy Spirit, immaculate conception, indulgence and mixed marriages with non-Christians. the still ongoing practice of proselytism had to cease. This was a sign of love which cannot be separated from efforts for the unity of faith.

The ensuing discussion (especially Mar Gregorios) made it clear that it was not so much a matter of „returning“ to previous times and to a previously practiced Apostolic faith, but rather one of a consistent continuation and a development of Apostolic tradition into the future, with the criteria of the ancient Church providing a standard. (...)

6. Theological and Practical Implications

Two short papers by Metropolitan *Mar Gregorios* and Bishop *Mesrob K. Krikorian* closed the Consultation. They were dedicated to considerations as to in which perspective and with what topics the series of consultations ought to be continued and which subjects had priority for future inter-Church relations.

a) Metropolitan *Mar Gregorios*²⁶ had prepared a catalogue of issues which covered the whole range of independent developments of the individual traditions, in particular those of the Catholic Church as against the Oriental Orthodox Churches: phenomena of diversity, ranging from lists of saints (including criteria of holiness and canonization), to the teaching authority of the councils from Chalcedon to Vatican II and the contents of their teaching, liturgical and disciplinary differences and practical behaviour of the Catholic Church towards the Oriental Orthodox Church during the past cen-

turies (uniatism, „proselytism“). While this enumeration might be regarded as a useful demonstration of the development of the traditions and the richness of the concept of tradition as such, it is no list of individual items to be each treated in terms of their need of convergence or consensus.

b) More closely related to the ideas of the Consultation were Bishop *Krikorian's* suggestions²⁷ who felt that future efforts should focus to an even greater extent on theological criteria and those of the history of tradition, under what conditions and within which limitations the different character of the traditions might fit into a future church unity after all. - To what an extent was there a need for e.g. previous convergence or consensus on the issue of primacy? Could the problem and reality of a universal ministry of unity of the Pope be more easily settled within the very framework of a *koinonia* itself formed along conciliar lines (insofar as the Oriental Orthodox Churches would in a first step consider the Catholic perception of this point as a tolerable aspect of the independent tradition of the Roman Catholic Church regarding the view and form of ecclesial conciliarity)?

The commentator thinks this to be worth considering. Because, if the decision of Vatican II that patriarchal rights according to the canons of the first Ecumenical Councils are to be preserved (Decree on the Oriental Churches No 9), is implemented in its full sense, this must also hold for the separate traditions of patriarchates in their view of conciliar and primatial church structures. (...)

c) Thus the different conceptions of primatial church structure - a locally limited patriarchal one in the Oriental Orthodox Churches and universally designed one of the bishop of Rome - were both included in their own particular theological pattern of reflection in the final Communiqué as forms of two different ecclesial traditions. As ways towards their harmonization the following aspects should be studied more thoroughly:²⁸ the question of how church authority is rooted in the sacramentality of the Church, that of personal and synodal authority above the level of the local episcopal church, and this in the light of the respective liturgical, canonical and pastoral ecclesial tradition.

Concrete proposals emerging from the Fifth Vienna Consultation are, as stipulated in the Communiqué, the formation of a Standing Committee of participants from the various Churches with the task to co-ordinate and render more efficient the follow-up of the Consultation's work and suggestions addressed to church leaders to set up bilateral commissions for dialogue, first as study commissions, at a later stage as bodies of church hierarchy representation such as had been achieved in the Coptic Orthodox - Roman Catholic Commission and the confirmation by the hierarchy of dialogue results regarding a first important and decisive step.

²⁵ WW 5, pp.116-118

²⁶ WW 5, pp.143-145

²⁷ WW 5, pp.142/3

²⁸ According to the communiqué, see Booklet No 1, p.101

List of Participants

Oriental Orthodox:

- Coptic Orthodox: Metropolitan *Amba Bishoy* of Damiette, Kafr el Sheik and Bekravi; Secretary General of the Holy Synod, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
Prof. Deacon *Emile Maher Ishak*, professor at the Coptic Seminary in Cairo
- Syrian Orthodox: Archbishop *Mar Gregorios Hannah Ibrahim* of Aleppo, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
Metropolitan *Thomas Mar Timotheos* of Outside Kerala Diocese, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE
- Armenian Apostolic: Archbishop *Mesrob K. Krikorian*, Patriarchal Delegate of Austria and Sweden, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
Archbishop *Aram Keshishian*, Primate of Lebanon, Moderator of the Central Committee of the WCC, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee, now Catholicos Aram I of Cilicia
Archbishop *Karekin Nersessian* of Erevan (prevented)
- Ethiopian Orthodox: Archbishop *Abuna Gabriel*, Head of Foreign Affairs, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee, now Archbishop of Western Shoa
- Indo-Syrian Orthodox: Metropolitan *Mathews Mar Severios* of Kandanadu, Reverend *Kondothra M. George*, Assistant Director of the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey/Geneva, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee, now Vice-Principal of the Old Seminary in Kottayam

Catholic:

- Coptic Catholic: Father *Makarios Tawfiq*, professor at the Seminary in Maadi, now bishop in the East of the Delta, the Canal Region and the Sinai
- Syrian Catholic: Mons. *Mikhael Al-Jamil*, Vicar General (prevented)
- Armenian Catholic: General Abbot Father *Paul Kodjanian* of the Mechitharist fathers, Vienna (prevented)
- Malabar Catholic: Archbishop *Mar Joseph Powathil* of Changanacherry, President of the Indian Catholic Conference of Bishops, Honorary Member of PRO ORIENTE
Dr. *Xavier Koodapuzha*, professor at the St. Thomas Apostolic Seminary in Kottayam
- Malankara Catholic: Dr. *Geevarghese Chediath*, Rector of the St Aloysius Seminary in Trivandrum
- Melkite: Mons. *I. Abdallah Raheb*, Patriarchal Exarch, Marseille

- PRO ORIENTE: President *Alfred Stirnemann*, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
Mons. *Philipp Harnoncourt*, professor for Liturgical Studies at the University of Graz, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
Father *Frans Bouwen PA*, Regional Superior for Lebanon, Jerusalem and Ethiopia, member of the Commission for Theological Dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
DDr. *Peter Hofrichter*, professor for Ancient Church History and Patristics at the University of Salzburg, member of the PRO ORIENTE Standing Committee
- Others Roman Catholics: Prof. *Adelbert Davids*, professor at the University of Nijmegen
Father *Hervé Legrand OP*, director of the Institut Catholique de Paris
Prof. *Richard Potz*, canonist at the University of Vienna
- Observer: Mons. *Eleuterio Francesco Fortino*, Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, Rome
- Secretaries of the Minutes: Father *Gerhard Habison*, parish priest of Großmugl, Lower Austria
Father *Joseph Zachariah*, post-graduate student and candidate for a doctorate at the University of Vienna, from the Syrian Orthodox Seminary Mullanthuruty, Kerala

PRO ORIENTE
Third Study Seminar
On Ecclesiology
1st - 5th July 1994
Bildungshaus Lainz/Vienna

Program

Friday, 1st July

- 9.00 a.m. Inaugural session, chaired by President Alfred Stirnemann
9.15 a.m. First working session, chaired by Archbishop Mesrob K. Krikorian
Prof. Legrand and Ishak present their papers
12.30 a.m. Lunch
3.30 p.m. Second working session, chaired by Prof. Philipp Harnoncourt
Father Bouwen presents his paper
6.30 p.m. Dinner

Saturday, 2nd July

- 9.00 a.m. Third working session, chaired by Father K.M. George
Archbishop Mar Gregorios and Father Tawfiq present their papers
10.30 a.m. Discussion
12.30 a.m. Lunch
3.30 p.m. Fourth working session, chaired by Father Frans Bouwen PA
Prof. Potz presents his paper
5.00 p.m. Discussion
6.30 p.m. Dinner

Sunday, 3rd July Liturgies

Monday, 4th July

- 9.00 a.m. Fifth working session, chaired by Archbishop Aram Keshishian
The Archbishops Mar Joseph Powathil and Mesrob K. Krikorian
present their papers
12.30 a.m. Lunch
3.30 p.m. Sixth working session, chaired by Metropolitan Amba Bishoy
6.30 p.m. Dinner

Tuesday, 5th July

- 9.00 a.m. Seventh working session, chaired by President Alfred Stirnemann
12.30 a.m. Lunch
3.00 p.m. Eighth working session, chaired by President Alfred Stirnemann
6.30 p.m. Dinner

Liturgy

Opening Prayer

Hymn: 

1. Ve-ni, Cre-á - tor Spí-ri-tus, men-tes tu - ó -
rum ví - si - ta: im - ple su - pér - na grá - ti - a,
quæ tu cre - á - sti pé - cto - ra. A - men.

6. Strophe

Come, O Creator. Spirit blest,
And in our souls take up thy rest:
Com with thy grace and heavenly aid,
To fill the hearts wick thou hast made.

Drive far from us the foe we dread
And grant us thy true peace instead;
So shall we nor, with thee for Guide,
Turn from the path of life aside.

Great Paraclete, to thee we cry,
O highest gift of God most high,
O Fount of Life, O Fire of Love,
And sweet anointing from above!

Oh, may thy grace on us bestow
The Father and the Son to know,
And thee, through endless times confess'd,
Of both th' eternal Spirit blest.

Thou in thy sevenfold gifts art known;
The finger of God's hand we own;
The promise firm and virtue high
Who dost the tongue with pow'r endow.

All glory while the ages run
Be to the Father and the Son,
Who rose from death; the same to thee,
O Holy Ghost, eternally!

Our senses kindle from above,
And make our hearts overflow with love;
With patience firm and virtue high
The weakness of our flesh supply.

Syrian Prayer

Lecture: Ephesians 4, 1 - 7

Coptic Alleluja

Intercessions:

The Lord's Prayer (everybody in his own language)

Blessing

Papers and Discussions

The seminar opens with a prayer consisting of liturgical elements from the various traditions of the representatives assembled (see p. 29).

PRO ORIENTE President, Mr. *Alfred Stirnemann*, delivers the opening address. He welcomes the participants and recollects the previous consultations, the formation of the Standing Committee, its work and above all the previous two study seminars of June 1991, on Primacy, and of June 1992, on Councils and Conciliarity. He expresses his best wishes for this third study seminar on Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church. Towards the end of his address he introduces the participants and informs that Archbishop *Mikhael Al-Jamil*, Archbishop *Karekin Nersessian* and Abbot General *Paul Kodjanian* had asked to be excused. Then he declares that as per arrangement by the Standing Committee Archbishop *Mesrob K. Krikorian* will chair the first working session.

First working session: Friday, July 1st: 9.00 a.m.

Chair: Archbishop Mesrob K. Krikorian

Archbishop Krikorian points out the historic dimension of the PRO ORIENTE meetings. Firstly, there has not been any such bilateral meeting between the Roman Catholic and Oriental Orthodox Churches before. Secondly, though non-official, this study seminar consists of many distinguished participants.

Professor Legrand states that it is not only an honour for him to take part in this study seminar but it also meets his personal interest. He feels familiar with the questions raised here because of his experience gained in this field during a two-year stay in Cairo.

Father Hervé Legrand OP

Certain recent contributions of Catholic ecclesiology which may favor full communion between the Latin church, the Eastern churches already in communion, and the ancient Orthodox churches of the East.

In conformity with the desires of Vatican II, an authentic dialogue is in process between the Catholic Church and the ancient Orthodox Churches of the East: you are all familiar with this dialogue and many of you have been its pioneers! On the first day of his symposium, my aim can only be a very modest one: to recall, with simplicity and clarity, the official position adopted at Vatican II, or since, which has a fundamental bearing on our dialogue towards full communion among our Churches.

My own feeling - I cannot hide it from you - is that we have made more progress in the course of the last thirty years than during the three preceding centuries. Yet while outlining this progress for you, I shall try to evaluate the strength and weakness,

so that you may judge for yourselves. So as to be realistic, I shall conclude the account with a brief description of the ecclesiological progress which still needs to be made on a theological level as well as in the concrete life of the Church, for the aim of ecclesiology is to serve the concrete life of the Church.

The plan of my presentation will follow what I have just outlined. I shall take up the ecclesiological statements of Vatican II and their developments, in order to show how they favour full communion among our Churches:

1) The first founding affirmation is found in the enunciation of *Lumen Gentium*, 8: Ceasing to identify the Church of Christ pure and simply with the Catholic Church, it is said there that the Church of Christ subsists in the Catholic Church, which makes possible the very positive enunciations on the totality of the Eastern Churches found in nos 14-18 of the Decree on Ecumenism.

2) The second step forward of Vatican II, even more important for our dialogue, is the adoption of an ecclesiology of communion, which is expressed in the formula of *Lumen Gentium* 23: "In and from such individual Churches, there comes into being the one and only Catholic Church".

3) In line with the development outlined above, Vatican II began to recognize in the Eastern Churches, sister Churches (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, 14), a fact which would become effective in the different dialogues which followed, and especially in the recognition that "uniatism can no longer be accepted either as a method to be followed, nor as a model of the unity our churches are seeking",¹ what is thus recognized, from the Catholic side, in the dialogue with the Chalcedonian Orthodox Church, must be extended to the ancient Orthodox Churches of the East.

4) After having analysed these acquisitions, it remains to turn towards the future. In effect, our theological ways and practices of thinking of the relations between the local and regional Churches and the whole Church, remains, as we all know, quite divergent. In regard to the future of communion among us, there is a fundamental ecclesiological problem, that we generally call by the familiar terms of papacy and autocephaly. Many other questions hang on this question, which our discussions here in Vienna must allow us to see more clearly, so that we may be able to suggest lines of reflection which will be fruitful for full communion among our Churches.

1. The First Contribution of Catholic Ecclesiology

According to Vatican II, the Church of Christ subsists in the Catholic Church, a statement which allows at the level of principle, the recognition of the ecclesial nature of other Churches, among which, the ancient Orthodox Churches of the East are certainly included. When *Lumen Gentium*, 8, says of the Catholic Church, not that she "is" the Church of Christ, but, more modestly, that the latter subsists in her, the possibility is given in principle, of recognizing the ancient Orthodox Churches of the East as other "subsistences" of the Church of Christ.

Such a recognition has always existed, but even after the encyclical of Pius XII on the orthodoxy of the Christological formulations of these Churches (1951), reservations

¹ Uniatism and the present search for full communion. A paper by the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church (*Balamand Statement*, June 1993) n.12, in *Catholic International* 4 (1993) 442

still remained among theologians as to the quality of their ecclesial nature. In particular, we know that the same Pius XII, in his encyclicals, *Mystici Corporis* and *Humani Generis*, underlined that the mystical Body of Christ and the Roman Catholic Church were one and the same reality. Besides, the preparatory schema for the Constitution on the Church took up the same formulation:

"The Roman Catholic Church is the Mystical Body of Christ... and only the one who is Roman Catholic has the right to be called Church."²

The Conciliar Fathers criticised this exclusive identification of the Mystical Body and the Catholic Church,³ so much so that the final text replace the verb "to be" with that "to subsist".⁴ This change of vocabulary illustrated a significant openness towards the recognition of an ecclesial reality in the non-Catholic Churches, and singularly, in the Orthodox Churches of the East: almost all the commentators have noted it.⁵

This interpretation is not only that of commentators, but is that of ecclesial authority itself, since Pope Paul VI, who promulgated these two texts the same day, remarked, addressing himself especially to the non-Catholic observers, that the doctrine of the Church contained in *Lumen Gentium*, must be interpreted in the light of the explanations given in the decree on Ecumenism.⁶ Since the third chapter of *Unitatis Redintegratio* is entitled "Churches and ecclesial communities separated from the Roman See", it clearly establishes that there are Churches separated from this See, and further, in the first part of the chapter entitled "The Special Position of the Eastern Churches", that while these Churches are not in full communion with Rome, they are certainly recognized as "particular Churches" in the theological sense, and not simply in the conventional use of this term.⁷

Thus the Eastern Churches, both Chalcedonian and pre-Chalcedonian, have undoubtedly been recognized as true Churches, since the same Decree on Ecumenism envisages positively the *communicatio in sacris* with them:

"Given suitable circumstances, and the approval of Church authority, some worship in common is not merely possible but is recommended" (U.R. 15).

Henceforth, the Catholic Church and its theologians recognize the ancient Orthodox Churches of the East as true Churches. Relations with them must be set in motion about the mode of communion, since with Vatican II, the Church of Christ is conceived of more clearly as a communion of local Churches.

² Acta Synodalia Concilii Vaticani II, 1/4, 15, n. 6 and 7 (hereafter AS)

³ Thus Cardinals Liénart (AS 1/4, pp. 126-7) and Bea (ibid., 228)

⁴ The Theological Commission is justified in saying, "so that the expression may better agree with the affirmation concerning the ecclesial elements which are to be found outside of Her" (AS IV/1, 177)

⁵ See the latest commentaries to date: F.A. Sullivan, "Le sens et l'importance de la décision de Vatican II de dire, à propos de l'Eglise du Christ, non pas qu'elle 'est' mais qu'elle 'subsiste' dans l'Eglise catholique romaine in: Vatican II. Bilan et perspectives 25 ans après (1962-1987). Under the direction of R. Latourelle. Paris-Montreal 1988, pp. 299-314. - Cardinal J. Willebrands, "La signification de 'subsistit in' dans l'ecclésiologie de communion" in Doc. cath. 85 (1988) pp. 35-41. - G. Philips, "L'Eglise et son mystère au 2e concile du Vatican" Paris-Bruges, 1967, t. T, p. 119. - Y. Congar, "Le développement de l'évaluation ecclésiologique des Eglises non-catholiques" in Revue de Droit Canonique 25 (1975) pp. 215-6. - S.N. Bosshard, "Die Subsistenzlehre des Vaticanum II und ihre Integration in der Theologie vom Leib Christi" in Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift 38 (1987) pp. 355-67

⁶ Acta Apostolicae Sedis 56 (1964) 1012-1013

⁷ In the explanations given before the vote, one responded to an objection to this appellation by recalling that "it is manifest in the catholic tradition that the separated eastern Churches are called Churches and this in the proper sense." AS III/7, p. 35

2. The Second Contribution of Catholic Ecclesiology

The affirmation that the Church exists "in and from" the local Churches, so that the theological and canonical recognition of regional Churches as being at the heart of communion, is a gage of the extent to which there has been a drawing near to the ecclesiology of the ancient Eastern Orthodox Churches.

2.1. In and from: The Catholic Church Exists in and from the Local Churches

Speaking of local Churches "fashioned in the image of the Universal Church", *Lumen Gentium*, 23, affirms that it is "in them and from them that the one, unique Catholic Church exists." It has been said that this is the most important ecclesiological formula of the Council. It is also found in the context of introducing the meaning of the episcopal ministry: "In each particular Church, the one, holy, Catholic and apostolic Church of Christ is truly present and active" (Decree on the Pastoral Office of the Bishop in the Church, 11), but it had already been heard in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, 41: "All must be persuaded that the principal manifestation of the Church consists in the full and active participation of all the holy people of God in the same liturgical celebrations, and especially in the same Eucharist."

The formula "in and from" (in quibus et ex quibus) is absolutely decisive for understanding the structure of communion at the heart of the Catholic Church. All agree that today communion and not collegiality is the central theme of Vatican II, as well as that of the Extraordinary Synod of 1985 called by John Paul II. John Paul took up literally the formula of the Synod in *Christifideles laici*, 19: "The ecclesiology of communion is the central and fundamental idea of the Council documents."⁸

After the above texts, to adopt an ecclesiology of communion is to affirm theologically and to incarnate practically mutual acceptance among local Churches. The guiding image is no longer that of a universal Church which is seen to exist in an immediate fashion. With Cardinal de Lubac, we agree today that "an anteriorly existing universal Church, supposed to exist outside of all the particular Churches, is only a theoretical creation."⁹ The Church may certainly express herself by an Ecumenical Council or by the ministry of the Primate of the universal Church, in so far as he presides over the communion of all the Churches, but in both cases, in the one as in the other, the reality of the communion of local Churches is manifested.¹⁰

Let us be even more precise. Vatican II ceased to see the local Churches as partial realizations, subordinated to the whole Church. Justly, because in each diocesan Church, the Gospel, the Holy Spirit, the Eucharist and the episcopal ministry are indivisible realities; each diocese is a portion, and not a part, of the whole Church. So much so that the whole Church must be understood from the local realizations of the Church. In this perspective, it is a false question to ask: "Which has priority over the other, the local Church or the whole Church?" If the universal Church only exists as

⁸ John Paul II, *Christifideles laici*, n. 19

⁹ H. de Lubac, *Les Eglises particulières dans l'Eglise universelle*, Paris, 1971, p. 54

¹⁰ As for an ecumenical council, such is her very nature. As for the pope's service of the faith, it is too seldom said that he is bound to the faith of the Church in a possible decision: he must take use of all the means at his disposition in his search for the truth, engaging in a consultation with all the catholic bishops, even if Vatican I did not bind him to any formal juridical procedures.

realized in the local Churches, and from them, it is these local Churches which have the priority. If there are no local Churches which are not "formed in the image of the universal Church", guarantor of the true faith, then the universal Church is first.

And in fact, it was only the universal Church which was promised that the gates of hell would not prevail against her; this was not said of any local Church (cf. Mt 16:18).

In brief, if both of these points of view are true, it is fitting to renounce the language of priority; the truth is to be found in the mutual interiority of Churches, that is to say, in their communion.

The consequences of these ecclesiology of the communion of Churches for the exercise of the episcopate are clear: bishops cannot be simply the representatives of the whole Church in their Churches, nor simply the representatives of their Church in relations with all the others; they are the links of communion in both senses, and simultaneously. No bishop can exonerate himself from caring for the universal Church without being lacking in his mission. Yet, ordinarily, he exercises this mission in a regional context. Regional groupings of Churches are the normal and indispensable context for the activity of bishops. In this regard, the renewed value given to regional Churches by Vatican II is a gauge of our capacity to draw closer to the ancient Eastern Orthodox Churches.

2.2. The Theological and Canonical Recognition of Regional Churches at the Heart of the Communion of the Church

The importance and legitimacy of regional Churches is explicitly highlighted in *Lumen Gentium*, 23:

By divine Providence it has come about that various Churches ... have in the course of time coalesced into several groups, organically united, which ... enjoy their own discipline; their own liturgical usage, and their own theological and spiritual heritage."

And this:

"while preserving the unity of faith and the unique divine constitution of the universal Church."

This description does not refer to an historical memory but to an ever present reality, in the form of the Eastern Catholic Churches (E.O.2). Besides, Vatican II itself: "solemnly declares that the Churches of the East, as much as those of the West, fully enjoy the right, and are duty bound to rule themselves."

These expressions show unequivocally that the Catholic Church understands herself other than as a communion of interchangeable dioceses, and that she also understands herself as a communion of regional Churches in which variety "is particularly splendid evidence of the catholicity of the undivided Church" (L.G. 23). In fact, the foundation of the regional Churches is not to be found in the episcopal ministry, but in Christian connections made within human cultures. Let us explain briefly.

Speaking of mission, the decree *Ad Gentes*, underlined that since Pentecost, the vocation of the Church is "to speak all tongues, lovingly understand and accept all tongues, and thus overcome the divisiveness of Babel" (A.G., 4). Following this logic,

the Church, "for the same motive which led Christ to bind himself, in virtue of his Incarnation, to the definite social and cultural conditions of those human beings among whom he dwelt" (A.G., 10), and being "the congregation of the faithful, endowed with the reaches of its own nation's culture, should be deeply rooted in the people" (A.G., 15).

It is thus that "in each major socio-cultural area" particular Churches must be born in the following conditions:

"Every appearance of syncretism and false particularism [should] be excluded, and Christian life [should] be accommodated to the genius and the dispositions of each culture..." And thus "the individual young Churches will have their own place in the ecclesiastical communion" (A.G., 22).

From this realization of regional Churches, Vatican II hoped precisely for the impulse towards the reestablishment of unity between divided Christians. In basing itself on L.G. 23 in particular, no. 4 of the Decree on Ecumenism underlines the necessity of this pluriformity in unity:

"While preserving unity in essentials, let all members of the Church... preserve a proper freedom in various forms of spiritual life and discipline, in the variety of liturgical rites, and even in the theological elaborations of revealed truth... [so] they will be giving ever richer expression to the authentic to the authentic catholicity of the Church, and at the same time, to her apostolicity" (A.G., 4).

The development of such an ecclesiology has not happened until this point in a perfectly harmonious fashion: it needs to be honestly recognized that the Catholic Church has met and always meets with difficulties on this path.

2.3. Some Difficulties in the Revival of Regional Churches at the Heart of the Latin Church

The promulgation of the Code of Canons for the Eastern Churches in Latin, and by the pope and not by the patriarchs or the major archbishops of these Churches, has been interpreted as a manifestation of the great difficulty that the regional churches have in existing in communion one with another at the heart of the Catholic Church, if not under the strict guardianship of the Roman papacy. This interpretation is not totally convincing, however, for it must be remembered that the statute for the Eastern Catholic Churches is constitutionally provisional, as the final number of the document which Vatican II devoted to them clearly says:

"All this directives of law are laid down in view of the present situation, until such time as the Catholic Church and the separated Eastern Churches come together into complete unity" (O.E., 30).

Let us concentrate on the Latin Church. L.G., 23 finished by expressing the desire to see episcopal conferences represent an expression of the pluriformity which characterized the undivided Church:

"In like manner, the episcopal bodies of today are in a position to render a manifold and fruitful assistance, so that this collegiate sense may be put into practical application."

What is the reality thirty years later? The Code of Canon Law promulgated in 1983 certainly situates the episcopal conferences in its organization, not after the universal Church but after the particular Churches, which indicates that their power does not derive from the primacy, and that it does not represent the college of bishops of the universal Church. In principle, their juridical autonomy is recognized: according to their ordinary and proper power, they make decisions which are binding on their members, after the papal "recognitio". However, their power of decision has remained limited to a very restrained area, and most often, the conference is a consultative assembly, with the responsibility for pastoral coordination.

However, even if their influence is so restrained, their development has been stopped for the moment. It is significant that the Working Paper on their statue which originates from the Roman Curia¹¹ mentions the fear that they might interfere with the power of the diocesan bishop or the primacy of the pope, and recalls that they do not have a magisterial function.¹²

More recently, a Letter from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, entitled "Some Aspects of the Church as Communion" has been interpreted as tending to complement the formula of L.G., 23 "in quibus et ex quibus", by correcting (?) it with the addition of the phrase "the Churches exist in and from the Church."¹³

It may however be noted in regard to the question of the development of pluriformity that there have been a series of synods at the level of continents: the special Synod for Europe (1991), for Latin America (1992), and for the African continent (1994). It is true that these synods are not permanent, and that they do not make decisions which are binding on their members, but nevertheless, their existence begins to give consistency to the idea of continents at the heart of the Catholic Church.

In conclusion, it is with a real slowness on the canonical level that the Catholic Church is giving expression to the pluriformity in which she nevertheless recognizes a great value.

3. The Third Contribution of Catholic Ecclesiology

The recognition of the ancient Orthodox Churches as sister Churches and the refusal of uniaticism in the process of reconciliation with them.

The most specific contribution of Vatican II for helping to bring about full communion with the ancient Orthodox Churches is certainly their recognition as sister Churches of the Catholic Church, and, following the same logic, the refusal to accept the concept and practice of uniaticism in our relations with them, as with the Chalcedonian Orthodox Church.

¹¹ An English translation may be found under the title, "Draft on Episcopal Conferences" in *Origins* 17 (April 1988) pp. 731-37. J. A. Komanchak has done a good analysis: "The Roman Working Paper on Episcopal Conferences" in J. T. Reese, *Episcopal Conferences. Historical, Canonical and Theological Studies*. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 1989, pp. 177-204

¹² These fears are expressed in the Draft Statement at n. 735 A, B, C

¹³ "Some aspects of the Church as Communion" in *Catholic Universal* 3 (1992) pp. 761-7. where the sentence can be found at the end of no. 9

3.1. At Vatican II, the Catholic Church Recognized the Eastern Churches as Sister Churches

The most helpful way forward is to quote the text in which this recognition was made:

"For many centuries the Churches of the East and of the West went their own ways, though a brotherly communion of faith and sacramental life bound them together. If disagreements in belief and discipline arose among them, the Roman See acted by a common consent as moderator.

This most sacred Council gladly reminds all of one highly significant fact among others: in the East there flourish many particular or local Churches; among them the patriarchal Churches hold first place; and of these, many glory in taking their origins from the apostles themselves. As a result there prevailed and still prevails among Orientals an eager desire to perpetuate in a communion of faith and charity those family ties which ought to strive between local Churches, as between sisters." (U.R., 14)

The text does not directly call the Eastern Churches our sister Churches, but in nos. 14 to 17 it does even better: in the light of a common past which still rests the present ideal of the East, it demonstrates that it is both legitimate and required that the Catholic Church should consider as sister Churches the Eastern Churches as a whole, both Chalcedonian and pre-Chalcedonian.

The outcome of this demonstration is the fact that these Churches are true "local or particular Churches." Why? Precisely because of what we have in common with them:

1. The same apostolic faith, the same heritage transmitted by the Apostles (no. 14).

2. The same Eucharist and the same ministry. It is fitting to quote U.R., 15 here which is very explicit:

"[Through] the sacred liturgy, especially the celebration of the Eucharist... the faithful, united with their bishop and endowed with an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, gain access to God the Father through the Son, the Word made flesh, who suffered and was glorified. And so, made "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet 1:4), they enter into communion with the most holy Trinity. Hence through the celebration of the Eucharist of the Lord in each of these Churches, the Church of God is built up and grows in stature, while through the right of concelebration their bond with one another is made manifest" (U.R., 15).

In recognizing that the Eastern Churches which are separated from us have the same apostolic faith as we have, and in recognizing the value and the validity of their sacraments, "above all - by apostolic succession - the priesthood and the Eucharist, whereby they are still joined to us in a very close relationship" (U.R., 15), Vatican II shows how they are our sister Churches. Such a recognition is a little theoretical until it leads to the recommendation in certain circumstances of a communication in sacris: this has been put into effect, in a reciprocal manner, for example, with the Syrian

Orthodox Church¹⁴ where it was mentioned precisely that it is a sister Church, and which is always desired in the same conditions with all the Eastern Churches, as the recent Directory on Ecumenism mentions.¹⁵

3.2. The Rejection of Uniatism

The rejection of uniatism "which can no longer be accepted either as a method to be followed or as a model of the unity our Churches are seeking" has only been officially registered between the Catholic Church and the Chalcedonian Orthodox Church. Yet, as a Catholic theologian, I can say without fear of being wrong, that in the same manner, and for the same reason, the attitude adopted at Balamand is valid for relations between the Catholic Church and the ancient Eastern Orthodox Churches.

It is only necessary to note that such a reorientation does not signify the suppression of the Eastern Catholic Churches which exist at present, but rather, their insertion into dialogue, as the Balamand text underlined:

"These Churches should be inserted, on both local and universal levels, into the dialogue of love, in mutual respect and reciprocal trust found once again, and enter into the theological dialogue, with all its practical implications."¹⁶

After having thus presented the contributions of Catholic ecclesiology which allow us to advance towards full communion, we must finish by turning towards the work which still remains to be done in ecclesiology, an inventory to which it is probably important that we give our agreement.

4. Future Contributions of a Catholic Ecclesiology

It remains to elaborate a non-antagonistic understanding of the Autocephalous East and the Roman Primacy as well as a theology of the regional Churches.

The most pressing task for catholic ecclesiology, if it is to contribute to a full communion with the ancient Eastern Orthodox Churches, would be to overcome the opposition - indeed, the perceived contradiction - between Roman Primacy and Autocephaly. This task doesn't appear to be impossible, especially if one were to elaborate in a positive sense a genuine theology of the regional Churches.

This at least is the proposition which I would submit to this scholarly symposium, where we are met to explore new avenues and to test their worth.

¹⁴ The expression 'sister Churches' appears in n. 1 of the Common Declaration of Pope John Paul II and His Holiness Mar Ignatius Zakka I Iwas; the common decision is specified at n. 9: [unofficial translation] "It is not uncommon that, for our faithful, access to a priest in their Church turns out to be practically or morally impossible. Mindful to respond to their needs, and cognizant of their spiritual usefulness, we therefore authorize them to seek the succor of sacramental penance, eucharist, and the sacrament of the sick among the legitimate pastors of the other Church according to their needs."

¹⁵ See n. 122-128: "Sharing in Sacramental Life with members of the various Eastern Churches" in Catholic Universal 4 (1993) 380-1

¹⁶ On the Canons of Sardica, which have the great advantage of being a major canonical elaboration, common to both the East and the West, of Roman Primacy, cf. H. Legrand, "Brève note sur le synode de Sardique et sur sa réception: Rome instance d'appel ou de cassation?" in Comité mixte catholique orthodoxe en France. La primauté romaine dans la communion des Eglises, Paris, Cerf, 1991, pp. 47-60

4.1. First Thesis

Primacy and autocephaly can both be seen as legitimate and well founded responses, albeit with some insufficiencies in their present realizations, to a common problem: the relationship between the episcopal Church, the regional Church, and the universal Church. Neither party is able to propose a solution to this common problem which is convincing to the other. So on the one hand, the development of papal primacy has not been, in all its dimensions, a completely satisfying articulation for Catholics themselves of the unity and the diversity which abides at the heart of the Catholic Church. Similarly, in the eyes of the Orthodox Church, autocephaly is not a completely satisfying response to the ecclesial call to unity. In fact, is this not the first agenda item for the upcoming Great and Holy Synod under preparation by the Chalcedonian Orthodox Church? At the same time, the concern for unity among the ancient Eastern Orthodox Churches since the meeting at Addis Ababa has shown that their autocephaly is not satisfactory in their own eyes. From this vantage point, and without denying the solid foundation of autocephaly in the tradition of the undivided Church, nor the scriptural and traditional foundations of Roman Primacy, may we not consider that their present articulations are both legitimate and well founded responses to one and the same common problem? One may thus enter into a doctrinal discussion on equal footing wherein both partners in the dialogue find themselves in solidarity before a common challenge and therefore may, as well, find themselves in solidarity in their efforts to articulate a common response - and without having to begin with renunciations.

4.1.1. *On the Catholic side*, one way of interpreting Roman Primacy is open to us. It is based upon a serious consideration of the expressed intentions of Vatican I regarding the universal primacy of jurisdiction. These were clearly expressed by that Council when it said that these definitions should be understood in the light of the "ancient and constant belief of the universal Church" (DS 3052, ND 818), expressed in the testimony of the "proceedings of the ecumenical Councils and in the sacred canons" (DS 3059, ND 825), lived in "the perpetual practice of the Church", and passed on in the declarations of the ecumenical Councils, "especially those in which the Western and Eastern Churches were united in faith and love" (DS 3065, ND 831).

In this way, Vatican I took the tradition of the ancient Church and her Councils as the criteria by which this Council itself was to be interpreted; the realities of the ancient Church were set as the horizon against which these new texts were to be understood. All this is to say that, in her dialogue with the Orthodox Churches, the Catholic Church may not impose an understanding of Roman Primacy which has been elaborated solely for and by the Western church without becoming unfaithful to the criteria imposed by Vatican I itself. No roadblock exists for a dialogue about primacy, and Vatican I should be interpreted according to Florence and, going back further, according to the Canons of Sardica which acknowledge to the bishop of Rome the possibility of asking a second judgment when appeal was made to him. A real power was thus acknowledged to the Pope within the communion.¹⁷ The essential point which

¹⁷ Cf. John Paul II in the presence of Dimitrios I: [unofficial translation] "in the perspective of that perfect communion which we desire to re-establish, I beseech the Holy Spirit to give us His light and to enlighten all the pastors and theologians of our Churches, that we may search, certainly together, the ways in which this

can draw from that which we have just sketched is the need to interpret together the papal primacy in the Church as this was expressed by John Paul II during his reception of Patriarch Dimitrios I in Rome in 1987.¹⁸ John Paul II could have made the same suggestion to the other patriarchs of the East.

4.1.1.1. Such an interpretation must not remain simply a theoretical one. Catholics need to take a whole series of concrete steps. A first step on the part of Catholics would be to distinguish much more clearly between the patriarchate of the West and the primacy over the entire Church. The importance of this distinction was underlined by the future Cardinal Ratzinger when he wrote, "A common ecclesial law, a common liturgy, one single model for the nomination of bishops by Rome, from the center, these things do not necessarily adhere to the primacy as such, and are found to be true only where the two ministries (that of patriarch and that of pope) coincide. As well, in the future, one ought better to distinguish between the office properly speaking of the successor of Peter and that of the patriarch." The present Cardinal Ratzinger has recently reiterated this idea.¹⁹

4.1.1.2. Another positive step on the Catholic side would be a better manifestation of the conciliar dimension of the Church. The example of Vatican II stands out in the memory of all: this council demonstrated that primacy could very well be at the service of conciliarity. Obvious examples of this can be found, as we have already seen, in the continental synods gathered about the Pope. Do our dialogue partners see these developments as moving in the proper direction?

4.1.1.3. Together at this time, perhaps we may evolve some ecclesiological perspectives in order to further the reception of those developments which occurred during our separation.

The Proceedings of the first ecclesiological Consultation PRO ORIENTE (Vienna 1974) provide very rich resources for such an effort of rapprochement between Catholics and Chalcedonian Orthodox. What can be retained?²⁰ And shouldn't a similar reflection be made concerning the conclusions recently reached between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians?

ministry (i.e., that of Peter) may effect a loving service recognized as such by both parties" in Doc. Cath. 85 (1988) p. 88

¹⁸ See footnote 17

¹⁹ Cf. J. Ratzinger, *le nouveau Peuple de Dieu*, Paris, 1968, p. 66. More recently, in a conference at the Vaudois Center in Rome he said, [unofficial translation] "Naturally, we cannot reconstitute the form of the ancient Church, but we can draw inspiration from Her in order to see how we may associate unity and pluriformity. This then is the goal, the ultimate end of the work of ecumenism: to achieve a real unity in the Church, which implies a multiplicity of forms which, today, we cannot yet define." cited by D. Sicard, "L'Eglise comprise comme communion. Letter of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Paris, Cerf, 1993, p. 124

²⁰ KOINONIA. First ecclesiological Consultation organized by the PRO ORIENTE Foundation, French version Istina 20 (1975) 1. - German version: PRO ORIENTE. Vol. 2. Auf dem Weg zur Einheit des Glaubens. Koinonia - Erstes ekklesiologisches Kolloquium zwischen orthodoxen und römisch-katholischen Theologen. Innsbruck-Wien 1977, organized by the PRO ORIENTE foundation in collaboration with the Orthodox Centre of the Ecumenical Patriarchate Chambésy and the Secretariate for Promoting Christian Unity, Rome. - Of special value are the contributions of E. Lanne, J. Ratzinger, and L. Bouyer

4.1.1.4. On the catholic side, it would be suitable to work more effectively for a theology of regional Churches.

In Catholic culture, the affirmation is widely held that the bishop alone in his diocese, and the Pope in the entire Church, is so by divine right. Certainly, this is true only if one restricts the question to that of ministries. But is it proper to reduce the Church simply to the ministers who are called to serve her? This present danger underlines the importance of developing a genuine theology of local Churches.

4.1.2. As for *the ancient Churches of the East*, new ways to interpret autocephaly also need to be found, especially so that regionalism, i.e., the affinity between confessional membership and national identity, may not serve as an excuse for deep-rooted separatism in disguise. Apart from legitimate specificities, one ought not to forget that universalism too belongs to the very core of the christian message.

Our dialogue partners are presently exploring this point, and this Study Seminar should also be in favour of such an exploration.

4.2. Second Thesis

A genuine theology of the regional Churches would contribute to the overcoming of the present antagonism between Roman Primacy and Autocephaly.

On the Catholic side, we believe that, in order to overcome the present impasse between primacy and autocephaly, we must move beyond the too simple view that sees the bishop and the pope alone as existing by divine right in the Church.

Actually, these further points also belong under the notion of divine right:

4.2.1. The *Church as a communion* with God under obedience to the Gospel, assembled as the Body of Christ about the Eucharist and in the Holy Spirit, under the guidance of the bishops.

4.2.2. A *rootedness in the culture*, the society, the nation and, at the same time, a critical regard of these same realities, that they might be changed and converted by the Gospel.

4.2.3. In this we see that the *regional Churches*, as a manifestation of the catholicity of the Church, have a part as well in the divine mission of the Church.

The regional Churches as we know them today acquired their present form under the influence of many complex historical factors, e.g., cultural, political and administrative currents in their histories. Certainly it isn't their concrete realization which is of divine right, yet the catholicity of divine right commands that there be regional Churches which integrate themselves in a Christian manner into their cultures, whether this be under a patriarch, as a "Great Church", under a metropolitan, or in some other fashion.

There remains a long trek to trod in this regard in the Latin Church. May one not suppose that, as long as this process of reflection is not yet theologically grounded and practically engaged, the Eastern Churches will rightly continue to fear being absorbed by the immense Latin Church?

On the side of ancient Orthodox Churches of the East, a symmetrical route beckons, perhaps in the opposite direction, requiring a theological and concrete consideration of universal communion.

If this last remark is well placed, then that which Father Meyendorf said of Catholic-Orthodox relations is also pertinent to our present discussion:

"Both sides will be ready to recognize

- that such membership (in the Body of Christ) is fully realized locally, in the Eucharist;
- that it also implies a regional (i.e., also a cultural, national and social) mission;
- that regionalism is not always consistent with universalism, which nevertheless also belongs to the very nature of Christ's message."²¹

It now behooves us to explore several spiritual implications of our joint efforts toward full ecclesial communion. This will serve as our conclusion.

5. *Some Evangelical and Spiritual Conclusions*

One must not confuse ecclesiology with the Church herself. Certainly, it is the latter which interests us far more than the former. So we are glad to be able, here together, to recall some spiritual attitudes without which all our efforts toward full ecclesial communion would be in vain: love and reconciliation, mutual respect, and fidelity to the mission.

5.1. Love of Neighbor and the Spirit of Reconciliation

As we all well know, the history of our relations has been marked by mutual ignorance, by competition, and even at times by political violence - as during the Crusades or under colonialism. More often, a type of cultural violence has been practiced by the Catholic Church for the sake of proselytism.

Our efforts toward reconciliation should therefore pass through a stage of repentance for past misdeeds and a renunciation of competition in the present age, for it is to Christ that the sister Churches need to turn, and in this way they may approach each other.

In order to escape spiritually from the ethnic forces of division, of isolation, and of violence toward others, we need to place ourselves in the dynamic currents of Pentecost, that perduring symbol in the liturgy and among the Fathers as the antidote to Babel. Too, we need to recognize anew the eschatological dimension of our liturgical assemblies, especially the Eucharist, where God comes to gather His people "from among every tribe and language, race and nation".

²¹ J. Meyendorf, "Ecclesiastical Regionalism: Structures of Communion or Cover for Separation? St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 24 (1980) 155-168, part. 168

5.2. Mutual Respect Today

In the past, the waning of the guiding light of Pentecost as the cure to Babel was accompanied by a waxing sense of religious superiority, a process which led, for example, to the romanisation of all the liturgies of the West and to a general sense of the superiority of the Latin Rite to all others. Today, we are happily enlightened by a mutual appreciation.

As the Balamand declaration stated, this same mutual respect has led us to renounce uniatism. But the uniate Eastern Churches now run the risk of facing the possibility of great suffering, perhaps of great bitterness as well. It is therefore all the more important to give them the right to speak and to accord them an equal share in the present process of reconciliation.

May we at this Symposium formulate some common criteria regarding this matter so as to avoid that our rapprochement create new divisions, perhaps too in order to profit from the experience of the uniate Churches?

5.3. A Common Christian Witness

The prayer of Christ for His disciples sheds light on our project: "that they may all be one... so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (Jn 17:21). More than ever, Christian division is a counter-witness in the present context of Europe where war in the former Yugoslavia stokes the fires of Northern Ireland, and where strong tensions exist between Orthodox and Uniates in many former communist lands. All these reinforces the suspicions which have circulated since the Enlightenment which painted religions as forces of intolerance, aggressiveness and bellicosity.

As Catholics and Eastern Orthodox, we know by experience how our divisions serve to strengthen Islam's sense of its own credibility, for many of us are in direct contact with Muslims. Recall the words of the Koran, sura V, verses 16-17: "The Christians shift the words of Scripture and forget parts of what was taught to them... This is why We (=God), we have stirred up in their midst hatred and division until the day of resurrection. God will show them what they have wrought." Muslim exegetes are rather united in their interpretation of these verses: the Christians are accused of having falsified the Divine Revelation of which Jesus was the prophet, especially when the Christian community divinized the Christ, and, later on, corrupted monotheism by inventing the Trinity. It was this deviation from the message of Christ which, on the one hand, necessitated the sending of another prophet, who would finally be the seal of all prophecy, i.e., Mohammed, and on the other hand the constitution of a new people of God, the Submissive Ones (the proper name for Muslims). The consequence of this was the division of the ancient people, who would testify by their division until the Last Judgment the fact that God had retracted His election of the Christians.

From this regard we see, as if under a magnifying glass, the scope of our efforts towards full communion. More importantly, these efforts should revivify our fidelity to the Gospel in many ways. To shirk them is most likely to condemn ourselves to an enervated christianity. Rather, let the Lord give us the grace to be faithful to His prayer, that we might be one.

Oriental Orthodox Ecclesiology and the Search for Communion between East and West

1. Introduction to Oriental Orthodox Ecclesiology

Ecclesiology is the theological exploration of the *ecclesia* i.e. the Christian Church, which is a historical living reality and, at the same time, an important matter of faith related to salvation.

"Ecclesiology forms an essential part of Christology in so far as our understanding of Christ includes Soteriology, for it is through the Church that the salvation in Christ is mediated to us."¹

The whole Oriental Orthodox Theology, including Ecclesiology, is founded on the Holy Scripture and the Apostolic Tradition handed down in the Church and preserved in her sacramental liturgical life, the writings and canons of the ancient fathers and the early Councils that are received and recognized by the Oriental Orthodox Churches and, in particular, the three ecumenical Councils: Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431). The Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed represents an unreplaceable foundation and expressions of the faith.

The essence of the Church was epitomized in the four traditional characteristic notes first enumerated in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381, i.e. one, holy, catholic and apostolic.

The note of Unity is intimately related to the concept of the Church as "one body in Christ" (*Rom.* 12:5) and as the Body of Christ (*Eph.* 1:23). The essential elements in Church Unity may be stated in agreement with the teaching of St. Paul (*Eph.* 4:4-6; *1 Cor.* 10:17; 12:12-27) as being the common worship of the one God, the common holding of the one faith, the common possession of the one sacramental life, the common aim at the attainment of the one hope, and the common indwelling by the one Spirit."²

The Holiness which is the second note of the Church is the organic or objective Holiness which is constituted by the doctrines and laws and sacraments and aims of the Church as Holy, even if the subjective Holiness which is the lives of individual members is not perfect. This organic Holiness is well-founded biblically. Eg. St. Paul addresses those who are "called to be saints" (*Rom.* 1:7). The Corinthian Church consists of those "sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints" (*1 Cor.* 1:2). St. Paul, while recognizing that community as holy, he condemns sins committed by members of it. (*1 Cor.* 5,6). The Church is rightly described as holy even if some of its members are sinful, as the ignorance of some members of a University does not hinder that University from being rightly described as learned.

Catholicity is the third note. As applied to the Church, the word catholic is the opposite at once of particular and of heretical. Thus it denotes both universal and orthodox. St. Cyril of Jerusalem gives an expanded explanation of the sense in which the term catholic has been applied to the Church, saying:

"The Church is called 'Catholic' because it extends through all the world, from one end of the earth to another. Also because it teaches universally and without omission all the doctrines which ought to come to man's knowledge, about things both visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly; and because it brings under the sway of true religion all classes of men, rulers and subjects, learned and ignorant; and because it universally treats and cures every type of sin, committed by means of soul and body, and possesses in itself every kind of virtue which can be named, in deeds and words, and spiritual gifts of every kind."³

Apostolicity is the fourth and last of the "notes of the church". The term "Apostolic" affirms that the Church is descended from the Apostles by a due succession.

The fact of the succession of the ministry from the apostles, and of the apostles from Christ, was strongly emphasized by St. Clement of Rome before the end of the first century (Clement of Rome, [*First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 44]).

The episcopate is thus held to create a historical link between the Church of the Apostolic times and that of today and is both the means and assurance of the continuity of office and of transmission of grace; and on these grounds the episcopate descended from the Apostles is the guarantee of the Apostolicity of the Church.

Our task in this paper is not to elaborate on the divine institution, organization, sacraments, mission and destiny of the Church, but only to discuss certain points in Oriental Orthodox Ecclesiology which serve our search for communion between East and West.

2. The Church Unity

2.1. The Organic Unity of Christ's Church is a Reality

2.1.1. The Oneness of the Church

The Church of Christ in its essence as His body is always one. In spite of all the schisms and heresies which appeared in the Church since the apostolic times until the present day, the Church has never and will never lose its notes of organic unity, holiness, universality and apostolicity.

The indivisibility of Christ's Body implies the fullness of the Church dwelling in each of the local churches. This view is expressed in St. Paul's formulas "the Church of God which is (or dwells) at Corinth" (*1 Cor.* 1:2; *2 Cor.* 1:1), or anywhere else where local churches are to be found.

2.1.2. The Eucharistic Ecclesiology

Through the Eucharist we have the whole Christ and not a "part" of Him; and therefore the Church which is "actualized" in the Eucharist is not a "part" or "member" of a whole, but the Church of God in her wholeness.

Where there is the Eucharist there is the Church. Such is the primitive ecclesiology expressed in the tradition of the early Church.

¹ The Vienna Dialogue. Booklet 5 (On Councils and Conciliarity), Vienna 1993, p. 60

² Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings, 1912 (=ERE), vol. III, p. 625

³ Catechetical Lectures 18:23

St. Cyril of Alexandria, e.g., deduces the unity of the ecclesial body from the unity of the divine essence.⁴ About the unity of Christ's members, he says: "By means of one body he blesses those who believe in him and incorporates them in himself and in each other; and that body is his own. And who can divide and remove them from this mutual union of nature, when they have been bound together in unity with Christ by means of that one holy body? We all partake of one loaf, and so we are all made into one body: for Christ cannot be divided. Therefore the Church is called the 'Body of Christ, of which each individual is a member' as Paul understands. For we are all united to the one Christ, by means of his holy body, since we take him, the one and indivisible, in our own bodies... If we are all incorporated with one another in Christ, not only with one another but also with him who comes within us by means of his own flesh, then surely it is clear that we are all of us one, both with one another and in Christ. For Christ is the bond of unity, since he is God and man in one and the same person."⁵

2.1.3. The Universality of each Local Church

The Church universal consists of all members in all time and all space. Thus it includes the holy dead, together with those now living on earth, and those who are still unborn.

According to the eucharistic ecclesiology, the organic unity of the Church universal is interpreted, not in terms of "parts" and "whole", but in term of "identity." The Church of God is one and indivisible Body of Christ wholly and indivisibly present in each church, i.e. in the visible unity of the people of God, the Bishop and the Eucharist.

Every local church manifests all the fullness of the Church of God, because it is the Church of God and not just one part of it. The plurality of local Churches does not destroy the unity of the Church of God, just as the plurality of eucharistic assemblies does not destroy the unity of the Eucharist in time and Space.

2.1.4. The Communion of All Members of the One Body

The Church binds men together in a *Koinonia* or Communion of life over which Christ rules (*Rom.* 5:15-21). Christ's members are "in him" and he is "in them" (*Gal.* 2:20); they are baptized "into him" (*1 Cor.* 12:13); they belong to him because they have died "through his body" (*Rom.* 7:4).

They suffer and are glorified "with him" (*Rom.* 8:17).

All spiritual gifts are mediated through the body to its members, and through its members to the body. This applies not only to individual believers but also to types of ministry and to various races and classes which in Christ are reconciled (*1 Cor.* 12:13; *Eph.* 2:14-22). There are many members, but there can be but one body (*Rom.* 12:4-5; *1 Cor.* 10:17; 12:12; *Eph.* 4:4).

Related to the concept of the ecclesiastical body is the concept of Christ, not as the body, but as the head. The head is the source and locus of authority, which the whole

body must honour and obey (*Col.* 2:10). It is the channel through which divine life and glory flow into the body (*Eph.* 1:22ff.). As its head, Christ loves, sanctifies and saves the body (*Eph.* 5:25).

2.1.5. Conciliarity as an Expression of Communion

This issue was treated thoroughly in the Second Study Seminar of PRO ORIENTE. The points of agreement were summarized in the Communiqué of that Seminar as follows:

"1) The Church is by its very nature conciliar, being an icon in the created order of the ineffable Holy Trinity, three Persons in one ousia, bound together in the perfect communion of love. Conciliarity means more than councils. Conciliarity is communion (*Koinonia*). Communion in conciliarity can continue even during long periods when no formal ecumenical councils are held."

"2) This communion has two essential dimensions - (i) the vertical-transcendent communion of all members with the True God in the Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit and (ii) the horizontal communion of all members in all time and all space with each other, a special aspect of which is the communion of the Church on earth with the heavenly Church. Without either of these dimensions the church would not be the Church."

"3) This communion is above all a communion of love; where love is not present, communion cannot be real."

"4) This communion is participation in the Body of the one Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God, crucified, dead and risen, ascended and seated at the right hand of the Father; it is effected by the Holy Spirit, through faith and baptism-chrismation, through the Eucharist, and through sharing in the Apostolic teaching and witness, guarded, authenticated and pastored by the episcopate with the presbyterate and the diaconate, and through loving service to each other and to the world."

"5) Conciliarity belongs to the essence of the Church. This conciliarity is expressed at various levels - in the eucharistic communion of the local church (diocese), with the bishop or bishops, and with the whole Church Catholic in all time and all space, as well as in local, national, regional and universal synods. In the local parish, the presbyter, as vicar of the bishop, is the focus of conciliarity. He exercises the ministry in conciliar fellowship with his people, - the ministry of (i) worship, prayer and intercessions, (ii) of pastoral building up of the people, and (iii) of loving service to the world - all three aspects being marked by conciliarity."⁶

2.2. The Search for Communion between Churches is a Necessity

2.2.1. The Need for Unity

Although the organic unity of Christ's Church is a reality, in the sense that it affords the outward means whereby the Church is maintained in union with Christ its Head, yet, the Church now on earth has to strive towards an ideal of Unity which is not yet realized. The closer the approximation may be, the greater is its perfection in

⁴ Commentary on *St. John* 17:20-21 = Book 11, c. 11

⁵ *Ibidem*

⁶ Booklet 5, pp. 58-59

respect of Unity. But the note of Unity is not lost because the approach to the ideal stops short of reaching it.

However, all agree that the present division is a scandal to the world and a violation of the God-given Unity of Christ's Church.

Therefore, the search for (subjective) Communion between the different families of Churches is a necessity. All of us Christians have a God-given responsibility to restore the visible unity of the One Church of Christ.

The first necessity must be an authentic desire for communion to be established on the sound basis of unity in faith.

This can be achieved through building up a constructive dialogue characterized by a spirit of mutual love, respect, openness and candour, with a genuine sense of the common responsibility for the visible manifestation of the unity of Christ's Church, expressed by serious steps forward on both sides.

2.2.2. *The Vienna Dialogue*

In fact, the unofficial theological dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches has already begun in the PRO ORIENTE five Vienna consultations of 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1988, the Middle East Symposium of Wadi Natrun 1991, the Kerala Regional Symposium, Kottayam 1993, and the two previous Study seminars of 1991 and 1992; and this third one on "Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church", 1994.

The Holy Spirit who leads the churches into all truth has been working through these efforts and will continue to bless future efforts also, and lead us to that unity for which our Lord Jesus prayed (*Jn. 17:11, 21-23*).

2.2.3. *Other Dialogues*

The Oriental Orthodox Churches are engaged also in dialogue with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Anglicans and some Protestant bodies.

2.2.4. *The Coptic Church and the Search for Communion*

The Coptic Orthodox Church participates fervently in the search for communion. She expresses her yearning to the unity of the Church through prayer, teaching and ecumenical work.

The Coptic Prayers for Unity:

1. There is a prayer for the peace of the Church in which the priest says, "... Remember, O Lord, the peace of Thine One Only Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church... That which exists from one end of the world to the other, all peoples and all flocks do Thou bless...".

2. In the Anaphora of St. Gregory, the priest intercedes saying: "Yea we beseech Thee, Christ Our Lord. Make firm the foundation of the Church. The unanimity of love may take root in us... May the schisms of the Church cease. Nullify the arrogance of the heresies (- heretics). And count us all in the unity of godliness".

3. Together with other churches in Egypt, the Coptic Church celebrates the week of common Prayer for Christian Unity.

As Regards the Instructions:

1. The Coptic Church also teaches her people, in the Morning Prayer of the Canonical Hours, a lesson read daily from St. Paul's Epistle to the *Ephesians* 4:1-6, which is an exhortation to unity.

2. She reminds her people of the unity also through reading the Synaxarion which commemorates saints, martyrs, bishops and synods of the Universal Church before the Chalcedonian Schism.

3. The subject of ecumenical studies has been recently introduced in the Coptic Orthodox Theological College as a seminar class led by H.G. Metropolitan Anba Bishoy.

As Regards the Ecumenical Work for Unity:

The Coptic Church has participated actively in the Vienna Unofficial Dialogue since the beginning, and has set up a joint commission with the Church of Rome. Moreover, she is engaged in several other ecumenical dialogues.

3. *Unity from an Oriental Orthodox Perspective*

3.1. General Principles

1. Unity is full communion. The search for full communion means the common search for full agreement in faith. Sacramental communion can take place only after an identification in the faith has been ascertained. (See 3.2.).

2. Unity is not to be understood in the outdated ecclesiology of return to the Catholic Church, since each local church manifests all the fullness of the Church of God. They are all Sister Churches identically universal, and their agreement is necessary for the unity of the Church. Therefore, there is no need for the insistence on communion with one particular See or bishop as absolutely essential and uniquely indispensable.

3. Unity is not to be understood as a submission of one church to the other. It is a communion of love in conciliarity on equal terms.

4. Unity is neither absorption nor fusion but a meeting in truth and love.

5. Therefore, the missionary activity which has been called "uniatism" cannot be accepted either as a method to be followed or as a model for the unity which is being sought.

"Uniatism" was the theme of the seventh plenary session of the joint dialogue commission between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church (Balamand, Lebanon, 1993). It was stated in the document of that session that:

"(8) In the course of the last four centuries, in various parts of the East, initiatives were taken within certain churches and impelled by outside elements to restore communion between the Church of East and the Church of the West. These initiatives led to the union of certain communities with the See of Rome and brought with them, as a consequence, the breaking of communion with their Mother Churches of the East.

This took place not without the interference of extra-ecclesial interests. In this way Oriental Catholic Churches came into being. And so a situation was created which has become a source of conflicts and of suffering in the first instance for the Orthodox but also for Catholics."

"(9) Whatever may have been the intention and the authenticity of the desire to be faithful to the commandment of Christ: "that all may be one" expressed in these partial unions with the See of Rome, it must be recognized that the reestablishment of unity between the Church of the East and the church of the West was not achieved and that the division remains, embittered by these attempts."

"(10) The situation thus created resulted in fact in tensions and oppositions".

"Progressively, in the decades which followed these unions, missionary activity tended to include among its priorities the effort to convert other Christians, individually or in groups, so as "to bring them back" to one's own Church. In order to legitimize this tendency, a source of proselytism, the Catholic Church developed the theological vision according to which she presented herself as the only one to whom salvation was entrusted. As a reaction, the Orthodox Church, in turn, came to accept the same vision according to which only in her could salvation be found... This perspective was one to which that period showed little sensitivity."⁷

3.2. Unity in Faith

The Church as a community of believers and faithful should have unity in faith: "One Lord, one faith" (*Eph.* 4:5). They have to abide by the genuine deposit of the Apostolic faith handed down in the Church and profess it without alteration or addition.

3.2.1. The Common Quest for Unity in Faith

The search for reestablishing unity is a common quest by the Churches for a full accord on the content of the faith and its implications. As Ratzinger puts it: "(...) Now church unity is of course no political problem which can be solved through compromise, by judging what might find acceptance and what is just tolerable. Here unity in faith is at stake, that is to say the question of truth, which must not become the object of political bargaining. So long and in so far as there is the obligation to regard any maximum solution in terms of a claim to truth itself, so long and in so far there is no other way, but to simply strive for the conversion of the respective partner. Conversely it must be said: The claim to truth must not be raised where it has no imperative and unshakable authority. It must not be imposed as truth what in reality is a historical grown form, more or less closely connected with truth."⁸

3.2.2. No Communion with the Heretics

Church and heresy are excluding entities (*1 Cor.* 11:18-19; *Gal.* 5:20). St. Peter speaks of "false prophets" who "secretly bring in destructive heresies" (*2 Pet.* 2:1).

⁷ *Information Service (=IF)* 83 (1993), p. 96, see below c.3.4.5.

⁸ *The Vienna Dialogue. Booklet 4 (On Primacy)*, Vienna 1993, p.85

The Church, therefore, cannot tolerate heresies. Any doctrine lacking biblical foundation and support must stand outside the teaching which the Church gives authoritatively as the representative of God.

Since the beginning the Church used her teaching authority in condemning heresy, following Christ's command: "If he refuse to hear the Church let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" (*Mt.* 18:17).

St. Paul is explicit: "A man that is a heretic", he writes to Titus, "after the first and second admonition avoid: Knowing that he that is such a one is... condemned by his own judgment" (*Tit.* 3:10 f.).

St. Ignatius of Antioch writes: "Be not deceived my brethren. If any man follows one that makes schism, he 'does not inherit the kingdom of God'. If any one walks in strange doctrine, he has no fellowship with the Passion" (*ad Philad...* 3).

"Present Roman Catholic teaching makes a distinction between 'formal' and 'material' heresy. The former, which is heresy properly so called, consists in the wilful and persistent adherence to an error in matters of faith on the part of a baptized person; as such it is a grave sin involving *ipso facto* excommunication. 'Material heresy', on the other hand, means holding heretical doctrines through no fault of one's own, 'in good faith', as is the case, e.g., with most persons brought up in heretical surroundings. This constitutes neither crime nor sin, nor is such a person strictly speaking a heretic, since, having never accepted certain doctrines, he cannot reject or doubt them."⁹

It is true that "material heresy" is considered less serious than "formal heresy", yet still it is a sin of ignorance. In the Old Testament, unwitting or inadvertent sin, which although less serious than conscious transgression, involves guilt and requires atonement. Intellectual ignorance can lead to sin; in fact, ignorance of God and of the Gospel is identical with spiritual estrangement and apostasy. Exx. the Jews's ignorance in crucifying Jesus (*Acts* 3:17) and Paul's ignorance in persecuting the Christians (*1 Tim.* 1:13), and the failure of the Jews to acknowledge Christ (*Acts* 13:27) and to understand the true "righteousness" of God (*Rom.* 10:3), and the failure of the Gentiles to know the true God (*Acts* 17:30; *1 Cor.* 15:34; *Eph.* 4:18; *1 Pet.* 1:14), (*IDB*, vol. II, pp. 680-1).

Anyhow, it is the duty of the Church to instruct material heretics, preferably through dialogue. But their admittance into communion must be on the basis of unity in faith after renouncing their heresies.

3.2.3. No Communion with Non-Christians

The Church has the obligation to use all available means for evangelization of the World including dialogue with non-Christians and unbelievers. But unless they accept the Christian faith, there can be no possibility, of course, for communion with them. Therefore: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" (*2 Cor.* 6:14-16).

These verses and others (*1 Cor.* 7:39; *Dt.* 7:2,3; *Jos.* 23:12; *1 Kgs.* 11:2; *Ez.* 9:2) pronounce also against mixed marriages between Christians and non-Christians, and

⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (=ODCC)*, ed. 2, under 'heresy', p. 639

against the present practice of blessing such marriages in the Catholic Church by the priest who has to use a liturgical form from the Roman Ritual, namely the Rite of Celebration of Marriage.¹⁰

3.2.4. Unity in Faith with Diversity in Rites

All the Churches now agree that there is no contradiction whatsoever between the ideal of Christian unity and the diversity in rites.

The early Church normally recognized and respected local divergencies of practice, and St. Ambrose of Milan (339-397) could say roundly to a questioner: "When I am here, I do not fast on Saturday; and when I am at Rome, I do. If you do not wish to cause scandal, observe the local practice of any church which you may visit."¹¹

But still there was some tension between the opposing ideals of liturgical uniformity and liberty in the early Church. For example:

1. We find St. Dioscorus of Alexandria, before the end of his first year, in correspondance with Pope Leo I, who did not miss the opportunity of giving liturgical directions, as from the see of St. Peter, to the new successor of St. Mark. "He wrote, on June 21st. 445 to Dioscorus that 'it would be shocking (*nefas* = wickedness) to believe that St. Mark formed his rules for Alexandria otherwise than on the Petrine model'; therefore, what we know to have been observed by our Fathers we wish (*volumus*) to be retained by you also,"¹² "viz. that the ordination of priests or deacons should not be performed at random on anyday", but early on Sunday morning; and repeating the eucharistic celebration on great festivals, in the Church, as often as a fresh congregation might take it necessary."¹³

The Coptic Church, however, did not bow to the claims of the Roman see, nor has changed any of her Apostolic Traditions. Until the present time, it is only the consecration of bishops that is performed on Sundays according to the Apostolic Tradition, while the ordination of priests and deacons is performed at any day of the week. While it is possible at any day to repeat the eucharistic celebration in the same church but on different altars and sanctuaries, with different liturgical vessels, by different celebrant fasting priests and deacons, yet on great festivals, it is only one liturgical celebration which is allowed in each church in all the Coptic churches at the same time without repetition whatsoever.

2. The one sided unions performed by the Council of Florence (1439-1443) with the Eastern Churches had no roots and were doomed to failure. In the union performed with the Jacobites of Egypt, recorded in the bull of reunion *cantate Domino* dated February 4th, 1442, pressure tactics were used in collecting and warning against the so-called "errors of the Copts and Ethiopians", for example, they did not know about confirmation and "extreme unction", they omitted the Filioque, they venerated Dioscorus as a saint, they allowed divorce in case of serious crime... etc. These were actually legitimate liturgical, canonical and theological differences incomprehensible

at the time to the Latin mind. The bull demanded of the Copts "true obedience, to obey always and faithfully the order and commands of the Apostolic see."¹⁴ It is clear that the papal claims were always rejected, and such forced unions never had real existence and were totally ignored by contemporary Coptic and Oriental Orthodox historical records.

In the twentieth century, however, the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in the time of Pius XI, Pius XII, John XXIII, and the Second Vatican Council, encouraged the use of Eastern rites by the Oriental Catholics to make the apostolic work more effective.¹⁵ The liturgical reform of Vatican Council II vehemently backed the principle of diversity in rites. E.g., in the S.C.R. *Eucharisticum Mysterium* (25 May, 1967, parag. 19) it is stated that: "When any of the faithful take part in a eucharistic celebration outside their own parish, they will follow the form of celebration used by the local community... Where there are large numbers of emigrants or people of another language, pastors should provide them at least from time to time with the opportunity of participating in the Mass in the way which they are accustomed."¹⁶

As regards the marriage rite, the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December, 1963, parag. 77). [following the lead of the Council of Trent, session 24], states that: "If any regions use other praiseworthy customs and ceremonies when celebrating the sacrament of Matrimony the sacred Synod earnestly desires that these by all means be retained."¹⁷

As regards the Eastern rite, the Vatican II, *Orientalium ecclesiarum* (21 November 1964, parag. 6) says, "All members of the Eastern Churches should be firmly convinced that they can and ought always preserve their own legitimate liturgical rites and ways of life..."¹⁸

3.2.5. Unity in Faith but not in Jurisdiction

Church unity has to be manifested in the full agreement and communion in faith, hope and love, communion in the sacraments and communion in the ministry through conciliar practice, but never in jurisdiction.

3.2.5.1. The Problem of Universal Primacy and Jurisdiction

3.2.5.1.1. Primacy is the Stumbling Block

The stumbling Block for the restoration of Church unity is the Primacy of the Pope.

"Pope Paul VI, on a famous occasion in Geneva, has made the admission that we are ourselves the gravest obstacle to the restoration of unity."¹⁹

¹⁴Coptic Encyclopedia, New York 1991 (=Cop. E.), vol, IV, p. 119

¹⁵see below c. 3.4.5.

¹⁶Vatican Council II. The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents, ed. Austin Flannery OP, New York 1975 and 1984 (=Vatican Council II), pp. 114-115

¹⁷Vatican Council II, p. 23

¹⁸Vatican Council II, p. 443

¹⁹Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh 1992, p. 78

¹⁰ Paul VI, *Matrimonia Mixta*, 7 January 1970, *Vatican Council II*, pp. 512, 513, see 3.3.1.4

¹¹Augustine, *Letter* 36:14 (32); *PL* 33:151

¹²Dictionary of Christian Biography, ed. Smith/Wace (=DCB), vol. I, p. 855; quoting Leo, *Ep.* 9, published in Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. Schaff/Wace 1951 (=NPNF), second series, vol. XII, pp. 7-8

¹³Ibidem

Again Pope Paul VI said to Cardinal König about the unity of the Church: "I know that I am the obstacle."²⁰

Similarly Pope John Paul II mentioned that the stumbling block for unity was and is the questions of Primacy, when Patriarch Dimitrius I was in Rome on December 7th, 1987.²¹

"The jurisdictional claim of the Roman Catholic Church over the Church Universal", says Archbishop Krikorian, "is not realistic and reconciling at all. Even the argument that the regional Churches could maintain their national status and character on the basis of their proper rites, does not offer sufficient trust and security. The desired unity can be realized on the principle and system of plurality which only can guarantee the identity of the autocephalous Churches."²²

3.2.5.1.2. Primacy Contradicts Eucharistic Ecclesiology

The eucharistic ecclesiology of the early Church excludes the idea of universal primacy by its very nature. This is because every local church manifests all the fullness of the Church of God and is identical with the universal Church. The bishop of every local church holds the first place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. To him belongs the highest sacerdotal degree. He is the living link between his own church and that of others in professing an identical faith and manifesting that faith in Eucharistic celebration.

Even after the development of provincial or regional synods of bishops whether in a district or a metropolitan district or later in a patriarchate or an autocephaly, the primate (*protos*) of every synod (Cf. Apostolic Canon 34, and Canon 4 of Nicaea) does not have any other sacramental ordination than the rest of the bishops whatever the powers of the bishop may be in matters of government, in matters of liturgy the sum of his powers is always consonant and identical.

St. Jerome speaks to the equality of all bishops saying: "Wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople or Rhegium, or Alexandria or Tanis, he is of the same dignity and of the same priest-hood. The power of riches or the lowliness of poverty does not make him a higher bishop or a lower bishop. But all are successors of the apostles."²³

In the eucharistic ecclesiology the collegiality of the bishops of the Synod is the essential phenomenon while the priority of the *protos* is a secondary phenomenon. Conversely, universal ecclesiology holds that a bishop's primacy is an essential phenomenon.

3.2.5.1.3. Primacy and Priority

As a result of distortion of eucharistic ecclesiology, there appeared another type of ecclesiology which we have termed "universal". It leads necessarily to the understanding and practice of primacy as "supreme power", therefore, to a "universal bishop" as source and foundation of jurisdiction in the whole ecclesiastical structure.

²⁰Booklet 5, p. 56

²¹Booklet 4, p. 48, quoting *Information Service* 66 [1988], p. 29f.

²²Booklet 4, p. 44

²³Jerome, *Ep.* 146:1; *PL.* 22:1:192-4; quoted by Kidd *Doc.* vol. I, p. 267

When we speak of primacy we mean the full form i.e. *universal primacy* which was claimed by Rome or Constantinople. This is different from *regional primacy*, or better to be called "priority", within an ecclesiastical province or metropolitan district, i.e. in a group of dioceses (as defined in the Apostolic Canon 34); and the primacy of the so-called *autocephalous churches*, a term recently used for the power of a patriarch or archbishop.

In other words, the unique universal organism of Roman ecclesiology is opposed to "autocephalous" organisms, each one constituted by several "dioceses" under one center or "supreme power". All these "autocephalous churches" are absolutely equal among themselves and this equality excludes any universal centre or primacy.

An important difference between priority and primacy is to be inferred from the Apostolic Canon 34 which after stating that: "The bishops of every nation must acknowledge him who is first among them and account him as their head, and do nothing of consequence without his consent, but each may do those things only which concern his own parish and the country places which belong to it," the same Canon adds: "But neither let him (who is the first) do anything without the consent of all; for so there will be unanimity, and God will be glorified through the Lord in the Holy Spirit."

So the priority in this Apostolic Canon differs from the primacy in the Roman Catholic practice, where the Popes claim the right to overrule the Councils and the teaching of the Fathers. They may convoke councils, though it would be strictly unnecessary to do so in the lifetime and health of a supreme pontiff, and might be construed as an insult and act of treason to the office and prerogative of the occupant of St. Peter's throne.

3.2.5.1.4. Primacy and the Authority of Councils

3.2.5.1.4.1. Primacy as a Supreme Absolute Power

Primacy means the power of one bishop over the Universal Church. In his capacity of being bishop of all the Universal Church, the Bishop of Rome takes the place of all other bishops. In consequence, the others become mere administrative instruments, used by the Pope for governing the innumerable parishes led by presbyters. Or we can put it in the words of Father Tillard: "Before Vatican II the Catholic ecclesiology was not one of communion but of obedience."²⁴

Moreover, the ecclesiology of a Universal Pontiff no longer contains any real doctrine of primacy, whatever meaning is to be attached to the word; because primacy presupposes a multiplicity of bishops among whose number one holds the primacy.

3.2.5.1.4.2. Lessons From the Past History of Absolutism

History shows clearly enough that the bishop of Rome was acting as a bishop of bishops, and that his primacy was banning the collegiality of bishops which is the essential feature of the eucharistic ecclesiology.

²⁴Booklet 4, p. 70

The scope of this short paper does not permit entering into such historical details, I should only like to give two examples, one from the third century and the other from the nineteenth.

"In the middle of the third century, Stephen bishop of Rome, in controversy with Cyprian of Carthage on the validity of heretical baptism, asserted his claim to a superior authority as the occupant of Peter's chair, and claimed for Roman tradition a supreme value as having been delivered by Peter and Paul; but Cyprian rejected the notion of the existence of a bishop of bishops, and appealed to the Apostolic Scriptures as a higher authority, and Eastern bishops at once supported his attitude. "None of us", he writes, "sets himself up as a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror forces his colleagues to a necessity of obeying; inasmuch as every bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge another."²⁵

In the nineteenth century, the Munich Catholic historian and theologian Döllinger wrote his work entitled, in its English version *The Pope and the Council*, by 'Janus'. The closing section²⁶ written in the eve of the First Vatican Council (1869-70) shows us how authority and infallibility appeared to so gifted and so loyal an observer from within as Döllinger. The following representative quotations would suffice:

"... But the chief reason why nobody any longer desired a Council, lay in the conviction that, if it met, the first and most essential condition, freedom of deliberation and voting, would be wanting. The latest history showed this as much as the theory. In the Papal system, which knows nothing of true bishops ruling independently by virtue of the Divine institution, but only recognises subjects and vicars or officials of the Pope, who exercise a power lent them merely during his pleasure, there is no room for an assembly which would be called a Council in the sense of the ancient Church. If the bishops know the view and will of the Pope on any question, it would be presumptuous and idle to vote against it; and if they do not, their first duty at the Council would be to ascertain it and vote accordingly. An ecumenical assembly of the Church can have no existence, properly speaking, in presence of an *ordinarius ordinariorum* and infallible teacher of faith, though, of course, the pomp, ceremonial, speeches, and votings of a Council may be displayed to the gaze of the world. And therefore the Papal legates at Trent used at once to rebuke bishops as heretics and rebels who ever dared to express any view of their own. Bishops who have been obliged to swear "to maintain, defend, increase, and advance the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of their lord the Pope" - and every bishop takes this oath - cannot regard themselves, or be regarded by the Christian world, as free members of a free Council; natural justice and equity requires that."

"Complete and real freedom for every one, freedom from moral constraint, from fear and intimidation, and from corruption, belongs to the essence of a Council. An assembly of men bound in conscience by their oaths to consider the maintenance and increase of Papal power their main object, - men living in fear of incurring the displeasure of the *Curia*, and with it charge of perjury, and the most burdensome hindrances in the discharge of their office - cannot certainly be called free in all those questions which concern the authority and claims of the See of Rome, and very few at

²⁵ERE vol. VII, p. 271

²⁶Ibidem, p. 419 ff.

most of the questions that would have to be discussed at a Council do not come under this category. None of our bishops have sworn to make the good of the Church and of religion the supreme object of their actions and endeavours; the terms of the oath provide only for the advantage of the *Curia*. How the oath is understood at Rome, and to what reproaches a bishop exposes himself who once chooses to follow his own conviction against the tradition of the *Curia*, there are plenty of examples to show..."

"... In early times, when the Popes were as yet in no position to exercise compulsion or intimidation upon Synods, it was the Emperors who sometimes trespassed too closely on this freedom. But from Gregory VII.'s time the weight of Papal power has pressed ten times more heavily upon them than ever did the Imperial authority. With abundant reason were the two demands urged throughout half Europe in the sixteenth century, in the negotiations about the Council, - first, that it should not be held in Rome, or even in Italy; and secondly, that the bishops should be absolved from their oath of obedience..."

"Theologians and canonists declare that without complete freedom the decisions of a Council are not binding, and the assembly is only a pseudo-Synod. Its decrees may have to be corrected."

3.2.5.1.4.3. The Reforming Councils of Constance (1414-17) and Basle (1431-49)

The access of temporal and spiritual authority brought with it no guarantee of a noble employment of the perilous privileges of the popes. Christendom was amazed by the spectacle of rival popes and disgusted by their gross luxury and unconcealed immorality. The lofty theory of infallibility and practical autocracy broke down objectively before the Great Schism and the Great Scandal.

The reforming Council of Constance pronounced deposition. The rivals, one after another, submitted. For a short period, the Council came to be a supreme authority in the Church. In its 4th and 5th sessions the Council of Constance decreed that: "every lawfully convoked Ecumenical Council representing the Church derives its authority immediately from Christ, and every one, the Pope included, is subject to it in matters of faith, in the healing of schism, and the reformation of the Church".

In 1431, the Council of Basle met, in spite of dissolution by Pope Eugenius IV, it persevered with its work and secured the withdrawal of the papal dissolution, the pope acknowledging that the Council had been justified in proceeding, promised to adhere to it "with all zeal and devotion" as the "holy Ecumenical Council" and renouncing his claim as pope to the right to suspend or dissolve any Council...

But again in 1516, Pope Leo X asserted the authority of the pope over general Councils including the right to convoke transfer and dissolve. In the Council of Trent (1545-63) the papal view was powerfully strengthened by the new Jesuit Order, itself built upon the absolutist theory of authority.²⁷

3.2.5.1.4.4. The Second Vatican Council

It is true that the Second Vatican Council used the language of eucharistic ecclesiology saying, "It is through the Eucharist that 'the Church continually lives and

²⁷ERE, vol. VII, p. 273

grows...' Every gathering around the altar under the sacred ministry of the bishop 'is a sign of that charity and unity of the Mystical Body, without which there can be no salvation.'

In these communities, though they may often be small and poor living amongst 'the diaspora', Christ is present, by whose power the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is united."²⁸

It stressed also the collegiate character and structure of the episcopal order, but conditioned as follows: "The college or body of bishops has for all that no authority unless united with the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor as its head, whose primatial authority, let be added, over all, whether pastors or faithful, remains in its integrity. For the Roman Pontiff, by reason of his office as Vicar of Christ, namely, and as pastor of the entire Church, has full, supreme, and universal power over the whole Church, a power which he can always exercise unhindered. The order of bishops is the successor to the college of the apostles in their role as teachers and pastors, and in it the apostolic college is perpetuated. Together with their head, the Supreme Pontiff, and never apart from him, they have supreme and full authority over the universal Church, but this power cannot be exercised without the agreement of the Roman Pontiff."²⁹

While recognizing the quiet, slow, useful progress achieved by the Second Vatican Council as regards the collegiality of bishops, there stays the contradiction between obvious practice and theory of Vatican II. "The tension", says Archbishop Krikorian, "not to say the contradiction between theory and practice remains as a major hindrance or disturbing factor for a final and official agreement. One has the impression that too much power is concentrated on the person of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church still is "Papstkirche" and not a real conciliar communion."³⁰

Again he says: "Even after Council Vatican II in fact the bishop is above the council. We can see that presently in Austria. The same is true if we go to the center. The bishops are received very nicely but at the end the Pope or Primate has the last word and decides."³¹

This practice, however, is consistent with the Announcement made by the Secretary General of the Second Vatican Council:

"(3)... The idea of college necessarily and at all times involves a head and *in the college the head preserves intact his function as Vicar of Christ and pastor of the Universal Church...* The Pope alone, in fact, being *head* of the college, is qualified to perform certain actions in which the bishops have no competence whatsoever, for example, the convocation and direction of the college, approval of the norms of its activity, and so on (cf. modus 18). It is for the Pope, to whom the care of the whole flock of Christ has been entrusted, to decide the best manner of implementing this care, either personal or collegiate, in order to meet the changing needs of the Church in the course of time. The Roman Pontiff undertakes the regulation, encouragement, and approval of the exercise of collegiality as he sees fit."

"(4) The Pope, as supreme pastor of the Church, may exercise his power at any time, as he sees fit, by reason of the demands of his office... the college, although it is always in existence, is not for that reason continually engaged in *strictly* collegiate ac-

tivity (*in actu pleno*); in fact it is only occasionally that it engages in strictly collegiate activity and that only *with the consent of the head (nonnisi consentiente capite)*."³²

3.2.5.1.5. The "Universal Pope": A Style denied by Pope Gregory the Great

The style of "universal bishop" appears to have been occasionally given from the middle of the fifth century as a title of honour to some prelates.

When Eulogius the Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria styled Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) "Universal Pope", Gregory disclaimed it for himself. In a letter to Eulogius dated July 598,³³ Gregory says: "... This word "Command" I beg you to remove from my hearing, since I know who I am, and who you are; for in position you are my brethren; in character you are my fathers... For I said that neither to me nor to any one else ought you to write anything of the kind; and lo, in the preface of the epistle which you have addressed to myself who forbade it, you have thought fit to make use of a proud appellation, calling me Universal Pope. But I beg your Holiness to do this no more, since what is given to another beyond what reason demands is subtracted from yourself... For if your Holiness calls me Universal Pope, you deny that you are yourself what you call me universally. But far be this from us. Away with the words that inflate vanity and wound charity."³⁴

In one of his letters, Gregory considers the title of the universal bishop as blasphemous and a copying of Satan. Thus he writes: "It is with tears that I say that a bishop, whose duty it is to guide others to humility, has himself departed from it. Paul was unwilling to suffer that any one should call himself after him or after Apollon. What are thou prepared to say to Christ, the Head of the universal Church, at the last day, when thou seekest to bring all members of the Church into subjection to thee by means of the title of the universal ruler? This haughty name is a copying of Satan, who also exalted himself above all angels... Far from Christian hearts be that blasphemous title, in which all priests have their honour taken away, while the one foolishly usurps it."³⁵

3.2.5.1.6. The Petrine Office

The Roman Catholic theologians have sought to postulate something called Petrine office claiming that the Lord made Peter alone the rock foundation and the holder of the keys of the Church and constituted him shepherd of his whole flock and that St. Peter and the rest of the apostles constitute a unique apostolic college, so in like fashion the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor and the bishops, the successors of the apostles are related with and united to one another.³⁶

Thus the function of the Pope as the Vicar of Christ on earth having supreme authority over the whole Church, culminating in the dogma of Infallibility at the first Vatican Council of 1870, is said to be fundamentally a service to preserve, manifest and promote unity in faith. The Catholics argue that the concept of primacy of

²⁸S.C.R. *Eucharisticum Mysterium*, 25 May, 1967, parag. 7, *Vatican Council II*, p. 107

²⁹Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium* [21 November 1964, parag. 22], *Vatican Council II*, p. 375

³⁰Booklet 4, p. 44

³¹Booklet 5, p. 40

³²Vatican Council II, pp. 425, 426

³³Epp. VIII: 3 and Mirbt 4, No. 211

³⁴*NPNF* vol. XII, p. 240-1; quoted in Kidd *Doc.* vol. III, pp. 39-40

³⁵ERE vol. VII, p. 272

³⁶Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium* [21 November, 1964], parag. 22, *Vatican Council II*, pp. 374-5

jurisdiction should be studied within the full meaning and the manifold dimensions of primacy as a service of communion.³⁷

In fact the "Petrine Office" with the intimately related dogma of Infallibility are the main stumbling blocks which hinder the achievement of progress in almost all the topics in the current theological dialogue. Unless these stumbling blocks are removed we will continue moving in a vicious circle.

There is an urgent need to tackle this problem in a special study seminar in which papers from both sides should supply detailed answers for the "Questions on Primacy from the Oriental Orthodox Perspective."³⁸

Lack of space in the present work does not allow me to answer these questions here. However, I should like to say that both families of Oriental Orthodox and Eastern Orthodox Churches are right in refusing to recognize the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. This rightness lies not only in the numerous arguments that have been brought against primacy, but mainly in the very fact of non-recognition.

As already stated³⁹ Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II rightly diagnosed the primacy as the gravest obstacle to the restoration of unity.

Some Catholic writers doubted the existence of the Petrine Office⁴⁰ from whose work we quote the following representative paragraph.

"Of all Fathers, who interpret these passages in the Gospels (Mt. 16, 18, Jn. 21, 17), not a single one applies them to the Roman Bishops. How many fathers have busied themselves with these texts, yet not one of them whose commentaries we possess - Origen, Chrysostom, Hilary, Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, and those whose interpretations are collected in catenas - has dropped the faintest hint that the primacy of Rome is the consequence of the commission and promise to Peter! Not one of them has explained the rock or foundation on which Christ would build His Church of the office given to Peter to be transmitted to his successors, but they understood by it either Christ Himself or Peter's confession of faith in Christ; often both together. Or else they thought Peter was the foundation equally with all the other Apostles, the Twelve being together the foundation stones of the Church (*Apoc.* 21, 14)... they did not regard a power first given to Peter and, afterwards conferred in precisely the same words on all the Apostles, as anything peculiar to him, or hereditary in the line of Roman Bishops, and they held the symbol of the keys as meaning just the same as the figurative expression of the binding and loosing."

Another modern Catholic writer, Harnoncourt, gives his view of the problem and proposals for treatment saying: "It is becoming apparant - and this is of major importance for the ongoing ecumenical dialogue - that it is not the primacy of bishop of Rome within the framework of the Latin Church which presents a serious ecclesiological obstacle, for analogous primacies do exist in most of the local Churches as well. The problem rather lies in Rome's claim to a jurisdictional primacy of divine right not only for the Latin Church but also for the entire Church of Jesus Christ. This problem is further accentuated by the way in which the primacy of the Roman Pope is exercised by the Roman curia as a primatial body (appointment of bishops without consulting the local Churches, disciplinary judgment of theologians who are raising critical voices,

³⁷Booklet 4, p. 81

³⁸published in Booklet 4, pp. 82-83

³⁹3.2.5.1.1.

⁴⁰Döllinger, J.J.I. *The Pope and the Council*, London 1869, p. 91 ff.

leading the Oriental Churches in the same way as the Latin churches, etc.) without distinguishing or marking known whether it is exercising primatial jurisdiction for the Latin Roman Church or for the Church as a whole. In linguistic usage of the curia as well in most of the documents of the 2nd Vatican Council (1962-65) however, the term "universal church" (Latin: *ecclesia universalis*) is almost exclusively used for the Catholic Church that is to say for those local churches who are under the jurisdiction of the Pope and recognize it as such."

"The Roman Pope is not being denied to enjoy primatial jurisdiction within the Roman Catholic Church in his capacity as the Patriarch of Rome. However, and justifiably so, the question as to today's function and role of the special Petrine service of the Pope of Rome for the one Church of Christ must be asked all the more so as no really ecumenical council has ever dealt with this question. After all there is today widespread consensus that the 1st Vatican Council (1870/71) was a council of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴¹

However, he does not leave us under the illusions and states that:

"Obviously, at the present moment no solution can as yet be submitted, but it is possible to give an informative insight into the most recent state of the discussion in order to carry it forward on as a broad basis as possible."⁴²

3.2.5.2. The Problem of Infallibility

3.2.5.2.1. *The Roman Catholic Dogma of Infallibility*

Infallibility is inability to err in teaching revealed truth. "At the first Vatican Council (1870) the Roman Catholic Church declared that the Pope was infallible when he defined that a doctrine concerning faith or morals was part of the deposit of divine revelation handed down from apostolic tradition and was therefore to be believed by the whole Church. In Roman Catholic doctrine such a definition is infallible even antecedently to its acceptance by the Church. The Roman Catholic also teaches that the same infallibility attaches to whatever is taught as part of the deposit of revelation by the entire body of Roman Catholic bishops in union with the Pope, whether inside or outside an Ecumenical Council; this point, made in the First Vatican Council was stressed at the Second Vatican Council."⁴³

This dogma of infallibility of the Pope and the Councils in union with the Pope is grounded on the Roman Catholic doctrine of infallibility of the Church.

3.2.5.2.2. *Is the Church Infallible or Indefectible?*

The Roman Catholic Church maintains that the Church is infallible, upon the basis of such texts as Jn. 16:13, *Acts* 15:28.

The Tridentine Catechism is content to affirm that - the Church cannot err in matters of faith and morals, without defining the particular organ of that infallibility.

⁴¹Booklet 4, p. 8

⁴²Ibidem p. 9

⁴³ODCC ed. 2, p. 701; see Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium* [21 November 1964], parag. 18, 25, Vatican Council II, pp. 370, 379-380

Oriental Orthodox theologians and many others "find it difficult to believe that the Church, in its long history, has never taught or practiced any error. Infallibility seems to belong only to God and not to any part of creation that has freedom."⁴⁴

In view of Oriental Orthodoxy the Church is indefectible. "When we speak of the indefectibility of the Church, we are not speaking either of the infallibility of all the bishops of the Church gathered in Council at any particular time, nor even of all the believers living on the earth at one time, but rather of the totality of the Church, the one Body of Christ, in all time and all space."⁴⁵

It is stated by the Second Study Seminar of PRO ORIENTE that: "The Holy Spirit leads the Church into all truth even when many members of the Church occasionally went astray as happened in the fourth century Arian domination, the Holy Spirit led them back to the truth. The Church is thus indefectible, but can be called infallible only in a strictly qualified sense. There is no a priori guarantee that a council convoked to be ecumenical would not stray from the Truth and make wrong decisions... . Indefectibility of the Church is a gift of the Spirit and not something automatically operative. Infallibility is a term of more recent origin and in the Roman Catholic Church is applied primarily to dogmatic formulations."⁴⁶

3.2.5.2.3. Are the Popes Infallible?

In faith as well as morals and discipline the Pope was declared, in his own person, as the official teacher of the Christian world, supreme and infallible.

Although the infallibility of the Pope became an article of faith only in the First Vatican Council (1870), it has its roots in the middle ages.

Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) "did not hesitate to claim personal sanctity as the successor of Peter, and to make the supernatural holiness of popes the foundation of their absolute power."⁴⁷

Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) "thought of his office in a semi-Divine light, 'set in the midst between God and man, below God but above man'... He was the first to employ the title 'Vicar of Christ'. 'No king can reign rightly unless he devoutly serve Christ's vicar'..."⁴⁸

In the *Lumen Gentium* of the Second Vatican Council, it is stated (parag. 25) that: "This loyal submission of the will and intellect must be given, in a special way, to the authentic teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff, even when he does not speak *ex cathedra* in such wise, indeed, that his supreme teaching authority be acknowledged with respect, and that one sincerely adhere to decisions made by him, conformably with his manifest mind and intention, which is made known principally either by the character of the documents in question, or by the frequency with which a certain doctrine is proposed, or by the manner in which the doctrine is formulated..."

"The Roman Pontiff, head of the college of bishops, enjoys this infallibility in virtue of his office, when, as supreme pastor and teacher of all the faithful - who confirms his brethren in the faith (cf. *Lk.* 22:32) - he proclaims in an absolute decision

a doctrine pertaining to faith or morals. For that reason his definitions are rightly said to be irreformable by their very nature and not by reason of the assent of the Church, is as much as they were made with the assistance of the Holy Spirit promised to him in the person of blessed Peter himself; and as a consequence they are in no way in need of the approval of others, and do not admit of appeal to any other tribunal. For in such a case the Roman Pontiff does not utter a pronouncement as a private person, but rather does he expound and defend the teaching of the Catholic faith as the supreme teacher of the universal Church, in whom the Church's charism of infallibility is present in a singular way".

In the words of K. von Hase⁴⁹ infallibility is "the supernatural condition of the unlimited power." To be more precise the Pope's infallibility is not unlimited, though he is answerable to none and there is none to limit him.

It is plain that neither the early popes themselves nor the rest of the world credited their office with infallibility.

The Tridentine profession of faith, imposed on the clergy since Pius IV, contains a vow never to interpret Holy Scripture otherwise than in accord with the unanimous consent of the Fathers - that is, the great Church doctors of the early centuries; but now every bishop and theologian breaks his oath when he interprets the words of Christ in *Lk.* 23:32 as a gift of infallibility promised by Christ to the Popes, since the passage in question manifestly refers only to Peter personally, to his denial of Christ and his conversion. No single writer in the first six centuries interpreted it as a promise of future infallibility to a succession of Popes of the Roman Church. All without exception explain it simply as a prayer of Christ, that Peter might not wholly succumb, and lose his faith entirely in the approaching trial, and that he, whose failure of faith would be only for a short period, is to strengthen his brothers, whose faith would likewise waver.

In fact, nothing would be easier than to demonstrate from history that the Popes were not infallible either in matters of faith or morals or discipline.

1. Pope Julius I (337-352) pronounced Marcellus of Ancyra, an avowed Sabellian, orthodox at his Roman Synod c. 340, and at the Council of Sardica in 343, thus invalidating his previous deposition and excommunication.⁵⁰

2. Pope Liberius (352-366) purchased his return from exile from the Arian Emperor Constantius by condemning St. Athanasius of Alexandria, and subscribing an Arian creed in 357. Although St. Jerome and St. Athanasius agree that his subscription was forced, it is clear that the formula to which he subscribed was heretical in character.⁵¹ The double council of Eastern and Western Bishops who met at Seleucia and Arminium respectively in 359 accepted a heretical homoean formula already drawn up at a council held in Sirimium in 357. It was of the year 359 that St. Jerome wrote his well-known comment: "The whole world groaned and marvelled to find itself Arian... The ship of the Apostles was in peril, she was driven by wind, her sides beaten with waves..."⁵² Anyhow the lapse of Liberius sufficed, through the whole of the Middle Ages, for a proof that Popes could fall into heresy as well as other people.

⁴⁴Wort und Wahrheit. Supplementary Issue 2, Vienna 1974 (=WW Suppl. 2), p. 46

⁴⁵See the lecture of Paulos Mar Gregorios in WW Suppl. 2, p. 53

⁴⁶Booklet 5., p. 59

⁴⁷ERE, vol. VII, p. 273

⁴⁸ODCC ed. 2, p. 704

⁴⁹Handbook to the Controversy with Rome, Eng. tr., London 1906, p. 251

⁵⁰ODCC ed. 2, pp. 767, 869

⁵¹ODCC ed. 2, p. 821

⁵²St. Jerome, Dialogue against the Luciferians, 19; PL. XXIII, 172 C

3. Pope Zosimus (417-418) reversed the condemnation of the two heretics, Pelagius and Caelestius made by his predecessor Pope Innocent I convincing himself of their orthodoxy and rehabilitated them in 417. Next year (418) Zosimus becoming aware of the haste with which he had absolved the heretics, and given the clear stand taken by the emperor Honorius and the African clergy, he was compelled to retract, in his *Tractoria*, his favourable judgement of Pelagianism.⁵³

The disciplinary questions were even more grotesque. Zosimus cited as Nicene and therefore of ecumenical authority a canon which properly belonged to the Council of Sardica (343) trying to quash the sentence passed on the African priest Apiarius by the Bishop of Sicca. In consequence, a council held at Carthage in May 418 banned appeals overseas by African clergy. The Pope protested at this decree, and the case dragged on for some years after the death of Zosimus. About 423 Apiarius was again excommunicated, and again appealed to Rome with the same result. He eventually confessed to crimes of such a degree that excommunication was the only course. This time it fell to the Africans to rebuke the pride of the Roman See. "Do not send clerics of your own, at anyone's request", they wrote, "to execute orders of your own, lest the billowy pride of the world appears to penetrate the Church of Christ."⁵⁴

4. Pope Vigilius in 546 pronounced orthodox the "Three Chapters" of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, which had been accused of Nestorianism; a year later he condemned them, though he had formally anathematized their accusers; later still he reversed his judgement a second time, only to be condemned himself by the Council of Constantinople of 553 to whose decree he bowed in 554, saying very sensible, that it was no disgrace to perceive and recall a previous error.⁵⁵

5. Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) prayed for the soul of the emperor Trajan, and was warned in a vision not again to pray for the unbaptized.⁵⁶

But now the Vatican Council II, *Gaudium et Spes* [1965, parag. 22] states that the Holy Spirit offers not only to Christians but also for all men of good will the possibility of being made partners, in a way known to God, in the paschal mystery.⁵⁷

This teaching of Vatican II clearly defies the warning given to Pope Gregory the Great and the words of Christ in *Jn.* 3:5.

6. Pope Honorius I (625-638) used the formula of "one will" in Christ, and rejected the expression "two wills" as giving rise to contentions. His successors repeatedly condemned this teaching, and at the Council of Constantinople (681) Honorius himself was formally anathematized.⁵⁸

7. Pope Formosus (891-896): After his death the party opposed to him in Imperial politics charged him with usurpation of the Holy See, and a Synod convened by his second successor Pope Stephen VI (896-7) in January 897 exhumed, stripped and mutilated his body, and declared him deposed. The decisions of this Synod were later reversed in other synods headed by Pope Theodore II (897) and Pope John IX (898-90) which declared all orders conferred by Formosus valid.⁵⁹

8. Pope Sergius III (904-911) approved in a Roman synod the decisions of Stephen's synod against Formosus, thus annulling the decisions of the synods of Theodore II and John IX. All who had received orders from Formosus were to be treated as lay persons unless they sought reordination. "Sergius and his party meted out severe treatment to bishops consecrated by Formosus, who in turn had meanwhile conferred orders on many other clerics. a policy which gave rise to the greatest confusion."⁶⁰

9. Pope John XII (955-964) who became Pope at the early age of 18, is described in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*⁶¹ as "a coarse immoral man, whose life was such that the Lateran was spoken of as a brothel, and the moral corruption in Rome became the subject of general odium." In 963, Emperor Otto I of Germany "called a synod at Rome and caused the Pope to be deposed for immoral life, and a lay man (Leo VIII) to be elected in his place, who received all the orders within two days. When Otto had left Rome in 964, John returned and revenged himself on the Emperor's partisans. He then called a synod which deprived Leo and cancelled all actions of the previous synod. He died while Otto was in his way back."⁶²

10. Pope Benedict IX (1032-1044) "was only twelve years old at his accession and became a profligate. Again, it was time for an Imperial intervention, for in 1047 there were three popes in Rome - Benedict IX at the Lateran, Gregory VI at Santa Maria Maggiore and Silvester III at St. Peter's. The Emperor Henry III crossed the Alps and held a synod at Sutri, Dec. 20, 1046. Benedict abdicated; Gregory, to whom he had sold the papacy, admitted his simony and resigned; Silvester was condemned as a usurper, degraded from Holy Orders, and imprisoned for life."⁶³

11. Pope Paul V (1605-1621) and Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644): Both these pontiffs were convinced anti-Copernicans. They believed the Copernican system (Which found the centre of the solar system not in the earth but in the sun) to be unscriptural and desired its suppression. When Galilei, popularly "Galileo" (1564-1642) boldly asserted the Copernican theory in 1613, he was interrogated at Rome before the Inquisition, "which after consultation declared the system he upheld to be scientifically false and anti-Scriptural or heretical, and that he must renounce it." There is no doubt that Pope Paul V "fully approved the decision having presided at the sessions of the Inquisition, where in the matter was discussed and decided. In thus acting, it is undeniable that the ecclesiastical authorities committed a grave and deplorable error..."⁶⁴

Pope Urban VIII was, before his election, a friend of Galileo, but on his accession to the Holy See in 1632, Galileo broke his silence and published a sharp attack on Ptolemaic astronomy. he was summoned to Rome, forced to recant under threat of torture, and condemned to imprisonment as "vehemently suspected of heresy."⁶⁵

In view the above-cited examples, one cannot believe in the infallibility of the Popes even as decreed by the First and Second Vatican Councils.

⁵³Ber. EEC, p. 744

⁵⁴The document *Optaremus*, précis in B.J. Kidd's *The Roman Primacy*, 103-5; ODCC ed. 2, p. 69

⁵⁵ODCC ed. 2, pp. 1375, 1441

⁵⁶Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 5; quoted in *ERE*, vol. X, p. 212

⁵⁷*Vatican Council II*, p. 924

⁵⁸ODCC ed. 2, p. 663

⁵⁹CE. vol. VI, p. 141

⁶⁰Ibidem

⁶¹Vol. VIII, p. 426 f.

⁶²ODCC ed. 2, p. 751

⁶³Kidd, B.J. Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church, London 1938-41 (=Kidd, *Doc.*) vol. III, p. 12; see *CE* vol. II, p. 429

⁶⁴*CE*. vol. VI, p. 344

⁶⁵Ibid. p. 345f.; ODCC ed. 2, p. 545

3.2.5.2.4. Are the Councils Infallible?

3.2.5.2.4.1. The Roman Catholic Teaching

In the *Lumen Gentium* of Vatican II [Parag. 25], it is stated that: "The infallibility promised to the Church is also present in the body of bishops when, together with Peter's successor, they exercise the supreme teaching office". It is also stated (*Ibid.* parag. 22) that: "The supreme authority over the whole Church which this college possesses, is exercised in a solemn way in an ecumenical council. There never is an ecumenical council which is not conferred or at least recognized as such by Peter's successor. And it is the prerogative of the Roman Pontiff to convoke such councils, to preside over them and to confirm them."

3.2.5.2.4.2. The councils are not Infallible

"But there is no a priori guarantee that a council convoked to be ecumenical would not stray from the Truth and make wrong decisions."⁶⁶

We have already demonstrated that the Popes were not infallible nor the councils convened and headed by them. One can never believe in the infallibility of councils such as those held by Pope Julius I (340 and 343), Pope Zosimus (417), Pope Stephen VI (897), Pope Sergius III (c. 904), Pope John XII ... etc.

3.2.5.2.4.3. The Reception of councils

"The history of council may show that, even if by its constitution it was representative of the whole Church, its decisions were not in accordance with the real and permanent mind of the Church; or that even if not fully representative of the Church in constitution, it expresses what the whole Church was prepared to accept as its definite and permanent mind. The Councils of Arminium and Seleucia (A.D. 359) were in constitution representative enough, yet they failed to affirm doctrine which the whole Church regarded as vital... On the other hand the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), which was Eastern only, gave decisions which the whole Church ultimately received, and from which it cannot be anticipated that the Church will ever go back. The value of Conciliar approval or condemnation ... lies not in these in themselves, but in the extent to which they are genuine expression of the real mind of the universal Church; and a decision as to this extent must often require much investigation of the past or much patience in waiting for the verdict of time."⁶⁷

As regards the role of the Pope or the Primate in the reception of councils: "The Roman Catholic Church teaches that the college of bishops, to which the Bishop of Rome belongs and who is its head, would be incomplete without him, and cannot act without his consent and approval. In the Oriental Orthodox Churches also the presence and role of the Primate is becoming increasingly essential for the functioning of the Episcopal Synod. The Oriental Orthodox position is that the consent of any one particular bishop is not indispensable for the validity or acceptance of the ecumenical

conciliar decrees, although consent of all bishops would be desirable. The disagreement is about the indispensability in a unique manner of the consent of one particular bishop of a particular See... In the Oriental Orthodox Churches the Pope, Patriarch, Catholicos or other primate presides in the council of his church or of all the Oriental Churches together, but he has no independent right or authority apart from his Synod or above it to ratify or refuse to ratify the decisions of an ecumenical council."⁶⁸

3. 3. Sacramental Communion

The unity of the Church as the Body of the one Lord Jesus Christ is effected by the Holy Spirit through faith and sacraments. This unity is to be visibly manifested through communion in the sacraments, "and through sharing in the Apostolic teaching and witness guarded, authenticated and pastored by the episcopate with the presbyterate and the diaconate, and through loving service to each other and to the world, and through occasional synods of bishops of all churches."⁶⁹

3.3.1. Barriers to be Removed before Restoring Sacramental Communion

3.3.1.1. Anathemas

The sacramental communion cannot be achieved except after the lifting of anathemas, and this can only take place if the full agreement of faith has been ascertained.

Outside the Church, Orders could not be given. Such was the usual view of the early Church, and it is still that held in the East.

Oriental Orthodox Ecclesiology disagrees with the view maintained in the West, since the time of St. Augustine, that even when in heresy, a bishop can validly ordain, baptize and celebrate the Eucharist.

Anathemas cannot be lifted if heresies or errors in faith are still maintained.

The mutual lifting of anathemas spoken against Councils and Fathers must be conditioned with the realization of the identity of faith and continuous loyalty to the Apostolic tradition and that those previously anathematized or condemned are not heretical. Any interpretation of the faith of a council which is not in conformity with its orthodox interpretation still has to be condemned and anathematized.

3.3.1.2. Invalid Baptism

The theology of the one baptism in Oriental Orthodoxy is based on the identity of faith: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism" (*Eph.* 4:5). Therefore, heretical baptism is invalid.

This theology was elucidated by the third century controversy between the African Church and Rome.

Oriental Orthodoxy agrees with St. Cyprian who says (*Ep.* 71:1): "And if there is one Church, there can be no baptism outside it. There cannot be two baptisms: if

⁶⁶Booklet 5, p. 59

⁶⁷ERE, vol. III, p. 626

⁶⁸Booklet 5, pp. 60-61

⁶⁹Ibidem, p. 59

heretics really baptize, then baptism belongs to them. And anyone who on his own authority concedes them this privilege admits, by yielding their claim, that the enemy and adversary of Christ should appear to possess the power of washing, purifying, sanctifying a man. Our assertion is that those who come to us from heresy are baptized by us, not *re*-baptized. They do not receive anything there; there is nothing there for them to receive."⁷⁰

The Apostolical Canon 46 speaks to the same effect: "We ordain that a bishop or presbyter who has admitted the baptism or sacrifice of heretics, be deposed. For what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath a believer with an infidel?" Similarly the Apostolical Canon 47 commands: "Let a bishop or presbyter who shall baptize again one who has rightly received baptism, or who shall not baptize one who has been polluted by the ungodly, be deposed, as despising the cross and death of the Lord, and not making a distinction between the true priests and the false."⁷¹

Although the Roman Catholic Church, in accepting the heretical baptism, follows her ancient practice defended by Pope Stephen I (254-257) and the 7th Canon of the Council of Arles in 314, and the shocking words of Augustine "If Marcion baptized in the words of the Gospel, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit the Sacrament was perfect; even though his faith was imperfect, since what he meant by the words was different from the teaching of Catholic truth, being polluted with fables and falsehoods,"⁷² yet they ought to have conformed to the Apostolical Canons and the Canons of the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (325), and the teaching of the Great Fathers of the Church.

The Council of Nicaea accepts the baptism of the schismatic cathari i. e. Novatians (Canon 8), but rejects the baptism of the heretics. Canon 19 of Nicaea prescribes re-baptism for the followers of Paul of Samosata, and according to St. Athanasius they used the Trinitarian formula in baptism.⁷³

St. Athanasius of Alexandria, the champion of Orthodoxy at Nicaea denies the validity of heretical baptism, even when conferred in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. In his *contra Arianos* (II:42), he writes against the Arian baptism saying:

"And these too hazard the fulness of the mystery, I mean Baptism; for if the consecration is given to us into the Name of Father and Son and they do not confess a true Father because they deny what is from Him and like His Essence, and deny also the true Son, ...For the Arians do not baptize into Father and Son, but into Creator and creature, and into maker and work. And as a creature is other than the Son, so the Baptism which is supposed to be given by them is other than truth, though they pretend to name the Name of the Father and the Son, because of the words of Scripture. For not he who simply says, 'O Lord,' gives Baptism; but he who with the Name has also the right faith. On this account therefore our Saviour also did not simply command to baptize, but first says, 'Teach;' then thus: 'Baptize into the Name of Father, and Son and Holy Ghost', that the

right faith might follow upon learning, and together with faith might come the consecration of Baptism."⁷⁴

Similarly St. Cyril of Jerusalem says, "... for only heretics are rebaptized because the former was no baptism."⁷⁵

St. Basil of Caesaria also, in his First Canon [which is *Ep.* 188, *ad Amphilo-chium*] discusses in detail the baptism of different schismatic and heretical sects, rejecting firmly the heretical baptism.⁷⁶

So, the Vatican II,⁷⁷ contradicts Canon 19 of the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea and the teachings of Fathers.

Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium* [1964, Parag. 17]⁷⁸ states that anyone can baptize but it is for priests only to celebrate the Eucharist. Here the Vatican II seems to shift the right to administer the baptism giving it not only to all the faithful by virtue of their royal priesthood, [thus paving the way for those who deny the sacrament of Orders,] but even to anyone.

In fact, the Roman Catholic theologians before Vatican II speak of the right of any person whatsoever to baptize in case of necessity, whether this person be a Catholic layman or any other man or woman, heretic or schismatic, infidel or Jew. Isidore of Seville declares: "The Spirit of God administers the grace of baptism, although it be a pagan who does the baptizing." Pope Nicholas I teaches the Bulgarians that baptism by a Jew or a pagan is valid... the Florentine decree for the Armenians says explicitly: In case of necessity, not only a priest or a deacon but even a layman or woman, nay even a pagan or heretic may confer baptism."⁷⁹

Oriental Orthodoxy believes that such a teaching does not conform with early authentic tradition and presents a stumbling block in the way of restoring sacramental communion.

3.3.1.3. Some Eucharistic Irregularities

3.3.1.3.1. Christian Interconfessional Eucharistic Communion

The Roman Catholic practice of Vatican II allows sharing in worship and Eucharistic communion with other churches.

But the Oriental Orthodox position is that Eucharistic communion is the perfect expression and realization of full communion. It is the goal of the search for unity and not a means for imposing such a unity. Therefore, unity in faith and lifting anathemas must precede Eucharistic communion.

⁷⁰Bettenson, H. *The Early Christian Fathers*. London 1969 (= Bettenson *ECF*), p. 271

⁷¹Cf. also the Apostolical Canon 68, *NPNF*, second series, vol. XIV, pp. 597-8

⁷²*De bap.*, c. *Don.* 3:19

⁷³*NPNF*, second series, vol. IV, p. 371

⁷⁴*Ibidem*

⁷⁵*Procatechesis*, 7, in *NPNF*, second series, vol. VII, p. 3

⁷⁶Bettenson, H. *The Later Christian Fathers*, New York 1970 (=Bettenson *LCF*), pp. 84-87

⁷⁷*Unitatis Redintegratio*, 1964, parag. 9-20; *Vatican Council II*, pp. 487-490

⁷⁸*Vatican Council II*, p. 369

⁷⁹*CE*, vol. II, pp. 269-270

3.3.1.3.2. The Order of the Sacraments of Initiation

At a certain point in its history, the Roman Catholic Church has altered the original sequence, producing the order: baptism, Eucharist, confirmation, for infant and children, rather than that universal in Oriental and Eastern (Byzantine) Families of Churches.

This inversion calls for reflection because pastoral practice should never lose sight of the doctrinal meaning and importance of early tradition.

3.3.1.3.3. Epiclesis

The Roman Canon of the Mass contains no explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit for the consecration of the bread and wine in the Eucharist. But this problem has been happily solved, since "the three new Roman Catholic Eucharistic prayers contain a double epiclesis, before and after the consecration, similar to that found in the Alexandrine Liturgy of St. Mark; both prayers are explicitly for the operation of the Holy Spirit, the first that the elements may be changed and the second in connexion with the fruits of communion."⁸⁰

The third of the new Roman Catholic prayers "is related to an ancient prayer once current in Egypt and later adapted to form what is known as the Anaphora of St. Basil."⁸¹

3.3.1.3.4. The Eucharistic Fast

The relaxation in the rules about the Eucharistic fast in the Roman Catholic Church during the twentieth century is regretted by Oriental Orthodoxy. On 21 November, 1964 Pope Paul VI reduced the Eucharistic fast to one hour before the reception of the Holy Communion with the aim of encouragement of more frequent communion.

In the Oriental Churches a strict Eucharistic fast is observed.

3.3.1.4. Mixed Marriages

This point was discussed before (under the heading III.B.3, "No Communion with non-Christians").

The 'Pauline' Privilege is the privilege conceded by St. Paul (*1 Cor.* 7:15) to the partner of a heathen marriage to contract a new marriage on becoming a Christian, if the other (non-Christian) partner wished to separate or put serious obstacles in the way of the convert's faith and practice.

This principle has been greatly widened in Roman Catholic moral theology and wrongly applied to justify mixed marriages between Christians and non-Christians. St. Paul allows a partner in a heathen marriage not to dissolve his marriage on becoming Christian (*1 Cor.* 7:12-14), but he never allows a Christian to contract a marriage with a non-Christian." The wife is bound by law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord" (*1*

⁸⁰*ODCC ed. 2, p.463*

⁸¹*Ibid., p. 478*

Cor. 7:39). Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? ..." (*2 Cor.* 6:14-17).

Therefore, the present Roman Catholic practice of blessing mixed marriages between Christians and non-Christians, by the priest in the Catholic Church with the use of a liturgical form, is a departure from the Apostolic tradition. This sanction is inconsistent with the biblical teaching, and therefore, constitutes a barrier to communion between East and West.

3.3.2. Conciliarity to be Emphasized

Conciliarity belongs to the essence of the Church (see 2.1.5.).

3.3.2.1. Councils Are not for Bishops Alone

"A council is a coming together (synodos) of the Church; bishops represent the fullness of the local church, but presbyters, abbots, deacons and laity also are present and help the discussion at ecumenical councils. Bishops sign the decrees of the councils as representative of the local Churches; but all believers can take part in various ways in the deliberations, even if all cannot be present. All members of the churches have received the gifts of the Holy Spirit and have a responsibility to use these gifts for the upbuilding of the Church, and therefore in the conciliar process."⁸²

3.3.2.2. The Lay-people's Share in the Life of the Church

The laity (from Gk. λαος, people) are the members of the Church who do not belong to the clergy. They have a share in the priestly, prophetic and royal office of Christ (cf. *1 Pet.* 2:5,9; *Rom.* 12:6,1; *Cor.* 12:10; 14:6,29-39; *Rev.* 1:6; 20:6; *Isa.* 61:6).

Origen, e.g., affirms the priesthood of the whole members of the Church, saying:

"Or do you not recognize that the priesthood has been given to you also, that is to the whole Church of God and the nation of believers? ... (*1 Pet.* 2:9) You have therefore a priesthood, being a priestly nation. Therefore, you ought to offer to God a sacrifice of praise, of prayers, of pity, of purity, of righteousness, of holiness."⁸³

Because of the spiritual gifts (*Charismata*) given to the laity for building up the body of Christ, they are assigned various duties in the public worship, in the election of Heads of Churches, Bishops and Priests, as well as in the ongoing administration of the Church at local, diocesan and patriarchal levels.

In the Coptic Church, the priest cannot celebrate the Eucharist without the deacon and the laity.

In the early Church, the laymen took part in the election of Matthias the apostle and the seven deacons (*Acts* 1:21; 6:2-6). They have an essential role in the election of a bishop which must take place in their presence, since they have the fullest knowledge

⁸²Booklet 5, p. 60

⁸³*Hom. in Leviticum* 9:1; quoted from Bettenson *ECF*, p. 251

of the manner of life of individuals and are acquainted with the behavior of each from having lived with them.⁸⁴

Origen writes to the same effect saying: "For in the ordination of a priest the presence of the people is also required that all may know for certain that the man elected to the priesthood is of the whole people the most eminent, the most learned, the holiest, the most outstanding in every kind of virtue. And this must be done in the presence of the people to avoid any subsequent change of mind or lingering doubt."⁸⁵

Similarly, the synodal letter of the Council of Nicaea 325 to the Alexandrians allows the admission of the Melitian clergy "provided that they should appear worthy and that the people should elect them. The bishop of Alexandria also ratifying their choice."⁸⁶

3.3.2.3. The Ecumenical Councils

The Second Study Seminar of PRO ORIENTE has studied this issue and stated the following:

"(6) The ecumenical councils of the Church Catholic are an important expression and instrument of conciliarity. The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, described in the *Acts of the Apostles* 15, is unique and is a class by itself because of the presence of the Holy Apostles. This Council, because of its uniqueness is usually not included in the list of ecumenical Councils. The first three ecumenical Councils Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431) accomplished, through the Holy Spirit a clarification of the Apostolic faith and have become the basis of the present Christological consensus between the Roman Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches. The Niceno-Constantinopolitan Symbol of Faith remains an unreplaceable foundation and expression of the faith of the Church."

"(7) Unlike the Eucharist, there is no prescribed time-rhythm for the convening of ecumenical councils. They are held according to need as and when necessary. Neither is there any prescribed procedure, acceptable to all churches, for convoking an ecumenical synod. In the case of the first three ecumenical Councils, the emperor was the convener and provided transport and hospitality. This cannot be a norm for all times and situations."

"(8) Though a large number of councils were held during the period from 325-431 A.D., only three have been accepted as ecumenical and have come to enjoy universal pre-eminence. A council becomes ecumenical, not primarily by virtue of its representativeness or of a specific procedure followed, but when faithful to the one Apostolic Tradition of the Church, it is received and recognized by the churches everywhere as ecumenical. An ecumenical council is thus a living and ongoing process which begins with its convoking and is completed when there is worldwide recognition and appropriation by the churches."⁸⁷

"(9) There is disagreement between the Roman Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches on the status of councils after 431 A.D., regarded as ecumenical

⁸⁴Cyprian, *Ep.* 67:2-5; Ambrose *Ep.* 63:1-3; Peter II of Alexandria, in Theodoret *HE* (=Historia Ecclesiastica), 4: 22:9

⁸⁵*Hom. in Leviticum*; quoted from Bettenson *ECF*, p. 246

⁸⁶Socrates *HE* 1:9:9; quoted in Kidd *Doc.* II, pp. 11,12

⁸⁷Booklet 5, p. 59

by the Roman Catholic Church. The Oriental Orthodox are unable to accept these councils as ecumenical or binding... The suggestion has been made that some of these councils can be regarded simply as General Councils of the Roman Catholic Church. Only the first three Councils would be regarded as ecumenically binding and pre-eminently the expression of the faith of the Apostolic Church."⁸⁸

3.4. Some Future Plans

The Roman Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches have by the Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ and by the guidance of His Holy Spirit, come a long way from their mutual isolation and are now studying together the ministry of restoring the visible unity of the one Church of Christ.

The PRO ORIENTE Ecumenical Consultations and Study Seminars held at Vienna have helped to clarify some of the issues raised and topics discussed.

3.4.1. Issues for Future Study

There is a great need for further seminars with carefully prepared papers of the theological and ecclesiological issues that continue to divide the Church, such as the Petrine office and infallibility, the relationship between conciliarity and primacy, the filioque and the procession of the Holy Spirit, the purgatory and indulgences, the immaculate conception, and certain soteriological issues concerning the salvation of non-Christians ... etc. Even the Christological agreement still needs to be emphasized with more preciseness. A. Nichols⁸⁹ of the Blackfriars raises "the question of the current tendency towards a low Christology in the contemporary Western Catholic Church. Even leaving aside those writings which are manifestly abusive in their failure to meet the standard set by Nicene Orthodoxy, namely, in affirming the full Godhead of Jesus Christ, some of the most respected christological treatises in the Latin Church today are heavily Antiochene in approach. Thus for example Walter Kasper's *Jesus der Christus* maintains that there are two persons within the total reality of the Word Incarnate, ... But the conversations between the Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian Orthodox sometimes throw up the suggestion that Western Catholic Christology is increasingly Nestorian, and that this is the dead end to which the Tome of Leo leads."

Nichols also calls the attention to new problems saying: "But a secondary strand may be to draw in the churches of the East so as to redress the effects of the theological liberalism, and of neo-Protestantism, in the Latin church since the Second Vatican Council"

His comment is that: "In all this, one must be careful to have a strategy, rather than simply a tactic. Tactically, a move towards the Monophysites is a move away from the Nestorians, and vice versa. One cannot on Monday try to win over the Monophysites by cursing Nestorius, and on Tuesday try to win over the Nestorians by doing the same to Dioscorus! But strategically, it should be possible to work out what are the limits of an acceptable Christological pluralism in a Church which is not simply a Cyrilline Church, or a Leonine Church or an Antiochene Church either. The *pax dog-*

⁸⁸*ibidem*, p.61

⁸⁹Nichols, *Rome and Eastern Churches*, p.101/102

matica which we seek must be true peace, based on a justice and coherence that stem from the ethos and logic of Christology itself..."⁹⁰

The studies should include also some pastoral issues and matters of practical difficulty felt on either side, such as uniatism, proselytism, invalid baptism, Christian interconfessional eucharistic communion, mixed marriages and all related problems.

3.4.2. *A more Permanent Consultative Council*

The question has been raised in the First Study Seminar "about making some preliminary explorations for setting up a more permanent consultation council for the three great families of our Churches which share so much in common - the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches. It will provide a forum for more sustained mutual contact and consultation among our three families of Churches."⁹¹

3.4.3. *A Wider Base for Theological Consultation*

Since the Church is by its very nature conciliar, there is a great need for widening the base for these theological consultations through holding study seminars, symposia and conferences on the local, provincial and universal levels to involve the largest possible number of theologians and seminarists in the discussions. It is very essential to find all possible means for the involvement of the younger generation of theologians in the search for unity to let them have living contacts with the present dialogue, follow up the achievements and realize the difficulties, since they are the future leaders who will have to carry on with the search and fulfil the unity through the Grace of the Lord.

We have to realize that the communion will not come all of a sudden, or by formal declarations only. It has to be achieved gradually on sound theological basis, experienced, lived and deepened day after day on every level down to the solid base of the faithful people of God.

Therefore, conciliarity between churches need to continue and increase and be the normal mode of life through the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the communion of love and hope. And this will lead us to the full communion in faith and sacraments.

3.4.4. *Future Design for the Visible Unity of Church*

Representatives of the Oriental Orthodox Church in the First PRO ORIENTE Study Seminar of 1991 proposed the following:

"8. In envisaging a possible future design for the visible unity of Christ's Church in the process of restoring communion among the three ancient traditions of the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches we see the possibilities in the following general terms:

a. There will be many primatial sees in One Church, corresponding to the number of autocephalous churches.

⁹⁰Ibidem

⁹¹Booklet 4, p. 84

b. Their visible unity will be sacramentally manifested through Eucharistic Communion and occasional synods of the bishops of all churches.

c. Other ways can be designed for the manifestation of the same unity - e.g. a Supreme Council of the Heads of Autocephalous Churches: regional and local synods; representative world assemblies of all the Churches with bishops, priests and laity chosen from each autocephalous church.

d. At every level - local, national, regional, universal - the coming together of the episcopate and their mutual eucharistic communion (along with all Christians present) will be a major manifestation of the visible unity of the One Church.

9. Primacy in each autocephalous Church will be vested in the head of that Church with his Bishops in Council. Among the autocephalous churches themselves there can be a primacy of honour or rank or seniority, which would not imply any authority for one over the others. Once there is unity in the Apostolic faith and tradition as well as eucharistic Communion among the autocephalous churches, the ranking will give due consideration to the protocols of the Council of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381) where the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem were given special placing in the one undivided Church. As for questions about who will convoke local, regional or universal ecumenical councils, and who will preside over these meetings, such questions can be settled by mutual agreement on the principle of conciliarity among the autocephalous churches. The reception and implementation of conciliar decisions will be the responsibility of each autocephalous sister church."⁹²

As regards the plan for a universal council after the restoration of full communion between the Roman Catholic Church and all the Orthodox Churches, "A new procedure will have to be jointly evolved, faithful both to the tradition of the Church and to the needs and possibilities of the time and upholding the conciliar principle at the levels of convoking conducting and cofirming."⁹³

3.4.5. *The Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches*

Uniatism the method of union used by the Roman Catholic Church in various parts of the East has led to "the union of certain communities with the See of Rome and brought with them, as a consequence, the breaking of communion with their Mother Churches of the East... In this way the Oriental Catholic Churches came into being. And so a situation was created which has become a source of conflicts and of suffering ..."⁹⁴

These Churches should be inserted, on both local and universal levels, into the theological dialogue with all its practical implications.

As regards the position of the Coptic Catholic Church there was an agreement between the Roman Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church declared in a series of statements signed by Popes Paul VI and John Paul II on the one side and Pope Shenouda III on the other side that: "All should be united in one Patriarchate allowing the mutual variety inside the Churches to respect the different traditions."⁹⁵

⁹²Ibidem, p.83

⁹³Booklet 5, p. 61

⁹⁴Information Service 83 (1993), p. 96

⁹⁵Booklet 4, p. 76

In the Vatican II *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* [1964, parag. 5-6] the Oriental Catholic Churches were emphatically asked to be firmly convinced that they can and ought always preserve their own legitimate liturgical rites and ways of life. The aim is not hidden, it is stated in the same place (parag. 9) that this will make the apostolic more effective.⁹⁶

This directive, therefore, is looked at not without doubt, at least by some members of the Oriental Orthodox Churches who feel that it is an indirect means of proselytism.

The question now is that whether the Oriental Catholic Churches can have a more positive role in the search for communion between East and West? Can they speak their own mind or they are already absorbed? Can they follow the Eastern theology as regards certain points of disagreement with the Roman Catholic theology, if they wish and are inclined to do so? Can they disagree with Rome on certain theological issues and be still in communion with her? If they are not permitted to do so, then they can never be a real practical example of unity just by the use of the Oriental rites and liturgies. And hence, the Oriental Orthodox Churches are justified in their determination to solve all the issues of theological disagreement in a clear way before proceeding to full communion.

Meanwhile, the churches ought to reject firmly every form of proselytism.

"Religious freedom would be violated when, under the cover of financial assistance, the faithful of one Church would be attracted to the other, by promises, for example, of education and material benefits that may be lacking in their own Church. In this context, it will be necessary that social assistance, as well as every form of philanthropic activity be organized with common agreement so as to avoid creating new suspicions."⁹⁷

"Those in charge of the communities concerned should create joint local commissions or make effective those which already exist, for finding solutions to concrete problems and seeing that these solutions are applied in truth and love, in justice and peace. If agreement cannot be reached on the local level, the question should be brought to mixed commissions established by higher authorities."⁹⁸

* * *

We pray that the scandal of division within the one Church of Christ be done away with and that the day may soon come when the unity of all will be manifestly seen and experienced, bearing the fruit of the Spirit in truth, love, joy and peace to the Glory of Our Lord. Amen.

Discussion:

Archbishop Krikorian thanks Prof. Legrand for his most interesting and scholarly paper which supplied very good arguments, especially in the second part. Likewise, he thanks Prof. Ishak for his elaborate and wide-ranging study consisting of 33 printed

⁹⁶Vatican Council II, pp. 443-444

⁹⁷Information Service 83 (1993), p. 98

⁹⁸Ibidem

pages. Subjects like primacy have already been discussed at great length. They should only be brought up again if it is in connection with the special topic of this conference.

Father Tawfiq: I have a question concerning the statements on baptism in Prof. Ishak's paper. What is the position of the Oriental Orthodox Churches on the baptism of the Oriental Catholic Churches? Is it valid or invalid? Besides, he mentions that in the early church they distinguished between heretics and others who were outside the universal church without being heretics.

Professor Ishak quotes *Lumen Gentium* which says that not only priests but everybody is allowed to baptize. According to him the Roman Catholic position of recognizing any baptism is not acceptable. Moreover, the Roman Catholic acknowledgement of baptism by anyone in case of necessity also is not acceptable. If anyone can baptize, then what is baptism? Will the same also apply to the eucharist? Can Jews and pagans really be in valid connection with a sacrament, even a Muslim or a nurse?

Father Tawfiq: Important is that it is done in the intention of the Church.

Amba Bishop: Prof. Ishak was only exposing the obstacles for union in relation to the sacrament of baptism. How can we accept a person baptized like this? There is a problem which we have to discuss and find a solution in future.

Professor Hofrichter: The following must be considered: (1) Does the Church have the right to regulate how sacraments are administered and where must this right come from? Is it not the Bible? The validity of baptism in fact depends on the desire of the person who is to be baptized and not on the person baptizing. This is a reality which God respects. (2) How does the attitude to a baptism of desire and a baptism of need differ?

Archbishop Krikorian: The Church has taken from our Lord the authority to administer the sacraments and to give them to the people. The Church has the power to establish ways of executing the sacraments. If a non-Christian baptizes in an urgent case I imagine that it can be valid but later the ceremonies should be repeated.

Archbishop Keshishian: Let us see this study seminar in the right perspective. We have discussed primacy and conciliarity in abundance. Here we must do it vis à vis unity. How can they help us achieve unity and communion?

I followed with great interest and deep satisfaction what Prof. Legrand had to say. As a general comment I must say that it is critical of Catholic theology. It was realistic, optimistic and with a forward-looking dimension. Still, three basic questions remain open:

(1) "Is" and "subsist": What is the ecclesiological difference in the use of the terms "is" and "subsist"?

(2) *Communio ecclesiology*: How to understand this when the Catholic Church continues to see herself as the head of all Churches? How can you contest the Roman Catholic position of *communio ecclesiology*?

(3) The question of the ecclesial authenticity of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Regarding faith and apostolic succession in ecclesial authority: what is the point beyond which the Catholic Church cannot go for union?

Here we need to discuss the questions of primacy and authority. To me conciliarity is the essence of the Church and the Roman Catholic Church needs a clearer, better manifestation of the conciliar dimension in the Church. Regarding primacy, two positions were expressed in each of the two papers. The Copts obviously consider primacy as a stumbling block. Manifested as it is today, primacy is a problem, but it is no more a roadblock in the Catholic opinion and not for me either. In fact, the Church needs primacy, the conciliar structure needs primacy. But the way in which it has historically developed and is being exercised in the Roman Catholic Church needs reconsideration. We must stress the importance of eucharistic ecclesiology. Primacy, essentially, is not centered on authority or jurisdiction but must enhance love and friendship. What I envisage is a primacy of fraternity. In my eyes Prof. Legrand proposed in his excellent paper that this should be the case between the Catholic and Oriental Orthodox Churches.

Prof. Legrand: I think that conciliarity and primacy do go together. Regarding all these issues, we Roman Catholics are undergoing a learning process. To deal with collegiality we have synods around the Pope, synods including lay people etc. Out of some 100 dioceses in France, 50 p.c. have already had diocesan synods.

Mar Gregorios welcomes Prof. Legrand's paper but asks for a correct usage of names: We say "Oriental Orthodox Churches", not "ancient Orthodox regional Churches of the East". Moreover, he demands explanation of the following issues:

- (1) What do we mean by saying "both primacy and autocephaly could be seen as legitimate and well founded responses"? What is the difference between the two?
- (2) What is the concept, definition and theology of the regional Churches referred to in the paper?

Professor Legrand: We have a problem in common with the Protestants: how to deal with the relations between local (bishop's) churches on a national or ethnic or global level. This has found expression in two different ways: Our traditional response is Roman primacy. The 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon decided that the Church has to be seen in the criterion of the apostolic succession. The national or political circumstances must not dominate the organization of the Church, the arguments must be biblical and apostolic. Autocephaly exists where it is deeply rooted in the tradition, e.g. the Church of Cyprus. But also later historical developments were decisive: after the liberation from the Turks, the Orthodox on the Balkans became autocephalous on a national level. It is a divine right to have bishops and the divine vocation of the Church relates to ethnic and cultural connections.

Mar Themotheos: Both these concepts, i.e. primacy and autocephaly, have inherent weaknesses. Each one of them is based on the point of view of church order. Time and again we are challenged to define anew. I think today we should instead think about whether we could actualize the envisaged unity on the basis of eucharistic ecclesiology.

Professor Legrand: I quoted Fr. Meyendorff in my paper, "Both sides will be ready to recognize ... that regionalism is not always consistent with universalism, which nevertheless also belongs to the very nature of Christ's message." So, the unity we envisage has to be eucharistic, regional and universal. I am not excluding eucharistic ecclesiology.

Father George: I have some comments to Prof. Legrand: (1) From your paper it seems as if only union and not collegiality is the problem. In my view, collegiality also is a problem and it is a prerequisite for union. Maybe these are mutually linked. (2) The concepts of universal church and local church as mentioned by you need further clarification. Which local church are you referring to in this context? (3) Regarding the dichotomy presented between Roman primacy and autocephaly, I must say that it is a wrong dichotomy. If you maintain the false notion of universal church, I think that no agreement on this issue is possible. Primacy never comes alone, it must exist in love and brotherhood.

Second Working Session: Friday, July 1st: 3.30 p.m.

Chair: Professor Philipp Harnoncourt

Professor Legrand: Fr. George is right in saying that collegiality is a prerequisite. I have made a distinction there because the Council fathers made a distinction between collegiality and ministry with a stress on ministry. Collegiality of the bishops is the point. The bishop presides over the church and so he is a member of the college. If you have bishops without a see then there is a kind of disorder. You cannot be a bishop for yourself, you must preside over a church.

Secondly, the words of Mt. 16,18 were not said to any local church, it was said to the Church of Jesus. The Church of St. Augustine disappeared totally, the same happened to the Church of Cappadocia. The Church of Jesus, however, will exist until the day of resurrection.

Thirdly, on page 37 (4.1. First Thesis) I was talking specifically on Roman primacy and not on primacy in general.

Father George: I am not satisfied with your response. Why take the earthly course of a church as her most important feature, but not the spiritual, eschatological dimension?

Professor Legrand: Roman primacy and autocephaly are contradictions: the Roman primacy never existed alone, we have to speak of primacies.

Professor Koodapuzha: Firstly, I would like to make a comment to Prof. Ishak's paper: Anathema is connected with infallibility, we must be aware of that. If you use anathemas you are claiming infallibility. Concerning the term "invalid baptism" referred to in his paper, isn't it also some kind of claim of infallibility?

Secondly, what do you mean by local church? In my understanding, the local church is a diocese, the particular church a grouping of churches according to national, historical

or linguistic reasons. The regional church is between the individual and the particular church.

Professor Legrand: In this context, local church means individual church. By particular church a grouping of individual churches is meant. Regional church is a rather new concept for which an adequate definition has yet to be found.

Archbishop Powathil: According to the Indian theologians, the term "diocese" is equivalent to particular church.

Professor Legrand: Not all Catholic theologians follow the canonist because the terms "universal" and "particular" do not fit or correspond completely.

Professor Koodapuzha: In one perspective we can say the Roman church is a local church, the Pope being the bishop of Rome. In another perspective the Roman church is a communion of churches which needs primacy and there the Pope has a special ministry.

Professor Legrand: The Roman church is a local church and not the universal church. The Pope is the bishop of Rome.

Archbishop Keshishian: These terms "local" and "universal" were discussed during meetings between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches. In the WCC we have very good documents on these discussions. We have, however, never solved the question. These terms need further clarification.

For the Oriental Orthodox Churches the term "universal" is strange. For them the Church is One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. These dimensions are fully represented in the reality of the local church. In history it was the local realities which determined, the geographical locality dominated. But changes have taken place and now political, national and social elements are more important. Therefore the local church goes beyond local reality. In order to speak of the local church we have to transcend the locality.

For the Protestants the local church is the parish church where the eucharist is celebrated. This adds to the confusion as well as the term regional church.

For the Oriental Orthodox the term "Catholic" refers to a qualitative reality. So, we do not find the necessity of a global dimension pressed on to it. For the Roman Catholics the qualitative and quantitative realities are important, communion and primacy are essential dimensions. Not so for the Orientals: we differ about the kind of necessity of primacy. For us catholicity is not the coming together of local churches. Full catholicity is not above the local reality. As I said earlier, primacy is a necessity; but could we make a distinction between primacy and universality. We must give primacy to conciliarity.

Professor Legrand: In my paper I tried to avoid the term universal church but said the whole or entire church or Church Catholic. These are much deeper connotations. Then he questions the statement that the Orthodox do not have the concept of a universal

church. What happened in Addis Ababa 30 years ago, when they came together? The entire church which met there needed an expression of their own catholicity.

Archbishop Krikorian appreciates the spirit of Vatican II as expressed in the lecture. But he sees a difference between theory and practice in the Roman Catholic Church, which is still Rome-centered. Although we have a positive interpretation of universal power, the Pope repeatedly insisted on universal jurisdiction. The language of Vatican II and that of the Catholic Catechism and Directory are a problem. We have to change our language. The Pope is not all-in-all. But there is no collegiality in the case of the appointment of bishops.

Archbishop Powathil: There is a lot of ambiguity in the use of the terms "Latin Church" and "Catholic Church" as well as "regional church" and "individual church".

Professor Legrand: Frequently there is also a confusion about the different functions of the Pope: bishop, primate, patriarch and pope.

Talking of the regional church of Latin America is a concept of the future.

As a response to what Archbishop Krikorian said, it is true we have beautiful texts but they do not always meet the reality. Life also means tension, future and hope. It is remarkable that Pope John Paul II recognized the Balamand document in spite of the situation in former Communist Eastern Europe.

Father Frans Bouwen PA

The Current Theological Discussion of the Problems of Uniatism and Proselytism within the Framework of the Theological Dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox

It seems somehow paradoxical that it is precisely thanks to the manifold and significant progresses made in the ecumenical field, that the question of proselytism has become such a burning and painful issue in the relations between the Churches. Of course, this does not at all imply that the reality did not exist before. However, the context and the sensitivities have profoundly changed. The Christians or Churches who felt themselves to be victims of proselytism in the past suffered as much as the ones of today except that they often suffered in silence. They had no means to express themselves then or to make their protests heard, whereas now it has become possible to speak out, to ask questions, in confidence, and there is - although not always - a real possibility of being listened to by fellow Christians. So, some progress has in fact been made. Certainly, this does not mean that the problem has been solved and that the phenomenon has disappeared, but that a beginning has been made.

Something similar could be said about the problem known by the name of "uniatism", in spite of the many differences, as far as the origins, the nature and the history are concerned. The Orthodox reaction against uniatism has always been very strong and has expressed itself in varied ways according to the different places and times, but there was no forum to discuss the matter between the different parties. It is only thanks to the recent dialogues that the Churches have been able to recognize each

other once more as Sister Churches, that the whole question has been put in a new light.

Deeply interwoven with the progresses and the obstacles in the contemporary ecumenical movement, both proselytism and uniatism are extremely complex phenomena and therefore will have to be more clearly defined. However we do not intend to study these questions in themselves, in an exhaustive way. Our aim is mainly to see in a more concrete and simple way how these problems came up and were handled in the framework of the theological dialogue that the Roman Catholic Church has initiated with the Eastern Orthodox Church, where these points have really become the touchstone of the quality of the relationship and the dialogue between the two Churches.

It might be good first to take a quick look at how the phenomenon of proselytism, and in a lesser degree, that of uniatism, was raised on the general ecumenical scene in the course of the last decades, in the multilateral dialogues.

Secondly, these questions also came up very frequently in the dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church. Without analyzing the relative texts in full, it may be interesting to see what attempts were made to overcome these obstacles, both on the level of principles and on the level of practice.

1. On the Ecumenical Scene

The first explicit contemporary ecumenical study on the question of proselytism was undertaken at the request of the Joint Working Group between the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. In this respect it is interesting to note that this Joint Working Group is one of the most largely representative ecumenical forums that exist, representing, on the one hand the member Churches of the World Council of Churches, and on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church.

A special joint theological commission was set up in 1968 to prepare the study that was published in 1970, under the title *Common Witness and Proselytism*.¹ This title in itself is already quite revealing. The term proselytism sounds rather negative. In order to balance it with a more positive dimension, the document intends not only to point out what the Churches should *not* do to each other, but also what positive actions they should take together, and for what common reasons. Indeed, the document notes that this study is in a certain sense the result of improving ecumenical relations, for "the ecumenical movement itself has made Christians more sensitive to the conditions proper to witness borne among themselves" (§ 25). In the preface it is said that "although there may not be complete agreement on everything contained in the document, it represents a wide area of consensus..."

In § 8, the document defines the proselytism as follows:

"Here is meant improper attitudes and behaviour in the practice of Christian witness. Proselytism embraces whatever violates the right of the human person, Christian or non-Christian, to be free from external coercion in religious matter, or whatever, in the proclamation of the Gospel, does not conform to the ways God draws free men to himself in response to his calls to serve in spirit and in truth."

After listing the required qualities for Christian Witness (§ 26), the document goes on to mention the types of behaviour witness should avoid (§ 27) and analyzes the impact of witness on the relations among the Churches themselves, pointing out that

"Some points of tension between the Churches are difficult to overcome because what is done by one Church in view of its theological and ecclesiological convictions, is considered by the other as implicit proselytism. In this case, it is necessary that the two sides try to clarify what is really in question and to arrive at mutual understanding of different practices, and if possible, to agree to a common policy." (§ 28.e)

It is interesting for us to note here that, among these "points of tension", the document also refers to the existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches, from a double perspective:

"The Orthodox consider that the existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches is the fruit of proselytism. Catholics level the same criticism against the way in which certain of these Churches have been reunited to the Orthodox Church. Whatever has been the past, the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church are determined to reject not only proselytism but also the intention even to draw the faithful from one Church to another. An example of this pledge is the common declaration of Pope Paul VI and Athenagoras I, on October 28, 1967. The resolution of these questions, evidently important for the ecumenical movement, should be sought in frank discussion between the Churches concerned". (§ 28.e.iii)

Ten years later, the same Joint Working Group published a second study document related to the same questions, this time entitled simply *Common Witness*. In the preface, it refers to the 1970 document and remarks that the world to which that document addressed itself "has radically changed in the intervening decade". The text is perhaps a little too optimistic in the way it speaks about the Churches being "drawn together in the confrontation of common problems", and having, "out of their sense of common purpose, with one voice, spoken to the crises of our time". The document is not, however unaware of the real situation. In a section on "Problems and tensions" (§§ 47-52), it refers to the 1970 document on *Common Witness and Proselytism*, adding that "much of the material is still useful for situations where the problem is actual" (§ 51). The same paragraph puts the question in a church-belonging or ecclesial dimension, which may be helpful for our reflections:

"When the Churches are still divided and not yet at one in understanding the Gospel of Christ, this necessary connection of witness and community, of proclamation and church-membership raises the question of those kinds of witness which are distorted by certain motives, attitudes, behaviour and methods. These are called proselytism and must be evaluated as an unworthy kind of witness." (§ 51)

In § 52 the *Common Witness* document then points out:

"In the first place proselytism includes whatever violates the right of the human person, Christian or non-Christian, to be free from every type of physical coercion, moral restraint or psychological pressure which could deprive a person or community of freedom of judgement and responsible choice." (§ 52)

¹ This document was published in *The Ecumenical Review* 33, 1971, 9-20

Finally, § 53 reminds us of the spiritual background of all Christian witness - selfless love, primary trust in the surprises of the Spirit, truth - with its possible deviations.

Of course, not all that is said in this document applies directly to the questions we intend to study and to clarify together during these days, but some of the considerations may help us to discern better the possible connections between proselytism and the so-called uniatism and to place our concern in the larger ecumenical framework.

A third initiative comes from the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC) and, consequently, concerns that region directly, where many of the Churches represented here live and witness side by side, and even sometimes together. In order to see the far-reaching significance of this initiative better, it is good to remember that all the Catholic Churches - of Eastern and Western traditions -, present in the Middle East, are effectively members of this Council since 1989. The discussion process on proselytism started in December 1986 and a third draft, which included the problems of sects, was drawn up in July 1989. It resolved to place the reflection in a pastoral perspective. Entitled *Proselytism, Sects and Pastoral Challenges. A Study Document*, it was submitted to the Executive Committee and to the General Assembly in 1990. It was decided that it should retain the status of a study document, because certain points still needed to be developed further and, as such, was made available to Churches, institutions, groups and individuals "for use in various local context". Although not officially adopted by the churches, this text reflects a very complex and sensitive context and is a concrete example of the efforts made in order to go beyond mutual accusations.

From the beginning, the document has built upon the progress already made in the present ecumenical situation: "Developments in inter-church relations may allow for an affirmation of a common position against proselytism, which is still practised occasionally, and which constitutes a 'thorny' obstacle on the way towards 'Communion of love'." (§ 2)

For the definition of proselytism, the MECC study document refers to the 1970 *Common Witness and Proselytism*, of the Joint Working Group (§ 6-11). The text goes on to describe the different forms proselytism has taken in the Middle East throughout the centuries, stating that "what we now call proselytism was at the heart of the Western missionary strategy, after the failures of attempts to 'restore unity' during the 15th century" (§ 12). It may be instructive to quote the following view on this history:

"Missionaries adopted a multiplicity of policies. Some were concerned about establishing close relations with church leaders emphasizing unity in faith and its expression through canonical links. Others attempted to change Eastern Christianity from 'within' through religious education, schooling and service, paving the way for uniting it with Rome. A third category strove to attract small groups and influential individuals through different forms of assistance, alienating them ecclesially and culturally. The third tendency gained, gradually, more momentum at the expense of the others and led fragments of Eastern Christianity to unite with the Catholic Church." (§ 13)

Once more, as we can see, the origin and existence of the Eastern Catholic churches is viewed in the general perspective of Western missionary activity and proselytism. It is not necessary to agree entirely with all the ideas expressed in this

paragraph, but it should be recognized that it reflects the viewpoint of many Orthodox and therefore has to be taken into consideration.

The document acknowledges that certain changes have occurred: "There have been, during the last decades, a limited number of collective changes in church affiliation (§ 21)." However, "conscious proselytism did not disappear" (§ 23), and new forms of "semi-conscious or perhaps unconscious neo-proselytism" appear, through various Christian schools, youth movements, social and cultural organizations, etc (§ 25). Among these cases, the document points out a certain form of impatient or sentimental ecumenism, an argument that is not rarely heard in the Middle East context:

"This is also true of 'impatient' ecumenism which may be inclined towards relativism and syncretism. Such ecumenism suggests a diffuse Christian identity and ignores historical consciousness." (§ 28)

Nevertheless, the study document does not ignore the fact that "the mere willingness to launch a process of reflection towards a position paper on proselytism indicates a change in mood and mind that cannot go unnoticed" (§ 29).

In conclusion, one of the basic difficulties this MECC study process on proselytism encounters is the lack of a common ecclesiology between the Orthodox and the Protestants, so much so that the text often has to restrict itself to a phenomenological or practical approach. This difficulty should not exist in the relations between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, since they recognize that they have the main constitutive elements of the Church in common: "profession of the apostolic faith, participation in the same sacraments, above all the one priesthood celebrating the one sacrifice of Christ, the apostolic succession of bishops."² Hence also there lies a greater responsibility, for both sides, to find a solution to this painful issue.

2. In the Roman Catholic - Coptic Orthodox Dialogue

If we now turn to the bilateral dialogues the Catholic Church is involved in, the dialogue with the Coptic Orthodox Church is surely the first one in which the issues of proselytism and uniatism were extensively raised. The common declaration signed by Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Shenouda III, at the end of their meeting in Rome, in May 1973, contains a clear statement on the subject:

"In the name of this charity, we reject all forms of proselytism, in the sense of acts by which persons seek to disturb each other's communities by recruiting new members from each other through methods, or because of attitudes of mind, which are opposed to the exigencies of Christian love or to what should characterize the relationships between Churches. Let it cease, where it may exist. Catholics and Orthodox should strive to deepen charity and cultivate mutual consultation, reflection and cooperation in the social and intellectual fields and should humble themselves before God, supplicating Him who, as He has begun this work in us, will bring it to fruition."³

² Balamand 1993 text, § 13

³ *Information Service* (IS), published by the Pontifical Council For Promoting Christian Unity, 76, 1991 (I), 9. This special issue brings together the principle documents of the first phase of the dialogue between the Catholic

The Joint International Commission between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church, established by the two Heads of Churches at the same occasion, devotes special attention to this point at its first meeting in Cairo, in March 1974. In its joint report we read:

"The Joint Commission recognizes that some of the people of our Churches still have a strong feeling of mistrust when it comes to common cooperation. We must strive to eliminate this feeling and to root out its causes. The commission also recognize that certain people, because of a lack of proper understanding both of the Church's responsibility in the world and of the ecumenical spirit, might use the common declarations of our leaders, and our own proposals, to disturb another's community by trying to recruit new members from it or by cultivating attitudes of minds which are opposed to the exigencies of Christian love or to what should characterize brotherly relationships between Churches. Actions and attitudes of this kind can find no justification in the efforts of Catholics and Orthodox to deepen charity and cultivate mutual consultation, reflection and cooperation in the social and intellectual fields."⁴

It is in view of a concrete implementation of these principles that the formation of a Local Joint Committee in Egypt is recommended. Its function will be "to implement the use of resources for the service of Christ and His Church in Egypt, and to take effective measures to eliminate activities which obstruct this service". At the same time the creation of a subcommittee is suggested "to examine and to take effective measures against those practises which create tensions among the Churches or affect the spirit of mutual confidence between them".⁵ Decisions of this kind prove that the two parties are really determined to do something about it.

At the third meeting of the Joint Commission, held in Vienna, in August 1976, the Coptic Orthodox participants express their hesitation "to inform people of the work being done or the results achieved". And the reason is that "they feel that this could be used against them, especially among the simple faithful, to foster proselytism or expansion among them". The common report states further on:

"It was agreed that no ecumenical activities between our churches should be used to create confusion in the minds of the faithful or open the way to the expansion of the Catholic Church at the expense of the Coptic Orthodox."

In order to meet these fears, various specific recommendations are made and submitted to the authorities of the Catholic Church for their approval and action.⁶

In his letter of 28 January 1977 to the Coptic Orthodox Bishop Amba Samuel, Cardinal J. Willebrands expresses his agreement with the principle that no ecumenical activities "should be used to create confusion in the minds of the faithful or open the way to the expansion of the Catholic Church at the expense of the Coptic Orthodox. In fact no activities of our Churches should be used for this purpose." More generally, he makes the following observations:

"Whatever may have been attitudes in the past, we wish to state clearly that the Catholic Church does not consider the Coptic Orthodox as objects of a 'mission'. If there is any pastoral work among Orthodox it must be done with the knowledge, approval and cooperation of the Orthodox authorities and without the intention of having people pass from one Church to the other."⁷

Most of these recommendations are repeated in a parallel letter that Cardinal Willebrands, as a President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, and Cardinal Philippe, as Prefect of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, sent to the Coptic Catholic Patriarch, H.B. Stephanos I Sidarouss, on 29 March 1977.⁸

In the report of its fourth meeting, held in Cairo, in March 1978, the Joint Commission states the same principles in a more systematic way:

"The following principles have been communicated to Catholic and Coptic Orthodox authorities in Egypt as representing the attitude of the Church of Rome regarding activities of the Catholic Church:

1. No activities of the Catholic Church should be used to open the way to the expansion of the Catholic Church at the expense of the Coptic Orthodox.
2. The Catholic Church does not consider the Coptic Orthodox as objects of mission.
3. Pastoral activities should not be conducted among Orthodox with the purpose of the passing of people from one Church to another.
4. Pastoral work among the Orthodox must not be done without the knowledge, approval and cooperation of Orthodox authorities. [...]

From her side, the Coptic Orthodox Church welcomes the statement of these principles and the spirit animating them as a concrete step towards helping both Churches to proceed further on the road to perfect union."⁹

There is, consequently, a certain common understanding on these points between the Church of Rome and the Coptic Orthodox Church: the former considers them as expressing her attitude regarding activities of the Catholic Church, and the latter welcomes the statement and the spirit animating it.

Once more we find the same approach in the document of fundamental significance that bears the title *Principles for guiding the Search for Unity between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Protocol joint to the Principles*.¹⁰ These texts were prepared by the Joint International Commission and submitted to Pope John Paul II and to Pope Shenouda III, who approved and signed them. Among many other elements, a significant quote that concerns us move directly here is:

"It is in the perspective of the search for this unity that we understand that the pastoral activity, mutual collaboration and common witness should take place at present in Egypt. None of these can have as their objective the passing of people from one Church to another. They are to serve the entire Christian community in Egypt."

Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church, from 1973 until 1988. Cf. also *The Vienna Dialogue. Five Pro Oriente Consultations with Oriental Orthodoxy*. Communiqués and Declarations. Booklet 1, 110

⁴ IS 76, 1991, 16

⁵ IS 76, 1991, 16

⁶ IS 76, 1991, 20

⁷ IS 76, 1991, 22-23

⁸ IS 76, 1991, 23-26

⁹ IS 76, 1991, 28

¹⁰ IS 76, 1991, 30-32

The Catholic-Coptic Orthodox dialogue was suspended during the years Pope Shenouda was impeded by the Egyptian authorities from fully exercising his patriarchal functions (1981-1985). After its resumption in 1988, there is no explicit mention of the term "proselytism", but the Joint Commission meeting in 1991 speaks of "concrete problems which continue to exist between our Churches." Therefore a new Joint Local Pastoral Committee was established "to study those problems which still cause friction between our Churches and people and to propose solutions to the Church authorities."¹¹

At its February 1992 meeting, the Joint Commission welcomed a report of the Joint Local Committee:

"It is encouraging that the local problems arising in the relations between priests and faithful from both Churches and between some of our institutions are being frankly discussed and that the Committee is determined to seek out ways of resolving these problems and avoiding them in the future."

The Commission also encourages the Local Committee to meet regularly and re-states some of the basic principles already quoted,

"... in order to enhance the collaboration in pastoral activity, educational and charitable work and in various forms of common witness. This collaboration can never have as its objective the passing of people from one Church to another. It is to serve the entire Christian community in Egypt."¹²

In concluding these few remarks on the dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church, we can observe that the questions related to proselytism are constantly referred to as a kind of criterion of the sincerity of the dialogue. Most of the time the term "proselytism" is not explicitly used, but more general expressions like local and concrete problems arising in the relationship, friction, passing from one Church to another, etc. The precise term "uniatism" is never used, but it is clear that the questions raised by the presence, the organization and the pastoral activities of the Coptic Catholic Church are underlying most of these considerations. At the same time the Coptic Catholic Church is also the main Catholic partner in the Joint Local Committee. The many difficulties encountered by this Local Committee which prevented it from functioning properly, illustrate eloquently that there is a long way to go from the clearly stated principles to a consequent implementation in the daily life of the Churches. The main task of future dialogues may lie exactly there.

3. In the Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church

Before going directly into the Theological Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church of Byzantine tradition, let us remember a few fundamental statements by the Heads of both Churches, as an illustration of the fruits of the dialogue of love and of the atmosphere in which the Theological Dialogue was initiated.

¹¹IS 77, 1991, 68-69

¹²IS 80, 1992, 37

Towards the end of his visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch, H.H. Athenogoras I, in the Phanar (Istanbul), in July 1967, Pope Paul VI, in his address in the patriarchal cathedral, recalls how "charity allows us to become more aware of the very depth of our unity." On the basis of the rediscovery of this already existing communion and the mutual recognition of the pastoral responsibilities of each Church, he affirms:

"Thus we see more clearly that it is on the heads of the Churches and their hierarchy that the obligation rests to guide the Churches along the way that leads to finding full communion again. They ought to do this out of recognition and respect for the fact that they are pastors of the part of the flock of Christ entrusted to them, and out of concern for the cohesion and growth of the people of God, and should avoid everything that could scatter it or cause confusion in its ranks."¹³

Without using the term "proselytism", the allusion is clear, and it is placed in a truly ecclesiological vision.

A similar approach of the question can be found in the common statement signed by Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenogoras I, at the end of their meeting in Rome, in October 1967:

"Pope Paul VI and the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenogoras I are convinced that the dialogue of charity between their Churches should bring forth fruit in an unselfish collaboration and common action upon pastoral, social and intellectual levels, with a mutual respect for the fidelity of members on either side to their own Church."¹⁴

These very basic elements were reaffirmed in the Balamand text in 1993: unselfish collaboration, common action, mutual respect for fidelity of members... Twenty years later, during the visit of H.H. Patriarchs Dimitrios I to H.H. Pope John Paul II in Rome, December 1987, both Heads of churches restated this in these precise terms:

"We renew before God our common commitment to promote the dialogue of charity in every possible manner, following the example of Christ in nourishing and surrounding the Church with the solicitude of his charity (cf. Eph 5:29). In this respect we reject every form of proselytism, every attitude which would or could be perceived as a lack of respect."¹⁵

Even before the official opening of the Theological Dialogue, the subject of the Eastern Catholic Churches became a bone of contention between Orthodox and Catholics. The strongest reaction probably came from the Church of Greece which has especially opposed to the participation of any Eastern Catholic clergyman or layman in the future dialogue and at a certain point made this an absolute condition for its own participation.¹⁶ So it was not at all surprising that the question was raised with deter-

¹³Tomos Agapis, n. 172; *Towards the Healing of Schism. The Sees of Rome and Constantinople*. Public statements and correspondence between the Holy See and the ecumenical Patriarchate 1958-1984. "Ecumenical Documents" III, edited and translated by E.J. Stormon, New York, Paulist Press, 1987, 158

¹⁴*Towards the Healing of Schism*, 181-182

¹⁵IS 66, 1988, 30

¹⁶Cf. Chrysostomos of Peristerion. *Problem and an Appeal. A Necessary Presupposition for the beginning and the success of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches*, in *Theologia* 50, 1979, 858-868

mination at the very beginning of the first session of the International Commission for the Theological Dialogue, Patmos-Rhodes 1980, where four Eastern Catholics were present as members of the Catholic delegation. The first day, during a separate meeting of the Orthodox participants, a special statement was worked out and later accepted by the Catholics, on condition that it would not contain anything offensive for the persons involved. It was agreed, for instance, not to use the term "uniate" for human persons, because of its pejorative implication, but the term "uniatism" could be maintained to designate an historical phenomenon. The statement itself mainly affirmed two points:

a) the presence of Roman Catholics of the Eastern rite in the dialogue did not mean an acceptance of uniatism on behalf of the Orthodox;

b) the theme of uniatism remained open and would have to be studied later in the course of the Dialogue. With these reservations made, the Orthodox were able to initiate officially the Theological Dialogue, which, according to the method adopted together, intended to start from the many points both Churches already had in common. In this perspective, the topic of the Eastern Catholic Churches would be dealt with only at a later stage.¹⁷

At the third session of the International Commission (Crete, 1984), the issue of proselytism was brought forward by the representative of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In a letter to the Commission, the Patriarch drew the attention to "certain painful facts that occur in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem," and protested against certain forms of proselytism exercised by the Catholics - Latin and Eastern - at the expense of the Orthodox community. Some Catholics priests were also reproached with exploiting the ecumenical relations by making believe that there were no theological differences between the two Churches any longer, thus attracting the Orthodox to the Catholic Church. The Patriarch of Jerusalem threatened to withdraw from the Dialogue if nothing effective was done to remedy this situation.¹⁸ The response of the Catholics was that the question would be taken seriously, and that a real solution could only be found by consultation on the local level. However, the press communiqué of the meeting does not mention this point, which seems to indicate that it was not really central in the discussions.¹⁹

At the fourth session of the International Commission, in Bari (Italy), 1986, the problems of proselytism and uniatism were raised once more by some Orthodox and quite a lengthy discussion took place, judging from what is said in the press communiqué: "They also expressed their concern about what is perceived as proselytism by Catholics among Orthodox and by the question of the existence and activity of Catholic Churches of Eastern Rite in full communion with Rome". The Commission acknowledges the seriousness of this concern and plans to study it in the future; at the same time it insists on the need and the advantage to undertake study and action on the local level:

¹⁷ See, for instance, F. Bouwen, *Patmos-Rhodes 1980. Première réunion de la Commission pour la dialogue théologique entre l'Église catholique et l'Église orthodoxe*, in: *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 31, 1981, 170-196 (mainly 185-186)

¹⁸ In fact, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem suspended its participation in the Theological Dialogue by decision of its Synod, on 22 May 1989, referring exactly to these motifs (cf. *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 40, 1990, 278)

¹⁹ F. Bouwen, *Crète 1984. Troisième réunion de la Commission internationale pour le dialogue théologique entre l'Église catholique et l'Église orthodoxe*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 34, 1984, 86-96 (mainly 92-93)

"It was proposed that both the question of proselytism and that of the Catholics of Eastern Rite, under their theological and practical aspects become an object of eventual study by the Commission since they cause serious divergences between the two Churches. It was furthermore recommended that structures be set up to handle practical problems of real or apparent proselytism. It was felt that a theological commission may not be the proper place in which to treat these problems and that a body more immediately connected with the authorities of both Churches would be in a better position to handle them if they should arise in the future."²⁰

At the second part of the Bari session, in 1987, the two questions came up again. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem reiterated its accusations and asked for an explicit condemnation of proselytism. The final communiqué of the meeting responds to this demand, repeating word for word certain formulas already quoted above, used previously by Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I. Simultaneously, the Commission insists on the necessity to try to confront the questions on the local level.

"On the principles adopted by the Commission at its first meeting in Rhodes (1980) for guiding its work is that the dialogue of love should continually accompany the theological dialogue to facilitate the solution of the difficulties and to strengthen the deepening of fraternal relations between the two Churches on both the local and more general levels. In the spirit of this principle, the members of the Commission repeat the condemnation of proselytism already expressed on many occasions by authoritative leaders and groups of both Churches. Every form of proselytism is to be avoided in the relations between our faithful or eliminated where it may possibly exist.

Relations between Catholics and Orthodox should be rooted in a total fidelity to Christ and in a mutual respect for each other's traditions. They should bear fruits of disinterested collaboration on the level of common pastoral, social and intellectual action with mutual respect for each one's fidelity to his or her own Church. Every element which can reinforce the bonds of love and common action is to be encouraged and promoted; whatever harms this love and common action is to be eliminated with the grace of God and the creative force of the Holy Spirit. The International Joint Commission intends to keep this question under consideration and study.

In making this general declaration, the Joint Commission expresses its great desire that these principles be adopted on the local and regional levels and where deemed necessary, that appropriate structures for mutual consultation and action be established."

The question of uniatism was likewise raised again, and the necessity to confront it directly in the near future imposed itself more and more on the Commission:

"At previous meetings, the Commission expressed its concern for the problem of 'uniatism' as a serious factor in the relations between our two Churches

²⁰ IS 62, 1986, 200; cf. F. Bouwen, *Bari 1986. Quatrième réunion de la Commission internationale pour le dialogue théologique entre l'Église catholique et l'Église orthodoxe*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 36, 1986, 282-303 (mainly 289-292)

ches. During this meeting at Bari, it considered further concrete ways by which the ecclesiological and practical aspects of this question may be studied."²¹

At the fifth plenary session of the International Commission, held at the Orthodox monastery of Uusi Valamo, in Finland, June 1988, "as agreed by the Commission at its 1987 meeting in Bari, the question of the Eastern Catholics in communion with the Holy See of Rome was also discussed as a serious factor in the relations between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches". By then the time seemed to be ripe and "a joint sub-commission was established to carry on the consideration of ecclesiological and practical aspects of the question". This sub-commission met for the first time at New Valamo itself and it was decided that a series of historical and ecclesiological studies would be arranged, and concrete pastoral recommendations made.²²

The next meeting of the sub-committee was planned to take place in Moscow, but it actually was held in Vienna, in January 1990. In the meantime, the radical political changes and the dawning of a new religious freedom in Central and Eastern Europe had opened the way for the reappearance and the public resumption of the pastoral activities of the Eastern Catholic Churches in those regions. In several places this constituted a painful test for the relations between Catholics and Orthodox, and tensions and even conflicts developed. The new situation was going to upset the whole program and method of the Theological Dialogue. Precisely, very soon the problems relating to the Eastern Catholics Churches would be in the foreground. In the light of these developments, the Vienna meeting of the sub-committee drew up a study paper and submitted it to the Joint Coordinating Committee for the Theological Dialogue at its meeting in Moscow, in February 1990, in view of the next session of the International Commission.

As a matter of fact, the sixth plenary session of the International Commission for the Theological Dialogue at Freising (Germany), in June 1990, was practically entirely "dedicated to the study of the questions posed by the origin, the existence and the development of the Catholic Churches of Byzantine Rite which are also called 'Uniate Churches'." The text approved at the end of the session²³ states that the discussions "have taken place in a very sincere and fraternal atmosphere", but that does not contradict the fact that the dialogue was severely put to the test. Only on the last night a compromise text was produced. The dynamic of the dialogue had prevailed and the positive outcome was experienced as a moment of grace.

It is not possible and not necessary, to analyze that text in detail here. It constitutes in fact only a point of departure and its main elements have been taken up again and intensified in the later meetings. The Freising text will remain famous for its central affirmation: "We reject 'uniatism' as a method of unity opposed to the common Tradition of our Churches." A similarly clear statement was made on proselytism: "Every effort aimed at having the faithful of one Church pass to another, which is commonly called 'proselytism', should be excluded as a misuse of pastoral energy. In addition it would be a counterwitness..." In conclusion it is agreed that dialogue should continue, as "the most appropriate forum for confronting problems, particularly that of 'uniatism' ". and would "focus on this particular question."

²¹ Communiqué in IS 64, 1987, 66-67

²² Communiqué in IS 68, 1988, 160-161

²³ Cf. IS 73, 1990, 52-53

As a matter of fact, on the basis of the Freising text, the theme of uniatism was to be studied further in the following months by the three joint sub-commissions for the Theological Dialogue, which would present their reports to the Joint Coordinating Committee. The document prepared by the Joint Coordinating Committee at its meeting at Ariccia (Italy), in June 1991, and entitled *Uniatism, method of union of the past, and the present search for full Communion*, was to serve as the working document for the plenary session of the International Commission at Balamand, in June 1993.

Parallel to the work of the International Commission, the Catholic authorities in Rome published a series of official documents, aiming at clarifying the Catholic position in front of the radical changes in the situation in Eastern and Central Europe and at facilitating the relations between Catholics and Orthodox in these regions. On 31 May 1991, Pope John Paul II signed his "Letter to the Bishops of Europe on the relations between Catholics and Orthodox in the new situation of Central and Eastern Europe". On 1 June 1992, the Pontifical Commission *Pro Russia* issued the document entitled "General principles and practical norms for coordinating the evangelizing activity and ecumenical commitment of the Catholic Church in Russia and in other countries of the C.I.S."²⁴ The main elements of these texts are integrated in the Balamand 1993 document.

4. Balamand 1993

This historical introduction seemed necessary, or at least very useful, in order to see concretely how the two questions of proselytism and uniatism have become a growing and continuous concern in the various ecumenical relations and dialogues of today. This implies that a certain amount of reflection and experience is already available and it would be a serious mistake to ignore it and not to try to benefit by it. However, if we want to look towards the future and if we intend to elaborate an ecclesiological vision for the relationship between our Churches - and the place of the Oriental Catholic Churches in it -, then we have to refer to the document published by the International Commission for the Theological Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church at the end of its seventh plenary session at Balamand, Lebanon, in June 1993. This bears the same title as the working text of Ariccia: *Uniatism, method of union of the past and the present search for full Communion*.

The status and authority of this text are only those of the Commission. The text was submitted to the authorities of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches for approval and application. So far the Orthodox Church of Romania is the only one to have approved it officially, in its Holy Synod, in July 1993; on the other hand, no Church has officially rejected it. We are therefore strongly invited to explore further and to make the best of the principles and orientations given by the Commission, that is composed of competent persons officially delegated by their Churches to study in common the best ways to advance to full communion.

In itself the Balamand document directly concerns only the relations between the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church of Byzantine tradition, partners in

²⁴ These two texts can be found in the special issue of IS, 81, 1992, entitled *Documentation on ecumenical statements and initiatives of the Holy See in regard to Central and Eastern Europe in the new situation. January 1989 - October 1992*

this bilateral dialogue. Nevertheless the rejection of uniatism as a method and as a model of unity equally concerns the other Orthodox Churches - Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Malankara - that live side by side with an Oriental Catholic Church in communion with the See of Rome. Likewise the practical orientations given, deserve to be studied seriously by all.²⁵

4.1. Two Fundamental Affirmations

From its very beginning, in the introduction, the Balamand text contains two fundamental affirmations:

"2. With regard to the method which has been called 'uniatism', it was stated at Freising (June 1990) that 'we reject it as method for the search for unity because it is opposed to the common tradition of our Churches'.

"3. Concerning the Oriental Catholic Churches, it is clear that they, as part of the Catholic Communion, have the right to exist and to act in answer to the spiritual needs of their faithful."

These affirmations are fundamental in the sense that it is only by holding the two constantly together that we can hope to find "a just and definitive solution", acceptable to all parties involved, "to the difficulties which these Oriental Catholic Churches present to the Orthodox Church" (§ 17).

The main text is divided in two parts:

1. Ecclesiological principles;
2. Practical rules.

The former seeks to give theological and ecclesiological foundations to these two affirmations, while the latter outlines a number of concrete and pastoral guidelines with the view of helping their implementation. Our aim here is not to study the whole document, paragraph by paragraph, but to point out the main principles and orientations that may facilitate our reflection and discussions.

4.2. A Reconciled Look at History

When it comes to studying the questions raised by the Oriental Catholic Churches together, one of the great difficulties is the fact that each of our Churches has her own reading of the origin, the development and the activities of these Churches. We all should aim at "a historiography of the two churches which is in agreement and even may be common" (§ 30), but for the time being this still has not yet become a reality. Nevertheless, from now on we can try to dissipate prejudices, by exploring the possibility to have, at least to a certain degree, a reconciled look at some important or critical stages of our common history. The Balamand text tries to do precisely that in paragraphs 6 to 11.

²⁵ Cf. J. Corbon, *Le document de Balamand 1993 et son impact œcuménique au Proche-Orient*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 43, 1993, 113-137

The division between the Churches of the East and of the West has never been accepted as an irreversible fact (§ 6). Throughout history, various attempts have been made to re-establish unity, "through different ways, at times conciliar". Unfortunately, none of these efforts succeeded. At times they even made oppositions more acute (§ 7)! It is against this background that the origin of the Oriental Catholic Churches should be seen taking into account the various circumstances of time and place, as well as the "interference of extraecclesial interests" (§ 8). Without prejudging the sincerity of intention of the persons involved, we can now agree that in this way "the re-establishment of unity between the Church of the East and the Church of the West was not achieved" (§ 9), and that the new situation became "a source of conflict and of suffering in the first instance for the Orthodox but also for the Catholics" (§ 8). "The division remains, embittered by these attempts" (§ 9).

Parallel to these historical developments, the Balamand text then speaks about some theological positions that slowly took form in these circumstances: a missionary activity developed, tending to convert other Christians, individually or in groups. "In order to legitimize this tendency, a source of proselytism, the Catholic Church developed the theological vision according to which she presented herself as the only one to whom salvation was entrusted". This theory was sometimes called "soteriological exclusivism". It is important to note that the text recognizes that the Orthodox Church "came to accept the same vision", "in turn", "as a reaction". It is also acknowledged that it even happened "that certain requirements of the religious freedom of persons and their act of faith were forgotten" (§ 10).

Such a common look at history is still limited and fragile, but it allows the partners in dialogue to meet in mutual acceptance and to look towards the future together. Hence its special importance.

4.3. Rediscovery of the Common Tradition

It is thanks to the new relations that have developed among the Churches during the last decades and the theological reflection that has accompanied them, that new visions and new attitudes are possible. A double rediscovery took place. The first one is, "the way in which Catholics and Orthodox once again consider each other in their relation to the mystery of the church", and the second, the way in which they "discover each other again as Sister Churches" (§ 12).

The ecclesiology of communion ("the rediscovery and the giving again of proper value to the Church as communion, both on the part of the Orthodox and of the Catholics") has radically altered perspectives and attitudes.

"On each side it is recognized that what Christ has entrusted to his Church - profession of faith, participation in the same sacraments, above all the one priesthood celebrating the one sacrifice of Christ, the apostolic succession of bishops - cannot be considered the exclusive property of one of our Churches." (§ 13)

In this perspective, the "Catholic Churches and the Orthodox Churches recognize each other as Sister Churches, responsible together for maintaining the Church of God in fidelity to the divine purpose, most especially in what concerns unity" (§ 14).

Such mutual recognition constitutes, as it were, the completion of the three theological documents published previously by the International Commission. According to

this ecclesiological vision, "in the search for re-establishing unity there is no question of conversion of people from one Church to the other in order to ensure their salvation. There is no question of achieving together the will of Christ for his own and the design of God for his Church" (§ 15).

As a consequence, it is possible to draw this crucial conclusion: "This form of 'missionary apostolate' described above, and which has been called 'uniatism', can no longer be accepted neither as a method to be followed nor as a model for the unity our Churches are seeking" (§ 12). This passage is central to the document: it defines what is understood here by "uniatism", and then it clearly rejects it. It is self-evident that this "uniatism" is different from the mere existence of the present Oriental Catholic Churches and their pastoral activities for the benefit of their own faithful. No persons are judged here, but a vision and a system are said to be unacceptable.

A last remark has to be made concerning the "ecclesiality", or the ecclesial character, of the Oriental Catholic Churches. In § 3, it is recognized that, "as part of the Catholic Communion", the Oriental Catholic Churches have the right to exist and to exercise pastoral care over their faithful. In § 16, it is said likewise: "The Oriental Catholic Churches who have desired to re-establish full communion with the See of Rome and have remained faithful to it, have the same rights and obligations which are connected with this communion." However the Orthodox do not seem to be ready to credit the Oriental Catholic Churches with a special ecclesial character of their own, distinct from their being part of the Catholic Communion. The Orthodox cannot recognize them as a distinct Sister Church. They envisage the dialogue as a bilateral one, with two partners, not three. This is part of the abnormal situation of division the Churches are living in.

4.4. Dialogue of Love

With the Balamand text, it must be recognized that neither these theological considerations nor the practical rules will be able to resolve the problems, without the dialogue of love that "must be present with a continually renewed intensity and perseverance" (§ 20). "Mutual respect" (§ 19), "will to pardon", "constant effort for renewal", "accompanied by the unceasing desire to seek the full communion", are some of the basic attitudes required (§ 20). And "the first step to take is to put an end to everything that can foment division, contempt and hatred among the Churches" (§ 21). These demands are valid for all the Churches, wherever they live together.

4.5. Authentic Religious Freedom

Christian religious freedom - "one of the most precious gifts received from Christ" (§ 25) - has to be scrupulously respected, especially by the bishops and all those with pastoral responsibilities in both Churches, and the necessary consequences of it have to be accepted without reservation. It is worthy to note that the Balamand text states it so unambiguously:

"In fact, religious liberty requires that, particularly in situations of conflict, the faithful are able to express their opinions and to decide without pressure from outside if they wish to be in communion with the Orthodox Church or with the Catholic Church." (§ 24)

This religious freedom can be violated in various ways; all kind of pressure or violence should be avoided (§ 25, § 27). In particular, some Orthodox fear that it may become a pretext or a cover-up to justify attempts to influence and to win over less instructed people; § 25 should be read as trying to answer these fears.

4.6. Pastoral Consultation and Collaboration

To begin with, the aim of the pastoral activity of the Catholic Church is restated in very clear terms:

"Pastoral activity in the Catholic Church, Latin as well as Oriental, no longer aims at having the faithful of one Church pass over to the other; that is to say, it no longer aims at proselytizing among the Orthodox. It aims at answering the spiritual needs of its own faithful and has no desire for expansion at the expense of the Orthodox Church." (§ 22)

As we saw above, identical affirmations are repeated several times in the documents of the dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church. These attitudes are of fundamental importance for all interchurch relations and collaboration, everywhere. Their implementation presupposes a number of changes in mentality and behaviour: "reciprocal exchange of information about various pastoral projects", "cooperation between bishops and all those with responsibilities in our Churches" (§ 22), absence of all "triumphalism" (§ 23). Some of these principles are more developed in later paragraphs. "In this context, it will be necessary that social assistance, as well as every form of philanthropic activity be organized with common agreement so as to avoid new suspicions" (§ 24). There is no excuse for "undertaking a pastoral project which may also involve the faithful of other Churches, without previous consultation with the pastors of these Churches" (§ 25). In this respect, § 29 deserves to be quoted in full:

"Bishops and priests have the duty before God to respect the authority which the Holy Spirit has given to the bishops and priests of the other Church and for that reason to avoid interfering in the spiritual life of the faithful of that Church. When cooperation becomes necessary for the good of the faithful, it is then required that those responsible come to an agreement among themselves, establish for this mutual assistance clear principles which are known to all, and act subsequently with frankness, clarity, and with respect for the sacramental discipline of the other Church.

In this context to avoid all misunderstanding and to develop confidence between the two Churches, it is necessary that Catholic and Orthodox Bishops of the same territory consult with each other before establishing Catholic pastoral projects which imply the creation of new structures in regions which traditionally form part of the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church, in view to avoid parallel pastoral activities which would risk rapidly degenerating into rivalry or even conflicts." (§ 29)

The responsibilities of the Church authorities are of course very great in this field. The same holds at all levels, local, regional, universal. Certain structures of consultation and evaluation will probably have to be set up. Once again, the history of the dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church illustrates

this experience: no real progress can be made, if there is no true understanding and collaboration on the local level. The Balamand text expresses this fact when it suggests the creation of joint local commissions.

"That is why it is necessary to seek and to engage in an open dialogue, which in the first place should be between those who have responsibilities for the Churches on the local level. Those in charge of the communities concerned should create joint local commissions or make effective those which already exist, for finding solutions to concrete problems and seeing that these solutions are applied in truth and love, in justice and peace. If agreement cannot be reached on the local level, the question should be brought to mixed commissions established by higher authorities." (§ 26)

As ways to prepare the future, the Balamand text puts special emphasis on the preparation of future priests and of all those who are involved in an apostolic activity: it should be "objectively positive", "informed of the apostolic succession of the other Church and the authenticity of its sacramental life" (§ 30). All of us know how important this aspect of formation is for the future coexistence and collaboration between our Churches.

4.7. Active Participation

After all, the Oriental Catholic Churches should not only not be an obstacle for the dialogue. They also have their own role to play, they have something positive to offer. As part of the Catholic Communion and faithful to the teachings of the Second Vatican Council on ecumenism, "these Churches should be inserted, on both local and universal levels, into the dialogue of love, in mutual respect and reciprocal trust found once again, and enter into the theological dialogue, with all its practical implications" (§ 16). It is therefore suggested that "the authorities of the Catholic Church will assist the Oriental Catholic Churches and their communities so that they themselves may prepare full communion between Catholic and Orthodox Churches" (§ 21). In this spirit, the International Commission for the theological dialogue "strongly recommends that these practical rules be put into practice by our Churches, including the Oriental Catholic Churches which are called to take part in this dialogue" (§ 34).

5. Conclusion

These are the essential elements of the experience that the theological dialogue puts at our disposal, when we are about to study the questions raised and the possibilities offered by the existence and activities of the Oriental Catholic Churches, especially in the field of ecumenical relations. Most of these principles and suggestions seem to remain valid, *mutatis mutandis*, wherever Catholic Churches and Oriental Orthodox Churches live side by side and desire to work together for the achievement of the will of Christ for his Church, "that they may be one."

Ecclesiology of communion, reciprocal rediscovery as Sister Churches with all its implications, mutual respect, information and consultation, joint structures for dialogue on the local, regional and universal levels, in a climate of true religious freedom.

How can we accept these values in common and make the most of them in our search for full unity in faith and sacraments between the Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches? And what could be the place and the role of the Oriental Catholic Churches?

In all discussions and decisions, we must always bear in mind the urgent pastoral needs of today's world, as well as the sometimes critical presence and witness of the Oriental Christian minorities in many of their traditional homelands. The common tasks of our Churches are so great that we, Catholics and Orthodox, from the East and from the West, have to face them together.

Discussion:

Professor Davids: The Balamand Declaration confirms the "right to exist" of the Oriental Catholic Churches. But the question remains: is it the right to exist permanently or until a specific goal is achieved? Balamand does not touch this question, but I think the right to exist permanently has to be emphasized.

Mar Severios: The codification of the canon law for the Oriental Catholics was for an interim period. In that sense the question of Prof. Davids still exists.

Professor Legrand: The Decree on the uniate churches of Vatican II says that this state is only provisional. When unity is established it will be superfluous. But the Maronites and the Ukrainian Catholics are not so.

Professor Hannoncourt: The Maronite Church is not Latin and has no Oriental canon law. The liturgy of the Romanian and Ukrainian Catholics is a mixture. With union achieved, where would they go to?

Amba Bishoy: Fr. Bouwen's paper is a good record of the history of the dialogue. In 1986 the Coptic Holy Synod sent a letter to Cardinal Willebrands in Rome, dealing with the topic of promotion of unity. Among several other issues raised, the last one was the issue of the body of the Coptic Catholic Church. The Popes Paul VI, John Paul II and Shenouda III wrote letters expressing that "all should be united under one patriarchate". Prof. Ishak's paper quotes the agreement in this question. Why did Fr. Bouwen not mention this?

Father Bouwen: I was talking about general principles and not about the Coptic Catholics in particular. Moreover, I was talking about proselytism, not about modes of unity.

Archbishop Krikorian: This letter which is mentioned is a good guideline. But it is not yet an official document. In my view there is a third possibility, i.e. the Oriental Catholic community will have no more patriarchs. But they can continue their existence with bishops.

Professor Ishak: Will these bishops then be included in the synod of the Orthodox Church or will they have a synod for themselves?

Father Tawfiq: This was never decided! Rome cannot decide about our existence like that. We have a special synod. We can have communion but we do not have to obey orders.

Archbishop Krikorian: And after the union? Then it will be different.

Father George: I have certain general comments to make about this whole process of our dialogue: (1) There is a widespread feeling of despair and pessimism in Orthodox circles. Despite our varied efforts, nothing is moving at the grassroot level. After 20 years of dialogue we are in a worse situation than when we started. (2) Two ecclesiologies are in conflict and it is vital to solve this conflict. For the Eastern Churches catholicity does not mean universality. A translation in this way was never compatible and is a tragedy. For us catholicity means fullness of the Holy Spirit. (3) There is a historical and political element in the development of the concept of universalism. The whole issue comes up in this millennium with the crusaders and colonialism. All the problems arose with these two events. The Roman Church was a local church. How did it come to be universal? It is through the process mentioned above. This we Orthodox never accepted. (4) Fr. Bouwen mentioned in his paper documents on uniatism containing findings of these dialogues. Have these been taken seriously, have they been printed and read in the respective churches?

Professor Koodapuzha comments on Prof. Ishak's topic of one patriarchate in Egypt. The distinct existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches seems to be an accepted formula. Allowing mutual variety inside the churches means to respect the different traditions.

Mar Gregorios: My first question is to Fr. Tawfiq: Hasn't Rome the right to speak on behalf of the Oriental Catholic Churches? My second question is to Fr. Bouwen: Why does the Roman Catholic Church hold bilateral dialogues with the Coptic and Indian Orthodox Churches and not with all of the Oriental Churches?

Archbishop Keshishian refers to the very articulate and methodological paper of Fr. Bouwen, reminding us that we have developed a common understanding of (1) no proselytism and (2) uniatism is not a model for unity. But how can we translate this into life? Realistically we need not jump to fast conclusions, there are different contents, we need to be concrete. E.g. if a Catholic priest tries to convince an Orthodox to join a Catholic school then the pupil has to frequent Catholic religious instructions. How do you call that?

I can identify different problems: (1) We Orthodox must not accept the Roman interpretation of history, because it is biased. (2) Today we are experiencing aggressive evangelism which is a problem common to many of our churches. (3) Of course the Oriental Catholics should exist. But the question is not one of peaceful co-existence but of establishing complete unity. We have to think of practical means to achieve this. More than in theological statements we have to grow in ecumenical life.

Archbishop Powathil, referring to Fr. George's comments, is convinced that we need not be that pessimistic. Instead of a universal church we should envision Catholic

communion. Secondly, generalization of the Eastern Catholic Churches is not right. Proselytism is a phenomenon which depends upon the context. Many times it is only caused by individuals. Furthermore, he thinks that bilateral dialogues are useful and necessary.

Professor Hofrichter: By now we have plenty of good declarations on ecumenism. Maybe there are priests who do not know their contents and the change which has taken place in understanding. Salvation only through the Roman Catholic Church was the maxim of the pastors of old age. Now it is not so any more. Secondly, it is a fact that the Catholic Church has a lot of material resources. Presently, our people want to help other Catholics, not other Christians. But material, educational, pastoral etc. help should be given to all in a spirit of Christian brotherhood, not as a means of proselytism. Then the climate would improve immediately.

Professor Legrand comments on the "blackfriars" which were quoted and states that this is not a source of scientific value.

If Lutherans and Catholics will come to communion, I do not think that either of the two will disappear. In the same way the uniate and other smaller churches would not disappear.

Before we discuss the participation of the Eastern Catholic Churches in the Orthodox synod, we must consider that in Cairo there are seven Catholic bishops but not one synod! Let us just begin. Very important is the interpretation of history. Take the example of France and Germany: Our schoolbooks were changed. Secular powers can do that. Therefore let us exchange our catechisms to improve them! Everything that was reported in Fr. Bouwen's paper was done freely with no pressure behind it. This is a good sign.

Father Bouwen: The problem of the difference between principle and practice has to be solved. We have principles on which we all agreed. Now the task is to put them into practice. Of course the use of history in a polemical manner will have to be avoided.

Third working session: Saturday, 2nd July, 9.00 a.m.

Chair: Father Kondothra M. George

A passage from Romans 12 is read reminding us that we are all members of one another.

Archbishop Mar Gregorios

The Search for Communion Between East and West

A book that has been recently published in France under the title "*Vie et mort des chrétiens d'Orient*", with the front cover showing a picture of the Cathedral of St. Si-

mon Stylites whose history goes back to 491 A.D., poses a very significant question, namely "Will there be any more Christians in the East?"

Both the title of the book and the question posed call for our astonishment, especially these days, in which countries of the Middle East suffer from the devastating wars. We do not know why the author of the book, who is French and a diplomat and has lived for a long time in the Middle East, chose to have the picture of the Cathedral of St. Simon Stylites put on the front cover. Maybe to remind us of death of the churches and monasteries around this Cathedral! The Region of Antioch, for instance, which was congested with Christians for centuries and in which Christians built churches and monasteries and shrines in order to be centres for preaching, teaching and praying, has become, nowadays, vacant, with Christians no longer living in it.

Christianity has been defined by the author since the time it was still in its cradle; he traced its evolution from the very beginning, going through the Ecumenical Councils up to the advent of Islam. He concentrated upon the positive and negative aspects of the Fourth Council, which had significant effects that paved the way for demographic, historical and geographical changes that swayed the region specifically at the advent of Islam. He moved on to describe the political epochs up to the Ottoman era and finished with an analytical study of the present regimes and the wave of fundamentalism pervading more than one country in the Middle East, especially those in which the church of Christ is still alive and is confessing witness, preaching the message.

What is specifically important in this book are the sensitive subjects it puts forth and which the author calls the four challenges:

1. potentials of self weakness;
2. relations with islam;
3. policy of states;
4. external influences.

The first part of these challenges shows the demarcation line that indicates the demographic decline of the members of these churches which constituted, prior to 451 A.D., one Holy Apostolic universal church. It is noteworthy that the growth of population is so sluggish, or indeed it could be described as steadily receding, when compared with the rate of growth among Muslims.

This is a very significant point to make in as much as it gives a clear idea about the Christian presence on the map of the Middle East where seven Oriental Catholic churches live alongside the rest of the Christians, namely Orthodox and Evangelical. What is stated here concerning these challenges includes all churches, whether Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant and all Christians are confronted with these challenges.

From this point I would like to move on to answer the following question:

What is the role of the Oriental Catholic churches in the search for communion between East and West?

It is a very important question and it might be useful to come back to listen to the reactions to this answer. The answer motivates us to study the uniqueness of these Oriental Catholic churches, their thought and their attitude towards the ecumenical movement in general and the extent to which these churches are free to take decisions in terms of their dialogue with sister churches and what is going on in reality here in the Middle East respectively.

I do not see that I am in a position to defend Oriental Christians who carry in their hearts a deep-rooted heritage handed down to them by the fathers generation after generation. They are still, and despite all sorts of hard circumstances, fulfilling their duties towards this heritage through three channels: maintaining, preaching, and teaching - and they consider this task a distinctive message which they have to fulfil in their life.

This might be considered as a slight point of dissention between those who stand at the threshold of history reflecting upon the past, adhering to it and to the turning points, and traditions that have an oriental flavour in them on the one hand, and those who have gone beyond this standpoint, renouncing thus something called "the past", yet seeking a present of a new nature while integrating in a Western framework. When we speak about the East and the West we do not mean the simple geographical demarcation line. However, the implications entailed here by the usage of these two terms, East and West, refer to a mere cultural (and civilized) reality.

We, in the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, have been living with these two terms. We still talk about the History of the region in which our people lived. The Western Syrians are those who lived along the Western banks of the Euphrates, and the Eastern Syrians were the people living to the East of this river. This dividing line has given certain characteristics to the people on each side of the Euphrates. To cite an example, we notice two dialects in the language of this one people and each dialect has its own properties in pronunciation and terminology.

In view of the usage of these two terms, East and West, we all admit that the Greek civilization, with its culture and language, penetrated the life of our Oriental churches and contributed to a large extent to the formation of the Christian civilizations in these churches. Very often, Syrians speak about their language, which served as a bridge along which Greek culture, crossed over to the Arabs, and after the fourth century the Greek thought with all its dimensions had a great impact on the Syrian thought along the two Western and Eastern sides of the Euphrates.

After this introduction may I draw an outline of what is called Christian Unity?

How do we, as Orthodox, envisage this formula?

How do Oriental Orthodox churches envisage the prospective formula of unity?

The Catholic concept of future unity is unequivocal. Unity to them means unity in faith and communion in all sacraments under one primatial power of a central church jurisdiction that would administratively unite Christians. The Catholic church believes that the aforementioned jurisdiction is that of the Bishop of Rome. Therefore, the Bishop of Rome occupies, on the primatial level, the office of Peter among Apostles. The Catholic church also holds that any community that refrains from coming into communion with the Roman See and refutes its supreme jurisdiction, shall be outside the Universal Church and will be considered as lacking a fundamental element of the church of Christ.

This might explain the eighth Canon of the Oriental code, i.e. Collection of Canons of the Eastern churches, ratified by H. H. John Paul II on 18 October 1990. It reads:

"All those baptized in this world in the name of Jesus Christ in the framework of the visible church in a bond of confession of faith, sacraments and church authority, have full communion with the Catholic church."

In terms of this Canon - which is only four years old - it appears that confession of church authority is on the same footing as confession of faith and sacraments.

We in PRO ORIENTE see other positive conclusions through the studies of theologians who are representatives of the Oriental Orthodox churches. Those theologians have stated their concept of church unity on the basis that local independent churches are united in faith and ecclesiastical communion without a unifying administrative centre.

We cannot deny that Rome, the centre of church authority and supreme jurisdiction, has declared on many different occasions her respect of the prerogatives of the Oriental Catholic Patriarchs and admitted their right to have their own methods and ways in worship and the expression of inspiring truths and this is true through the decision of the Council of Vatican II, in the chapter on "Ecumenical Movement". Yet this failed to engender a comfortable feeling among Oriental Catholics. However, Oriental Orthodox churches rejected it altogether. The Orthodox, throughout all their relations with Rome, have expressed their thought concerning Papal primacy and considered it an obstacle on the way towards the restoration of union among the churches of East and West.

Going back to the Second Vatican Council - the Council that opened a new outlet in the relations between the East and West, or further, among all Christian churches, we find that its decision confirm that the episcopal body has no authority unless united to the Roman Pontiff, being the representative of Christ and the shepherd of the whole church and he - the Pope - has complete jurisdiction over the church universal, he is entitled to practise this jurisdiction incessantly and unconditionally.

It is only through this union with the Roman Pontiff that the episcopal body practises episcopal ministry in different church domains. No decision that a Council is ecumenical can be a decisive one unless confirmed by the successor of Peter or at least approved by him.

This consecration of the authority of the Pope is obvious in the Canons of the Oriental Churches which were published only four years ago as mentioned before.

We could simply cite as an example that we have three Catholic patriarchs who hold the title of "Patriarch of Antioch". They have full communion in sacraments, and each one of them can replace the other in any Ecclesiastical ministry. There is even a new phenomenon current nowadays among these churches, which is the use of one common language. All churches use Arabic in their liturgies in their daily life. There is also one more point which is very important, which is the use of Arabic to implement the heritage of the church through the publication of translations of the heritage of the fathers from Syriac, Greek and Armenian - sometimes - into Arabic. This can be considered as a new element that might facilitate the process of the unity of these Catholic churches. The department of Faith and Unity in the Middle East Council of Churches has gone beyond, aiming at the unification of certain Arabic texts to be read in the churches. (The Lord's Prayer and the Nicene Creed.) All these steps could be considered as indicative of a very near future unity of faith.

We in PRO ORIENTE have dealt with many issues including papal primacy and the authority of the church. In fact, I do not want to repeat what has been said by theologians in relation to this subject, but I do agree with Fr. de Vries that in the first millennium, after the 4th century, the Popes claimed it as their right to confirm the de-

isions of the Councils. In the second millennium, the Pope became the powerful lord and monarchical Head of all the Councils, which were held under his authority.

Concerning the issue of primacy, the Catholics and the Orthodox are in disagreement, for the Catholics view this authority as centred in the person of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church, whereas the Orthodox churches view it as located in the synodal system with which they are familiar.

The hierarchies of the local oriental Catholic churches had no objection to what was called the papal primacy and the theologians in these churches never considered it as an honorary primacy but a primacy in authority and jurisdiction.

Going back to the statement of the Fourth Vienna Consultation 1978, it becomes clear to us that the Catholic church's view of primacy, while different in wording, goes along with the teachings of the Second Vatican Council.

Article 10 of this statement reads:

"As agreed upon, it would be our duty to work at achieving our aim, which is the unity of sister churches and communion of sacraments of the Holy Church and Ministry within a juridical Ecclesiastical framework. There will be for each church and for all the churches together, primatial and synodal structure that would enable her to contribute locally, regionally and universally."

What is the role of the Oriental Catholic Patriarchates and what is their reaction towards the new trend of the Catholic theological thought?

We occasionally hear, especially from those concerned with the issue of unity of the church among the Oriental Catholics, the question posed "why a dialogue with Rome and the West and what about the dialogue with us?" I am citing this with love, although we have repeatedly stated that what is usually agreed upon in Rome is not seen in the local church. I might suggest here the necessity for the participation of representatives from the Oriental Catholic churches in meeting and thus giving them the opportunity to formulate these decisions.

The attempt made at the seminars held at Amba Bishoy Monastery, Kerala and later on in Lebanon is worthy of appreciation because it conveys the results of all those meetings to the majority of those interested in the Catholic-Orthodox dialogue. However, I might still pose the question "What is the opinion of the hierarchs in the Oriental Catholic churches of the statements of the Popes and patriarchs and what is the meaning of Councils and Councilarity in our life and what is the modern concept of primacy in the East and in the event of having all these anthemata lifted among us? What would be the obstacles on the way towards complete unity, at least on the level of the church of Antioch, because it was the one most afflicted with divisions and schisms?"

I move on to a new topic related to the church, which has great bearings on the role of the Oriental Catholic churches in relation to the topic of the unity of the church. The topic of "inter-church marriages".

The Oriental Code, i.e. a collection of the canons of the Oriental Churches has been recently published. In this collection we have many new drawbacks which have to be dealt with urgently. While we read in Canon 902 the following:

"The great concern over the restoration of the unity of all Christians is one of the affairs of the church universal. Therefore all Christians, especially the shepherds of the church are called to pray for the perfection of the unity of the

church that the Lord wished and called for, endeavouring thus to participate in ecumenical work called fourth by the Grace of the Holy Spirit."

And in Canon 903:

"These Churches shall have as their goal the fulfilment of the manifest unity among all Oriental Churches first through prayers then through the ideals of life, piety and the due respect for the deep rooted traditions of the Oriental Churches and the mutual understanding through co-operation, and fraternal appreciation practically and spiritually."

The two Canons concerning inter-church marriages, Nos. 813 and 814, are contradictory with the spirit of the previous text.

Canon No. 813 reads:

"A marriage between Catholic and non-Catholic baptized persons shall be strictly forbidden without a permission obtained in advance from the authority concerned."

Canon No. 814 reads:

"The local church head is entitled to issue such a permission for economy yet no such permission may be issued unless meeting the following conditions:

1. The Catholic party shall be obliged to declare that he or she is ready to defend the faith against Apostasy and shall be committed to teach the Catholic faith to his children and to have them brought up in the Catholic Church;
2. To acquaint the second party in due course with the vows that the Catholic party has undertaken to fulfil so that he or she would be quite aware of the commitment of the Catholic party."

How can the Oriental Catholic churches have a unifying action on the local or universal level if their laws are formulated for them in the West and are influenced by the thoughts of people who still believe that other non-Catholic Churches, even Orthodox Churches (albeit called sisters), have no true faith and that it is the task of the Catholic to defend the catholic faith against Apostasy?

This contradicts with the agreement arrived at between the Catholic and the Syrian Orthodox Churches of Antioch in India. This agreement declares an inter-church marriage a legitimate one with freedom granted to both parties to maintain the faith of the church he or she belongs to. It also permits the members of both families to have the communion in either one of the two churches. In article 6 of the agreement it is stated:

"They should be instructed properly about the agreement reached between the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church on inter-church marriages."

This new issue might confront us (the representatives of PRO ORIENTE) with a new state of affairs, indicating thus that primacy which has been an obstacle is not the only one, as there are still certain issues, like inter-church marriages, that shall have to be studied and dealt with in a satisfactory way for both churches.

The issue on christology was a very significant one because our christological disagreement was based on the dogma of incarnation, and we have overcome this dilemma and the declarations subscribed by the Popes of Rome and the Patriarchs of the Oriental Orthodox churches have put an end to this critical dispute.

The declarations signed by H.H. Pope Paul VI and H.H. Patriarch Yacoub III in 1971 stressed this new thought of unity. It reads:

"The Pope and the Patriarch have recognized the deep spiritual communion which already exists between their Churches. The celebration of the sacraments of the Lord, the common profession of faith in the Incarnate Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God made man for man's salvation, the apostolic traditions which form part of the common heritage of both Churches, the great Fathers and Doctors, including Saint Cyril of Alexandria, who are their common masters in the faith - all these testify to the action of the Holy Spirit who has continued to work in their Churches even when there have been human weakness and failings. The period of mutual recrimination and condemnation has given place to a willingness to meet together in sincere efforts to lighten and eventually remove the burden of history which still weighs heavily upon Christians."¹ (...)

„Progress has already been made and Pope Paul VI and the Patriarch Mar Ignatius Yacoub III are in agreement that there is no difference in the faith they profess concerning the mystery of the Word of God made flesh and become really man, even if over the centuries difficulties have arisen out of the different theological expressions by which this faith was expressed. They encourage the clergy and faithful of their Churches to even greater endeavours at removing the obstacles which still prevent complete communion among them. This should be done with love, with openness to the promptings of the Holy Spirit, and with mutual respect for each other and each other's Church. They particularly exhort the scholars of their Churches, and of all Christian communities, to penetrate more deeply into the mystery of Christ with humility and fidelity to the Apostolic traditions so that the fruits of their reflections may help the Church in her service to the world which the Incarnate Son of God has redeemed."²

And the Common declaration of H. H. Pope Paul VI and H. H. Pope Shenouda III stated the following:

"In accordance with our apostolic traditions transmitted to our Churches and preserved therein, and in conformity with the early three ecumenical councils, we confess one faith in the One Triune God, the divinity of the Only Begotten Son of God, the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the Word of God, the effulgence of His glory and the express image of His substance, who for us was incarnate, assuming for Himself a real body with a rational soul, and who shared with us our humanity but without sin. We confess that our Lord and God and Saviour and King of us all, Jesus Christ, is perfect God with respect of His Divinity, perfect man with respect to His humanity. In Him His divinity is united with His humanity in a real, perfect union without mingling, without commixtion, without confusion, without alteration, without division, without separation. His divinity did not separate from His humanity for an instant. not for the twinkling of an eye. He who is God eternal and invisible became

¹The Vienna Dialogue. Communiqués and Joint Documents. Vienna 1991. Booklet No.1, p.108

²Ibidem, p.109

visible in the flesh, and took upon Himself the form of a servant. In Him are preserved all the properties of the divinity and all the properties of the humanity, together in a real, perfect, indivisible and inseparable union."³

The meeting of the two supreme heads of Rome and Antioch, John Paul II and Mar Ignatius Zakka I, not only repeated the words of their predecessors but assured that both their churches are ready for further collaboration.

"First of all, Their Holinesses confess the faith of their two Churches, formulated by the Nicene Council of 325 A. D. and generally known as 'the Nicene Creed'. The confusions and schisms that occurred between their Churches in the later centuries, they realize today, in no way affect or touch the substance of their faith, since these arose only because of differences in terminology and culture and in the various formulae adopted by different theological schools to express the same matter.

Accordingly, we find today no real basis for the sad divisions and schisms that subsequently arose between us concerning the doctrine of Incarnation.

In words and life we confess the true doctrine concerning Christ our Lord, notwithstanding the differences in interpretation of such a doctrine which arose at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. (...)

They denied that there was any difference in the faith they confessed in the mystery of the Word of God made flesh and become truly man. In our turn we confess that He became incarnate for us, taking to himself a real body with a rational soul. He shared our humanity in all this except sin. We confess that our Lord and our God, our Saviour and the King of all, Jesus Christ, is perfect God as to His divinity and perfect man as to His humanity. In Him His divinity is united to His humanity. This Union is real, perfect, without blending or mingling, without confusion, without alteration, without division, without the least separation. He who is God eternal and invisible, became visible in the flesh and took the form of servant. In Him are united, in a real, perfect, indivisible and inseparable way, divinity and humanity, and in Him all their properties are present and active.

Having the same conception of Christ, we confess also the same conception of His mystery. Incarnate, dead and risen again, our Lord, God and Saviour has conquered sin and death. Through him during the time between Pentecost and the Second Coming, the period which is also the last phase of time, it is given to man to experience the new creation, the kingdom of God, the transforming ferment (cf. St. Mt. XIII, 33) already present in our midst. For this God has chosen a new people, His holy Church which is the body of Christ. Through the Word and through the Sacraments the Holy Spirit acts in the Church to call everybody and make them members of the Body of Christ. Those who believe are baptized in the Holy Spirit in the name of the Holy Trinity to form one body and through the Holy Sacrament of the anointing of Confirmation their faith is perfect and strengthened by the same spirit."⁴

Hence, through an analytical study of the concept of these declarations, it obviously appears that what we have agreed upon in relation to christology has formed a bridge leading to further topics no less serious than primacy and christology.

We do aim at a life based upon principles for guiding the search of unity, which were agreed by Pope John Paul II and Pope Shenouda III:

³ Ibidem, p.117

⁴ Ibidem, p.117

"Through meetings of an official mixed commission established in 1973, through unofficial theological consultations starting 1971 and through other exchanges, official and informal, the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church have made important progress in understanding the deep bonds of faith and Christian life which exist between them, despite a separation which has lasted fifteen centuries."⁵

The objective of our efforts state the principles: "... is a full communion of faith expressing itself in communion in sacramental life and in the harmony of mutual relations between our two sister churches in the one people of God."

The role of the Oriental Catholic churches is great in the realization of the goals of these principles on the local level, although I believe that they can hardly be achieved due to the limitations imposed upon these churches.

Personally speaking, I believe that article 11 of the principles mentioned can be the basis for any perspective unity. The article reads:

"Once unity is achieved, the richness of the various Christian traditions existing in Egypt would find clear and legitimate expression for the enrichment of all within the one Coptic Church under the leadership of the Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark."⁶

The same applies to the rest of the Sees, specifically the See of Antioch.

In conclusion, and in relation to the role of the Oriental Catholic churches, in terms of unity I find that these churches, despite the fact that there are some dogmatic and Canonical divergences which prevent these churches from enjoying that full communion which once existed between the churches, the two Pontiffs state:

"We shall seek to resolve the differences which still exist among us concerning our understanding of the structures through which the unity and the integrity of the faith of the church are to be served."⁷

In conclusion I would like to state my final remarks:

1. To have as our aim the search for a dialogue with the local Orthodox church, yet to refrain from adopting the mentality of the Occident that sent missionaries to the East, thus ignoring the identity of this church and exercising forms of proselytism on individuals and groups of this church. If the aim of Christian unity from the Catholic point of view is the working out of new methods of proselytism that seek to absorb these Oriental churches which are currently suffering from challenges mentioned at the beginning of my discourse, these churches will share the same destiny as long as what affects one church will affect the other, whether united with Rome or not. This was the same fear of the two Pontiffs of Rome and Alexandria: "In the name of this charity, we reject all forms of proselytism, in the sense of acts by which persons seek to disturb each other's communities by recruiting new members from each other through methods, or because of attitudes of mind, which are opposed to the exigencies of Christian love or to what should characterize the relationships between Churches. Let it cease, where it may exist. Catholics and Orthodox should strive to deepen charity and cultivate mutual consultation, reflection and cooperation in the social and intellectual fields

⁵ Ibidem, p.111

⁶ Ibidem, p.112/3

⁷ Ibidem, p.112

and should humble themselves before God, supplicating Him who, as He has begun this work in us, will bring it to fruition."⁸

2. Working at the unification of the various Oriental churches on the local and regional level, not only among the hierarchs or small numbers of those interested in ecumenical matters, but in true expression that we are all one in our communion, though not integral, yet have complete confession of faith and sacraments.

3. It is the perspective of the search for unity that the Oriental Catholic churches reconsider new issues that form an obstacle today on the way towards unity. For most of the citizens of our country are non-Christians and we do not want to be taunted for reasons that we can overcome easily if we abandon our disputes of the past and make sure that a *rapprochement* is one of the marks of unity that unites members of different communities (inter-church marriages and unification of the date of Easter can be good steps towards this unity).

4. This does not mean that the Oriental Catholic churches are the only churches to blame for what I have mentioned before, as the Orthodox church in its turn bears the full responsibility with respect to certain events that separated her from the Oriental Catholic Church.

It is of great importance that a feeling of confidence between the Orthodox and the Catholics be engendered, aiming at annihilating the previous concept of the Catholic schools as being centres for exercising proselytism, and restoring thus their real role as bastions of learning and education. The identity we are talking about cannot be confirmed in the East without having interaction with the other churches.

5. When we, the Orthodox, in an effort to realize church unity in the East, stretch out our hands for joint work, we do not ask the other church to cede its character and to enter into a new experience of union with us. The most significant issue is to work hand in hand to discover the presence of God among us, allowing thus for the working of the Holy Spirit, which pervades the church, to act in us, and if we follow the image of the coming Christ, we shall be adding one more block to the construction of this "edifice of love" which all churches aim at reaching out to through all the ecumenical activities performed.

Discussion:

Father Chediath expresses his appreciation of the positive papers which also raised existing problems to our minds.

So far, the Malankara Catholic Church was sidelined in all discussions. Therefore he appreciates the invitation to this study seminar and agrees that his Church is now also a partner in the dialogue for unity. To *Mar Gregorios*: What do you mean by "what is agreed upon in Rome is not seen in the local churches"?

Mar Gregorios: What I meant was that the Oriental Catholics are not informed of the agreement and declarations made in Rome. There are six Catholic and seven other Christian churches in dialogue in Damascus. But what has been decreed in Rome obviously was not told to us.

⁸ Ibidem, p.110

Archbishop Krikorian: Canons were quoted which perhaps, hopefully do not apply to the Oriental Orthodox, or there is a different understanding behind other than what is expressed in *Mar Gregorius'* paper. As we see, besides primacy other problems emerge at the same level of importance. The first stage of proselytism takes place in schools and at marriage. If what we have heard would be valid in this sense we would have to react. Perhaps in practice they are more friendly to us.

In this paper there seems to be a differentiation between the union/unity with the Roman Catholic Church and the union/unity with the Oriental Catholic Churches. Then you have, apart from primacy, put other problems at par. For example the Articles on inter-marriage. Then I think it needs a clear demarkation between the general and the particular problems.

Mar Gregorios: We do not have to distinguish between Roman and Oriental Catholics. They have to decide. Misuses are put into practice on a local level by some Oriental Catholic priests even if their bishop says that he does not like it.

It is their duty to distinguish between the general and the particular. As far as these Articles are concerned, it is a reality and a problem.

Father Tawfiq: These articles on inter-marriage, the canons 813 and 814, are to forbid proselytism through inter-marriage. Since 1973, after the declaration between the Roman Pope and Pope Shenouda, we have strict orders not to conduct such marriages without the permission of the bishop.

Mar Gregorios: These two canons can break all relations! The words are very clear. This is not the way to deal with the Orthodox Churches.

Mar Severios: From your paper it seems that you accept the Oriental Catholic Churches as sister churches. Is that right? We, the Indian Orthodox Church do not consider them as sister churches.

Mar Gregorios: Yes, we consider them as sister churches.

Archbishop Keshishian: I would like to make certain observations. (1) One gets the impression that primacy is a negative factor but it is not. Primacy is a positive element in the conciliar system of the Church. But the kind of primacy that is practised in the Roman Catholic Church is not acceptable to us. (2) We must distinguish between primacy and conciliar authority. In the Oriental Orthodox tradition the locus of authority is in the conciliar system. Primacy as a sign of unity is acceptable but as a centre of authority it is not acceptable. (3) After Vatican II, the Roman Catholic Church started having bilateral dialogues but they have become repetitive. The substantial issues have been discussed to exhaustion. Now the question is: how can we bring these agreements to life? How do we translate the documents into concrete life? (4) There is willingness between the Oriental Orthodox and the Oriental Catholic to go the way of unity. But on what terms and to which extent will the Oriental Catholics be allowed by Rome to enter the union?

Archbishop Powathil: I would like to make two comments. Firstly, these canons on inter-marriage are not specifically designed in view of the Orthodox. They are a means of precaution in general. When agreements are made with each separate church on this issue, these canons will also change. Moreover, arrangements are always subject to local translation between the respective churches. Secondly, as far as the publication of documents in local churches is concerned, all are at fault. It is not possible to force anybody in this matter.

Mar Gregorios: This is against all Christians.

Archbishop Powathil: See the role and function of the bishops. If the publishing has not been practised it depends on the hierarchs, whom we cannot force.

Amba Bishoy: I have two statements to make and one question of clarification. (1) How can we solve the problem of the suspicion always arising in the hearts of the Orthodox that Vatican II in its openness was not designed to try proselytism in a new way? In many areas of our relations we are experiencing that: see canon 814, where the term apostasy is offending. (2) I cannot agree with Archbishop Keshishian about the bilateral dialogues. We, the Coptic Church, see the bilateral dialogue including the Coptic Catholics as very important. I am pressing that we are going to continue our dialogue and discuss all questions in love. Issues arising out of religious pluralism must be treated bilaterally. For our Church the salvation of unbelievers is very important. (3) My question is: it has been stated in connection with the canons on inter-marriages that the non-Catholic party has to be informed of the Catholic party's obligation to the church. Is it before the marriage or after the marriage that the non-Catholic party has to be informed?

Professor Harnoncourt: We often do not know how representative a document is and which one is really important. Who of you assembled here can speak in the name of his Church? Every dicasterium in Rome publishes documents. And let us also be aware that not only in the Roman Catholic Church you find theologians lacking open-mindedness.

Mar Gregorios: The ecumenical atmosphere does not depend on individuals. It is decisive whether or not the official Church is very strict. Openness has to be expressed in sufficient terms.

Professor Harnoncourt: Every movement begins with individuals. Besides, it is a fact that we all can find quotations for the case we want to stress.

Professor Potz: I would like to make three observations regarding the canons on inter-marriage. (1) Canon 813 in the Catholic law forbids only in a very weak form. In assessing this canon, the difference between an impediment and forbidden things is to be employed. In the Byzantine tradition much more is forbidden. (2) This codex is a general framework, every special agreement goes before it. (3) As to canon 814, the translation presented here is wrong. In the Latin original text there is no mention of apostasy but it says: to do all his best to prevent his children from falling away from

the faith (a fide deficienti), baptizing and educating them Catholic. This regulation is also in use in Austria today.

Mar Gregorios reads the Arabic translation and concludes: there is a lot of misunderstanding. It should be tried to get the genuine translation.

Mar Themotheos: For the sake of information to all, I would like to say something from the Indian scene. In India there is an ongoing commission for dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Syrian Orthodox Church. Recently, this commission has identified three areas where dialogue and study is necessary: (1) a common interpretation of history, (2) an agreement on mixed marriages, although marriages are desirable within one church only and (3) common witness in the Indian context. Some bishops, however, have not published the results of the dialogue.

Professor Ishak: In Egypt we have no mixed marriages in this sense because then the Islamic law would apply. To avoid that, both parties will agree on one denomination.

Professor Koodapuzha: It has to be accepted that there is a lack of awareness in the local churches regarding agreements in the ecumenical scene. This has to be changed. In each diocese there should be a person responsible for ecumenical relations. Regarding the problem of authority, I would say: in the Graeco-Roman system the clergy has a position of authority. Christianity was the official religion there and this had its influence on the question of authority. We, the Oriental Catholics, believe that this is not a Christian concept. To us this is an obstacle. We have to have a Christian concept.

Mar Gregorios: We are looking for models of union in this meeting. Most Oriental Churches I know are not satisfied with their relationship with Rome because Rome is interfering in every small detail. What is Rome's justification for interfering if the diocese agrees on a candidate for a bishop and then Rome refuses? If the same treatment is envisaged for the Oriental Orthodox Churches in union, it will not at all be acceptable. If we talk of Balamand, this agreement was neither accepted by the Roman Catholic nor the Orthodox faithful.

Father George: To what an extent are we, the Oriental Orthodox Churches, developing such a concept Fr. Koodapuzha was talking about, a concept of authority which is different from the universal church concept?

Professor Hofrichter: We have to work out concrete models of unification. Only if reality changes, only a change of power will induce Rome to change. But Rome has to change and will change.

We should aim at negotiations on the highest level. There have been enough words. The Roman Catholic Church will only change if at least one of the Oriental Orthodox Churches will come forward for unity. Only then a model can be evolved.

Monsignor Fortino: (1) It is true that canon 814 regarding mixed marriages constitutes a problem. But for the Roman Catholic Church this codex is actually a step forward. It

is clear that every church wants to protect its members and that is why there is the need for permission for mixed marriages. In the past, our regulation was that both partners had to sign that the education of the children would be Catholic. The new legislation only prescribes that the Catholic partner has to do what is possible to baptize and educate the children Catholic. The non-Catholic partner must only be informed about this.

The marriage between Catholics and Orthodox is of a special nature. According to the Catholic canon, it is necessary that the rite is Catholic but there is the possibility of dispensation of the form. For the Catholic the marriage is also valid if performed in the Orthodox Church, not so however with the Protestants. This shows that the new canon law looks very much after the pastoral level. (2) Now regarding the statement that the Oriental Catholics are not happy in their relationship with Rome. Of course there are problems, but this will not be the model for the Orthodox Churches. The constitution for the publication of the Roman canons (C.C.E.O) says: the code is promulgated in the present situation but will be valid no more when full union and communion are reached. This codex is designed for the present situation. The change will take place with renewed full communion. The Vatican II decree for the Oriental Churches says at the end: this is only given for the present situation. (3) Regarding the Orthodox/Catholic dialogue, the decree says that full communion is the aim. The mixed international commission for theological dialogue affirms that a model of unity is being sought together by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. For that they are keeping in mind the experience of communion which existed and was alive in the ancient Church. Models of unity could be found according to the scriptures and tradition. Therefore they have to be searched for.

Father Makarios Tawfiq

The Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the re-Establishment of Unity Between the Orient and the Occident

It is with great joy and enthusiasm that I accepted this occasion to participate in the reflexions on the role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the union between the Orient and the Occident.

A big Thank You to PRO ORIENTE for this initiative which might hopefully end up in a conclusion equal to the one of 1971, which lead to the confirmation of the agreement on Christology between the Catholic and the Coptic Orthodox Churches.

I am conscious that my contribution will very likely not present anything new. It wants to be rather a synthesis of what you might know better than myself an a presentation of marking points contained in documents which have already been published.

We are in search of vision. The Book of Proverbs says: "When there is no more vision, the peoples perish without brake" (Prov: 29,18) We are in need of re-establishing the mutual confidence, between Coptic Catholic and Coptic Orthodox to reject all suspicion and caution, to open a free and sincere dialogue in a spirit of true respect and brotherly charity following the order of the Lord, a spirit of acknowledge of the rights and the duties of every church and of acception.

My contribution is subdivided in four points:

1. Historical and Liturgical Statements.
2. The actual Reality of the Oriental Catholic Churches
3. The Attitude of the Oriental Catholic Churches towards Uniatism and Proselytism
4. The Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the reestablishment of intercourse

1. Historical and Liturgical Statements

1.1. Before dealing with the role of the Oriental Catholic Churches it would be useful to make some preliminary historical statements to illustrate some opinions with our dear Orthodox brothers. Before all I would attach importance to stating that the Oriental Catholic Churches are quite conscious that their reason of existence is to be bridges (links) for exchange and intercourse, passages of union between the Orient and the Occident. History is a witness to that. It was mostly the refusal from the side of the Orthodox Churches to acknowledge them and the limits which the West set to them, that had restricted their role of a mediator and a link between East and West.

1.2. Let us recall the fact that the birth of the Oriental Catholic Churches was the fruit of a certain ecclesiology which now is called "uniatism", but likewise the fruit of the big desire of many Orientals to fulfil their grand hope: the unity of the Church.

Prof. Samir Khalil¹ an expert of Arabic Christian literature writes: "Somebody might think that the ecumenical idea for the unity of Christians and the communion of Churches would be a recent phenomena, born in the West ... Some other could be under illusions that the unity of Christians is a frail fashion (...) Both of them deceive themselves, because the ecumenical idea is very ancient in the Coptic Church, and has an original in all Oriental Churches". In fact, this idea came up in the Coptic Church with Sawirus Ibn-al-Muqaffa' (10th-century).

1.3. Of what kind ever the ecclesiology was, that suited the mentality and the theology of those times - times of the Concile of Florence - and whatever the intention was like, to obey to the order of the Lord "That all be One", expressed in those partial unions with the See of Rome, in consequence of the Declaration of Balamand that form of "Uniatism" cannot longer be accepted, neither in the method, nor as a model for the unity searched after by our Churches, because of the way in which Catholics and Orthodox again regard themselves in their relation to the mystery of the Church and how they rediscover themselves to be Sister-Churches.

Certain believe to this day that the Oriental Catholic, at least the Coptic Catholic, have begun to practise a Coptic liturgy only after the Vatican Council II.

¹Samir Khalil, Les intellectuels coptes et l'unité des chrétiens (en arabe), dans "sadiq-al-kahen", xxvII, 4 (1987) Le Caire, p. 496

Now, history informs us that pope Urban IV, in 1642 had forbidden to the Latins to introduce the Ukrainians into the Latin rite.

Pope Benedict XIV in 1743 also had forbidden to the Franciscan Brothers to lead the Melkites (cf. *Encyc. Demandatam*) to the Latin rite. Pope Leo XIII, in the Encyclic "Of the Dignity of Orientals" in 1894, recommended to respect the rights of the Oriental Catholic Churches, and the necessity to preserve scrupulously the Oriental liturgies.

1.4. The Catholic Oriental, besides, were the first to revise, to study and to print in Rome the Oriental liturgic handwritings, especially during the 17th and 18th centuries. The names of the Friars Assemani, maronite, Anba R. Tukhi and Anba Aghapios Bichay, Coptic Catholic bishops (for instance) need not to be commented to get acquainted with the genius they employed in transmitting the traditions of the Oriental Churches to the West. Tukhi for example has spent more than thirty years in Rome doing this work and teaching Oriental liturgic languages.

Though having introduced certain practices of Western piety and a spiritual help in the pastoral life of the people, the Oriental Catholic have generally maintained (saved) their liturgies, their traditions and their spirituality.

1.5. The presence and the participation of the Oriental Catholic in various organisms of the Catholic Church have contributed to opening the eyes of the Western to the reality and traditions of the Christian Orient, which has become evident in the theological and ecclesiological turn, effected mainly by the Second Vatican Council, and is to be continued still more profoundly. The Oriental Catholic Churches have, in fact, the task, to present to the West, and to encourage it to look closer on the theology, the spirituality and the values of the East.

In fact, the liturgical reform, effected in the Roman Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council, had to keep in the consideration the wealth of the "Anaphora" or eucharistic prayers, the divine office and the other celebrations of Oriental liturgies, celebrated by the Oriental Catholic.

1.6. What has been said about the practise of liturgies in general, can be said likewise of the rite of Baptism which is still celebrated according to the proper rite of everyone of the Oriental Churches.

Consequently the Coptic Catholic celebrate and confer baptism by immersion and they let it be followed immediately by the confirmation according to the Coptic liturgy, which proves, that the unity of faith does not mean conformity of rites.

2. *The Actual Reality of the Oriental Catholic Churches*

2.1. Living Churches

The Catholic patriarchs of the East express the reality of their churches and their role in the ecumenical movement as follows: "our Churches together with their faithful do not figure as small isolated islands or an alien element who would live at the edge of the movement of history. They are living churches which are engaged in the turbu-

lence of the worldwide and regional events. They are affected by them but have also the capacity to act upon them. Our Christian communities are a leaven which finds its natural place in the human dough (cf. Mt. 13, 3).

They are in permanent interaction with their Lord, among themselves and with their surrounding. With their Lord they are that, in intention to discover - in the light of faith - His will on behalf of them. Among themselves they are it, to find in their thoughts, their spirituality, their heritage and their recent experiences, the sperms of their vocation and their renewal.²

2.2. Reflexion and Practice

In our Churches of today - continue the patriarchs of the Catholic Orient - we are witness of a wide movement of serious reflexion, creative and responsible, which views to make appear our identity in faith, the ecclesial and the social one, hic and nunc. This reflexion rises at the same time in the whole of Christian Churches as in the socio-cultural elements which compose them, and meet - in spite of the diversity of the starting points - in the middle of the same ecclesial melting pot.

This movement does not, by the way, content itself with reflection. It proceeds to transferring it into different areas, like liturgical life, social activities, engagement in public life in different forms etc.³

3. *The Attitude of the Oriental Catholic Churches*

3.1. Difficulties which Hinder the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in Community

Thus, the Oriental Catholic feel themselves charged with a mission of linking, of exchange and interaction between two ecclesiastic traditions, two civilisations and several cultures in which the Christian Arabic literature holds an important place and for its ecumenical idea deserves profounder researches.

The Oriental Catholic are aware that they bear responsibility of a painful and regrettable past, but they try to use it for building future unity out of it before destroying the present in discussion. They are aware, that what is called "uniatism" is no longer the method leading to the unity of the Church ... and that proselytism is no longer convenable. But there a question presents itself : Is proselytism done in one direction? And has not, in reality, the Coptic Orthodox Church two uniate bishops in France? Catholic Copts complain about their Coptic Orthodox brothers, who go to Coptic Catholic families to tell them that their baptism is not valid and that consequently their marriage is not valid and so their conjugal life is illegal. They have obtained to repeat not only baptism but also the sacrament of marriage and to sow discord in

²La présence chrétienne en Orient... In: Documentation catholique (=D.C.), 21 Juin 1992, No.2052, p. 597

³Cf. L'uniatisme, méthode d'union du passé, et la recherche actuelle de la pleine communion, dans D.C. No.2077, p.712

the families before all in the mixed marriages between Coptic Catholic and Coptic Orthodox.⁴

Although the historical and pastoral events have made it difficult, this role is nevertheless not impossible. There is need to overcome mistrust. In the "Dossier on Uniatism"⁵ we read: "after having studied profoundly the actual possibilities, we want to express our conviction that all difficulties can be overcome in the spirit of the Gospel."

The declaration of Balamand gives us another indication: "Mistrust disappears easier, if the two sides condemn violence wherever communities practise such against communities of a sister Church. As H. H. Pope John Paul II demands in his letter of May 31, 1994, it is necessary to avoid any violence and every sort of pression so that freedom of conscience is respected. It is up to the leaders of the communities to help their faithful to deepen their loyalty towards their own church and its tradition and to teach them to avoid not only violence, which could provoke contempt of other Christians and counter evidence, revealing the work of grace, which is the reconciliation in Christ.

3.2. Towards a solution: The Church as a Community

If the contribution of the Oriental Catholic Churches is wanted to reestablish Unity between East and West, it is absolutely necessary that all stop at the same time, to practise any form of proselytism, rebaptising and any forms which make the faithful doubt their faith and their family life.

For this all should be conscious that the above mentioned attitude would end up in destroying Christian faith without gaining membership of the faithful.

The declaration of Balamand could serve us as a model. It confirms two essential and inseparable points:

1) "On the subject of the method which has been called "Uniatism" it has been declared in Freising (June 1990) that "we reject it as a method of search for unity, because opposed to the common tradition of our churches.

2) What concerns the Oriental Catholic Churches, it is clear that they have, as a part of the Catholic community, the right to exist and to act to respond to the spiritual needs of their faithful.

"In fact - the declaration continues - mainly since the Panorthodox conferences and the Vatican Council, the rediscovering and remittance in value of the Church as a community, likewise by Orthodox an Catholic, has changed radically the perspectives and thus the attitudes."⁶

From one side and the other, it is recognized that what Christ has committed to His Church: Confession of the Apostolic Faith, participation in the same sacraments, mainly in the unique priesthood celebrating the unique sacrifice of Christ, apostolic succession of bishops - can not be considered as the exclusive property of one of our churches. In this context it is clear, that any rebaptizing is excluded ...

From another side the authorities of the Armenian Apostolic Church express, in their "Paternal Message"⁷ their acknowledgement of the role of the other Armenian Churches. "In the Charity to Christ and in the sense of national unity we felicitate ourselves on the spiritual aid brought by the official authorities of the Armenian Catholic and Armenian Protestant Churches to the faithful who are already members of their communities. The Armenian Apostolic Church has recognized them as historic reality and - in a spirit of fraternal love - enjoys the work they are doing in the frame of their borders. Under that view we regard the services which they do to their faithful as natural. We hope of those Churches that they cooperate, through the See of Etchmiadzin, with the holy Armenian Apostolic Church in order to promote and grow its religious, spiritual, educational and social activities."

4. The Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches

4.1. Work for Unity

Today's world tends towards rapprochement and unity. Our universe is becoming like a megapolis the extremes of which come together again and where parties influence each other mutually.

The world calls us to unity and fraternal love. This is a test of our life of faith and Christian witness. At the Second Vatican Council the Oriental Catholic Churches were striving with the whole Catholic Church to for Christian unity. Talking about unity of faith we should be aware of the difference between unity and uniformity.

4.1.1. Definition of Unity

The Decree "Unitatis redintegratio" defines this unity as consisting "in the profession of a single faith (...), in the common celebration of the divine service (...), in the fraternal harmony of the family of God". This unity which, by is very nature, demands full visible communion of all Christians, is the final goal of the ecumenical movement. The council - following the expression of the directory of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity - confirms that "that unity does in no way request sacrificing the rich diversity of spirituality, of discipline of liturgic rites and of elaboration of revealed truth, which developped among christians, as long as that diversity stays true to the Apostolic tradition."⁸

That unity or rather communion does not mean that a Church loses its identity or its autonomy, but that it completes the other, and enriches them with different traditions and cultures.

If faith is undivisible, the practise of faith is not necessarily uniform.

4.1.2. Unity in Diversity

⁷Message paternel... in: Courrier Oecuménique, 18. 3. 1992, p.10

⁸Conseil pontifical pour l'unité des chrétiens, Directoire pour l'application des principes et des normes sur l'oecuménisme, in: D.C. No. 2575, p.612

⁴Ibidem, p. 598

⁵Ibidem, p. 713

⁶Ibidem

"The diversity - after the points of view of our patriarchs - is an essential feature of the universal Church like the one of Christian Orient. This diversity has always been a source of wealth for every Church, when we have lived it in the unity of faith and in charity.

Unfortunately this diversity turned into division and separation because of the sins of men and their departure from the spirit of Christ. Nevertheless, what unites us is still more important than what separates us. "It does not keep us from coming together and helping each other. Despite these divisions Oriental Christianity basically represents a unity of faith which nothing can get apart. The vocation is one, the witness is one and the fate as well. Thus, we are asked to work together through the available means and to enhance the spirit of brotherhood and love at the level of the grass-roots who are entrusted to us.

In the Orient we shall be Christians together or we shall not be at all. Interchurch relations in our region have certainly not always been what they should be. There are a number of reasons for this, internal and external ones.

But the time has come to cleanse our memories of any negative consequences of the past, however painful they may be, and to look together towards the future, in the spirit of Christ and in the light of his Gospel and the teaching of the apostles."⁹

4.1.3. *Dialogue as a Way of Attaining Communion*

"Our earth - declare the patriarchs of the Catholic Orient - is the earth of the historical dialogue between God and humanity. This dialogue continues and renews itself through our community of the faithful in dialogue with its Lord. It is in the clear course of this dialogue that it finds its force and spiritual identity...

Today, as in the past, our communities are characterized by pluralism in religious, ethnic, cultural and ecclesial terms. From this the dialogue draws its fundamental vocation and its greatest challenge."¹⁰

4.1.4. *Conditions for a Fruitful Dialogue*

"But the dialogue is above all a spiritual attitude, still according to the message of the Patriarchs. Man keeps in dialogue before his God, something which enhances his soul and purifies his heart and his conscience...

The dialogue is a spirituality which moves us from exclusion to assimilation, from rejection to acceptance, from putting into categories to understanding, from the de-figuration of the other to respect, from condemnation to mercy, from enmity to harmony, from competition to complementarity, from antipathy to encounter and from hostility to brotherhood. To be in dialogue with the other involves knowing him and recognizing him, as he understands it to be.

This involves recognizing him in the fullness of this personality and to accept him as a completion of ourselves, rather than as an opponent, competitor and enemy. This can only be done by putting aside preconceived ideas, and any kind of interest and egoism. In such a climate the dialogue becomes a shared richness, without one of the

parties having to disavow his identity or his heritage. There can be no doubt that fanaticism in all its different forms is the enemy number one of dialogue. There is a big difference between the faithful and the fanatic... In the fanatic the energy of faith and love turns into energy of hostility and resentment.

He believes to render a service to God by addressing those who are different from himself in religion, race, language, colour or property. With the faithful on the contrary all those energies serve the meeting, the collaboration and the construction."¹¹

4.1.5. *Presence, Opening and Witness*

The Oriental Catholic Churches think to be able to help their mother-Churches to perform an opening of heart and mentality towards the Roman Church without losing their identity or traditions and to become a Christian presence, which should not be for themselves, "Because Christ has not founded His Church to be at its own service, but to be a Church, confessing and bearing a mission, the very mission of its Founder and Master.

If in the past, the Christian communities of the East have retired on themselves because of adverse historical conditions, if they have lost the sense of mission and of testimony, and have contended to force themselves to exist on, so today they are called to free themselves from the differences of the past to open themselves to the world that surrounds them, and to bear witness of that precious buried treasure that rejoices the heart of every human (Mt 13, 44-46)."¹²

4.2. Oriental Presence in the Universal Church

The Oriental Catholic churches had and still have the task to make the whole Orient present in the thought, the life and the organisms of the universal Catholic Church, till the day of the full Communion and the reestablishment of the unity of the Church.

4.2.1. *Incarnation and Inculturation*

Thus the Oriental Catholic Churches had and still have the task to help the Catholic Church before all in Africa and in Asia on its course of inculturation and incarnation into the reality and the human culture. "It is important there to observe - write our patriarchs - that our churches of the East have shown throughout history an enormous capacity in that type of adaption.

It has given birth to civilisations and to numerous and different heritages, which have nourished the common property of the Church and of human culture. It is this heritage that the Second Vatican Council has mentioned, praising its wealth and declaring that this is a wealth for the whole Church."¹³

This cultural variety remains live all over the Oriental Churches.

⁹Ibidem, p.605

¹⁰Ibidem, p.599

¹³Cf. Decret sur les Eglises orientales, cap. 1.5.

⁹La présence chrétienne en Orient... in: D.C. No. 2052, p. 604

¹⁰Ibidem, p.605-6

They get enlightened by it and share among them its light. They find there a stimulant to meet the actual challenge of cultures and civilisations.¹⁴

4.2.2. To make Christian Arabic heritage known

"Here we want to make a statement - write the Catholic patriarchs - of the enormous and unique heritage which took the Arab as a language of expression and which is known today as the "Christian Arabic Heritage." It extends itself especially between the VIII and XIV centuries in the different Christian Churches of the East.

Up to recent times this heritage has stayed in refuge in the libraries in form of manuscripts which astonish researchers by their number, the variety of their subjects, the wealth and originality of their content.¹⁵ Particularly their idea of ecumenical theology and spirituality, which could serve very well the ecumenical dialogue and the theological interaction between East and West.

Sawirus Ibn al-Muqaffa', the most influential bishop and Coptic intellectual of the 10th century ends his book with this invocation:

May God be able to guide us, us and them (the Melkites) on the way of grace, save us, us and them, from damnation; reunite the Church as a holy and universal from division, show us, us and them, the way of life the most righteous, to show us the truth, to remove from us the false (wrong), prevent Satan to extend his power on us and on them (...)

May the Lord accept the work of both sides. Amen.

Discussion:

Father Bouwen opens the discussion with a clarifying statement: The Pastoral Letter referred to in this paper is an authoritative text of all the Catholic Patriarchs in the Middle East.

Mar Gregorios: I have two things to say. Firstly, isn't this phenomenon of coming together of all the Catholic Patriarchs a synod? Secondly, this paper states that the Oriental Catholic Churches want to be bridges for unity, fulfill the grand hope of the unity of the Church but were refused as mediators. This is not correct. The fact that there are various Oriental uniate churches itself supports my statement: Before the 7th century we and the Maronite were one Church. Then they became united with Rome. In the 17th century another part of my Church was accepted by Rome as a different group. They have the same roots, liturgy and fathers but still they remain separated. If they are bridges why should they remain separate?

Amba Bishop: Firstly, let me give a clarification to the statement of Fr. Tawfiq regarding the bishops in France. The two bishops there were independent Orthodox, not members of the Coptic Church. It is not fair to compare the situation of Egypt with the one in France.

¹⁴La présence chrétienne, p.601

¹⁵Ibidem, p.602 and Samir Khalil (cf. footnote 1)

Secondly, on Catholic/Orthodox marriage: The official Coptic Orthodox understanding of the Catholic marriage is this: We do not ask for or accept the divorce of anybody married in the Catholic Church, because they have the apostolic succession. We do not divorce legal marriages. We accept Catholic marriage. However, the Catholic marriage does not permit the partners to receive communion in the Coptic Church. The Coptic Catholics in Egypt tempt our people with money saying: we have the same faith. We Copts do not accept any mixed marriages. And even when Oriental Orthodox Churches are concerned, we ask for a written certificate to join our Church, otherwise the Islamic law will be applied. In our canons there is nothing of what this paper states about marriage in France.

Thirdly, regarding rebaptism, our principle is: one law, one faith, one baptism. In 1989 we began to accept the baptism of the Greek Orthodox. If we eliminate the differences in faith between our Churches we will be able to recognize their baptism. We are not obliging anybody. This is our view.

Fourthly, in the Egyptian situation, we cannot accept the position of the possibility of salvation outside the Church. Presently, the Roman Catholics say: non-Christians can be saved and this is an error. We will tell it everywhere when the Roman Catholics criticize our regulation to rebaptize.

Mar Severios: Fr. Tawfiq, in your paper you mentioned identity, autonomy and enrichment. Can you please explain more about these terms after the union. What will the identity and autonomy of the Coptic Catholic Church be after the Orthodox/Catholic union?

Professor Davids: They will be different churches like what Mar Gregorios stated about the uniate Syrians or the Maronite Church. They cannot be seen as identical. Secondly, about Fr. Tawfiq's proposition on arabisation. Arabisation is good and important from a pastoral point of view. But it cannot be identified with christianisation. India also has a pluralistic situation. I do not know the position there.

Archbishop Krikorian: (1) Canons and regulations vary according to situations. The Coptic situation is special. The refusal to divorce Catholic marriages from the part of the Coptic Church is a good sign. (2) Regarding rebaptism, in Europe we have a different approach. I am not offended if an Armenian wants to join this Church. If somebody does it out of his free will, nothing can be said against it. In the Armenian Orthodox Church, however, we do not rebaptize, even if we are not in full communion. To me the Roman Catholic baptism is valid and I would not dare to rebaptize a Catholic. But I have concern for the situation in Egypt.

Father Tawfiq: (1) We cannot see the Maronites and the Syrian Catholics on the same level. Maronites were Monotheletes. (This statement was refuted by several of the members present with the remark that the Maronites do not accept this) (2) I just wanted to show that proselytism is not only going in one direction. (3) We have to make a distinction between dogma and theology. (4) The present situation of the uniate church is thus that we have autonomy, a different canonical law and our synod can decide to nominate a bishop. This we would also expect after the union of the churches.

Fourth working session: Saturday, 2nd July, 3.00 p.m.

Chair: Father Frans Bouwen PA

Richard Potz

**The ecclesiological and canonical status of the Eastern Catholic Churches
according to Vaticanum II and the Codex Canonum
Ecclesiarum Orientalium 1991**

1. Introduction¹

As everybody knows, traditional Western ecclesiology portrays the Church as a monolithic structure with two levels of authority: on the upper level there is the supreme authority which is exercised by an Ecumenical Council or the Roman Pontiff over the universal church and on the lower level there is the episcopal authority which is exercised over a diocese. This is a two-tiered model which has sometimes even been accorded the status of divine law, is to be found in various forms in ecclesiology and in canon law.

The Codex Iuris Canonici from 1917 and the MP *Cleri Sanctitati* from 1957, for example, divided ecclesiastical authority into two categories:

The supreme authority of the church and those who by ecclesiastical law participate in it as the upper level and the episcopal authority and those who participate in it as the lower level.

Even if the entire Catholic Church were exclusively comprised of the Latin Church, this two-tiered model would not be adequate. When in addition the Eastern Catholic Churches are taken into consideration, this two-tiered model becomes totally inadequate.

Therefore the recognition of the inherent authority of the patriarchs or their juridical counterparts was in some way considered a threat to the supreme authority of the Church or an encroachment on the authority of the diocesan bishop. Hence, Ecclesiologies of the past as well as former legislation, did not perceive the patriarchal office to be in possession of inherent rights, but reduced it to a partial participation in the supreme authority of the Church. As a bad consequence of this structure the juridical figure of the patriarch was systematically treated after the Roman Curia and papal legates in both of the above mentioned codes.

In this two-tiered model there was no place for the Eastern Churches. Thus, they were often treated as an appendix of the Latin Church which was mistakenly identified with the Catholic Church. This ecclesiological approach might have been one of the factors which led to the unfortunate latinization which occurred in so many of the Eastern Catholic Churches. This denial of a rightful place prevented the coming development and adequate ecclesial personality and identity of the Oriental Catholic Churches.

¹ Cf for the following considerations *J.D. Faris, The Eastern Catholic Churches - Constitution and Governance*, New York 1992, 140 ss.

With modern technological advances in the field of information, the ecclesial renewal of Vatican Council II, and the political, social and economic developments of the twentieth century that led to emigration of Eastern Catholics to all parts of the world, the need arose for a better understanding of the place of the Eastern Churches and traditions in the broader context of the Catholic Church. One should not forget, that it was this practical reason which asked for a basic modification of the classic Catholic concept of ecclesial and hierarchical structures.

That the development of modern society is a major factor that forces the Catholic Church to turn back to an ancient ecclesial model has a significance which we should not underestimate. And this model is three-tiered:²

- (1) At the lower level there is the eparchy/diocese governed by the bishop.
- (2) At the intermediate level the church consists in and of ecclesiae sui iuris;
- (3) At the upper level there is the supreme authority of the universal church.

It might be interesting to see how difficult and full of errors the way was, that the Catholic Church had to go in the past to reach the recent stage, a stage which itself cannot be more than a transitory one. We have to reflect upon the burden of the past but I think also that it is always refreshing to see how things have changed and that the Churches are able to learn – though they mostly don't like to admit it.

2. The Historical Background of the Ecclesiological Status of the Eastern Catholic Churches today

Regarding the historical dimension of our question one has to start with the Council of Florence. Ernst Christoph Suttner correctly stated: "One may take up whatever position one will about the value of the theological work of the Council Fathers, and one may perhaps hold that the proceedings of the Council were illusory, but one must admit that Greeks and Latins in Florence endeavoured to conduct a dialogue as partners."³

For the next centuries we miss this form of dealing with each other. More than a hundred years after the Council of Florence and in connection with the reforms of the Tridentinum a conception and a specific law for the Eastern Catholic Churches evolved slowly but steadily. This legislation was decisive for the Western attitude to the Catholic Eastern Churches for a long time.

The particular conditions of the Union of Florence – the need to help the Byzantine Empire against the Osman threat had ceased to exist. On the other hand the time of the great unions had not yet arrived. However the rigorous reforms of the Tridentine Council were extended at first to the Greek and Albanian communities in Southern Italy⁴ in the middle of the 16th century. In 1564 (Constitution *Romanus Pontifex*) Pope Pius IV. ended all the *privilegia* and *consuetudines* of the Eastern Chri-

² Cf *R. Potz, Autonomie und Autokephalie als Verfassungsstrukturen der orthodoxen Kirche: Kanon V* (1981) 143-156

³ E. Chr. Suttner, *Church Unity: Union or Uniatism? Catholic-Orthodox Ecumenical Perspectives* (Placid Lecture Series 13), Rome-Bangalore 1991, p.50

⁴ Cf *V. Peri, Chiesa romana e "rito" greco. G.A. Santoro e la Congregazione dei Greci (1566-1596)*, Brescia 1975; IDEM, *Modelli storici della convivenza nell'Italia meridionale: Kanon XII* (1994) 1-10 (with further literature).

stians in Italy⁵, they came under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops and, for a few decades were even in danger of being totally suppressed.

At the end of the 16th century a central papal organisation for the Eastern Christians was established and thus they were enabled to survive, but at the price of latinization. The end of the century at last brought the disastrous and typical Tridentine concept of Uniatism which dominated the relations to the Eastern Churches up to the 20th century. This period was moreover characterized by the establishment of the praestantia of the Latin rite in canon law.

But even in this period we can find some positive development in the law for the Eastern Churches. An example for a further step on the way from a tolerated rite⁶ to a Church was the acceptance of multiple jurisdiction in 1742 (Constitution *Etsi Pastoralis*).⁷ Multiple jurisdiction was contradictory to a fundamental principal of Eastern as well as of Western canon law⁸ though it was already a long established reality in several oriental territories. Here we have an example of a flexible reaction to the contradiction between an ancient canon and actual reality.

At Vatican I interest for a codification was not only expressed for Latin canon law but also for Eastern canon law. We find the changing of the attitude to the Eastern Churches also in the following papal legislation, especially in Leo XII's Apostolic Constitution from 1894 with its programmatic title *Orientalium Dignitas*.⁹

The question of codification of the canon law for Catholic Oriental Churches arose again after the promulgation of the Latin CIC 1917.¹⁰ It seems that this wish was the expression of an emancipatory interest of the Eastern Churches. Although this interest was understandable from a psychological point of view it also contained a touch of self-latinization. Maybe this was a factor in the uncertainty regarding the promulgation of the Oriental Code which led to the promulgation of parts ad experimentum by the way of *Motu proprio* in the forties and fifties. At the same time a new selfunderstanding and selfconsciousness of the Eastern Catholic Churches had grown.

3. Vatican II: The Church as a *Communio Ecclesiarum* and the equal rank of the Churches *ratione ritus*

The most important ecclesiological approach of Vatican II is concentrated on the understanding of the Church as a *Communio Ecclesiarum*. To be a Church means to have a concrete experience of a certain liturgical, spiritual, cultural und disciplinary tradition within an ecclesial community. Understood in that way a church is in communion with other churches which share the same faith and administer the same sacraments. Furthermore it is a Catholic Church when it does so under the primacy of the

⁵ Cf. W. M. Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Vol 3, Wien-München 1970², 279.

⁶ Regarding the notion of rite cf. W. Basset, *The Determination of the Rite* (Analecta Gregoriana 157), Rom 1967; I. Zuzek, *Che cosa è una Chiesa. un Rito Orientale*, in: *Seminarium* 28, N.F. 15 (1975) 263-277; C.G. Fürst, *Die Bedeutung des Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium für die ostkirchliche Diaspora*: ÖAKR 43 (1993) 347 ss.

⁷ Plöchl (Fn 5) 280.

⁸ Cf. J. Rinne, *One Bishop, One City*: Kanon VII (1985) 91-109.

⁹ Cf. Plöchl (Fn 5) 280 s.

¹⁰ R. Potz, *Die Kodifikation des katholischen Ostkirchenrechts*: Handbuch des katholischen Kirchenrechts, hrsg. v. Joseph Listl - Hubert Müller - Heribert Schmitz, Regensburg 1983, 57.

Roman Pontiff, who has the office of unity in the Church. The Catholic Church is therefore the *Communio Ecclesiarum*, which share the same faith, administer the same sacraments and accept the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

As everybody knows this concept is taken as a basis in the *Constitution Lumen Gentium* and in the *Decree on Ecumenism* and has also found a clear expression in *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* Nr. 2:

"The Holy and Catholic Church, which is the Mystical Body of Christ, is made up of the faithful who are organically united in the Holy Spirit by the same faith, the same sacraments and the same government, and who, combining into various groups which are held together by their hierarchy, form particular churches or rites. Between those churches there is a communion so that this variety in no way harms the unity of the Church but rather manifests it."

In *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* Nr. 3 we find a clear statement regarding the ecclesiological position of the Eastern Catholic Churches within the Communion of Catholic Churches: "These Churches are of equal rank (*pari pollent dignitatem*), so that none of them is superior to the others because of its rite (*ceteris praestet ratione ritus*). They have the same rights and obligations".

This teaching of the Decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* – read in context with the *Constitution Lumen Gentium* and the *Decree on Ecumenism* – is a definitive refusal of any preeminence of the Latin Church or Rite either because of numerical preponderance or because of its head, the Bishop of Rome and Patriarch of the West, who is also head of the universal communion of Catholic Churches.

Orientalium Ecclesiarum refers to the Eastern Churches as "Particular Churches" or "Rites" identifying the concept of "Particular Church" with the notion of "Rite". This double terminology marked the final point of the development of an ecclesiology which defines the Eastern Churches liturgically. It was a stony way from discriminated Rites incorporated in a Latin diocese and without own bishops of their own to "Particular churches" or "Rites" of equal rank with the Latin Church. But the Catholic Church was by no means at the end of the way to find an adequate conception. Therefore the inaccuracy of the terminology of *Ecclesiarum Orientalium* soon was felt and during the work of codification it was given up in favour of the new notion *Ecclesia sui iuris* as we will see later on. But it was not only the renewed estimation of the ecclesial position of the Eastern Churches within the Catholic Church which led to considerable progress at the Council. There was also a new understanding of *communio* in relation to the non-catholic Christians.

In the *Decree on Ecumenism* No. 16 the Catholic Church explicitly recognizes the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church with regard to their faithful. The Council emphasizes that "they have the right to govern themselves according to their own disciplines, since these are better suited to the temperament of the faithful and better adapted to foster the good of the souls."

No. 17 of the Decree states that nobody should be irritated that special aspects of the mystery of revelation were better understood by one or the other church. In these cases we should speak of mutual completing and not of contradictions.

Therefore I agree with Ernst Christoph Suttner, who remarks: "From the very beginning, the Church had a variety of forms. It adopted the patrimony received from the apostles in different forms and in different ways, and from the outset interpreted this in different ways at different times and places, because – faithful to its mission to the

whole world – it took into account the differences of mentalities and situations in which people lived. The Second Vatican Council emphasized this in *Unitatis Redintegratio* No. 14 und 15. and stated explicitly that it is necessary to cultivate various expressions of ecclesial existence, so that the fullness of the Christian tradition may be preserved in faithfulness.”¹¹

This teaching of the Council asked for a new ecclesiological concept. In this field an article about the degrees of Communion in the doctrine of Vatican II by Wilhelm Bertrams¹² was of great influence. Bertrams reached two conclusions:

First, that Vatican II had recognized the relationship with non-catholic Christians as a communion which is not full and perfect, but nevertheless a communion. This communion can have different degrees corresponding to the degree of accordance in the confession of faith and the mutual acceptance of disciplinary norms.

Considering this concept Bertrams came to his second conclusion. In his argument Bertrams proceeded from the unity of the potestas episcopalis, which comprises the three munera - sanctifying, teaching and governing - and has its roots in the episcopal consecration. Understood in that way the unity of episcopal potestas implies that the almost full communion between Churches like the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches could not be reduced to liturgical acts and the administration of sacraments. The unity of episcopal potestas also concerns the government of the Churches, so that we can find a mutually recognized jurisdiction of Churches which stand to each other not in full and perfect communion, but in almost full and perfect communion. Although it was an episcopalistic approach, the theory of Bertrams brought an important progress.

To sum it up: There are three concrete concepts of the Second Vatican Council which are of great importance for our topic:

1. The equal rank of the Churches which form *the Catholic Communio Ecclesiarum* irrespective of tradition or size, especially the equality between the Latin Church and the Eastern Churches.
2. The relationship between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches is understood as an *almost full and perfect communion*.
3. The acceptance of fundamental rights of the faithful. One of the greatest achievements of Vatican II was the positive valuation of fundamental rights in general and of the right of religious freedom in particular. Although in the texts of Vatican II the fundamental rights were not explicitly mentioned in connection with ecumenical relations they became more and more significant for our topic in the last two decades as we will see later on.

4. The Preparation of the CCEO: From “Ritus” to “Ecclesia sui iuris”

4.1. Introduction

In 1967 Ivan Zuzek published some reflections about the structure of the future Oriental canon law in the international periodicum *Concilium*. He laid down three principles.¹³

¹¹ Suttner (Fn 3) 136.

¹² Cf. W. Bertrams, De gradibus “Communiois” in doctrina Concilii Vatican II: Gregorianum 47 (1966) 286-305; R. Potz, Die Grade der Communio im katholischen Kirchenrecht: Kanon VIII (1987) 51-64.

1. A clear understanding of the ecumenical role of the Catholic Eastern Churches, which should be defined in a peaceful dialogue with the Orthodox Churches.

2. The law should have a provisional character like the norms of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*.

3. There should be a maximum of adaptation to the law of the non-Catholic Eastern Churches.

Besides Zuzek referred also to the above mentioned ecclesiological concept of Bertrams regarding the different degrees of communion and asked for a further investigation of implications for the Catholic Eastern canon law as well as for the juridical relation to the Orthodox Churches.

In 1972 the Eastern Code Commission was established by Pope Paul VI. At its plenary meeting in 1974 the Commission approved ten principles to guide the revision.¹⁴ Some of these principles have – in comparison with the Latin Code Guidelines – specific implications for the Eastern Churches.¹⁵

The first Guideline asked for a single code for the Eastern Churches. This topic was in discussion from the very beginning of the work on a Code for the Eastern Churches. The final decision to have only one code for all Eastern Churches was a victory of practical reasons over the ecclesiological principle of the equal rank of all Churches.

The third Guideline asked for the ecumenical character of the code. Referring to the Decree on Ecumenism the third guideline says: In all things concerning the Orthodox Churches, the Code must be inspired by the words of Paul VI: on the “Sister Churches”, on the “almost full” communion, on the respect due to the Hierarchs of these Churches as “Pastors to whom had been entrusted a portion of the flock of Christ”.

The seventh Guideline demanded the re-examination of the notion of Rite and the search for a new term agreed upon to designate the various Particular Churches of the East and West and to respect the equality of the Churches.

The Guidelines were criticized for various reasons, especially shortness, lack of a profound discussion and a rather negative view of diversity in the Church. John Faris, an American Maronite Canonist, pointed out, that in the case of the Catholic Eastern Churches we have to define sharply what is meant if we speak of diversity¹⁶. Since the Decree on Ecumenism is cited, it seems the Guidelines are considering the diversity from an ecumenical perspective, that is, the diversity between the Eastern Catholic Churches and their Orthodox Sisters. In that case, diversity was held responsible for the division, and would logically be considered rather negatively.

However this is not the only way to see theological and disciplinary diversity. There is also the diversity between East and West and between the various Eastern Churches which – as already mentioned – the Decree on Ecumenism of Vatican II describes as a positive element of the visible Church. Therefore it was really a pity that the guidelines gave the impression of having in mind the ideal of uniformity. After centuries of thinking in terms like schism and heresy it is obviously difficult for all Churches to realize, that diversity is normal and uniformity is rather pathologic.

¹³ Concerning the history of the Codification cf. R. Potz, Das katholische Ostkirchenrecht nach dem Zweiten Vatikanum: Il diritto ecclesiastico 1-2 (1978) 204-19; Idem (Fn 10) 57-65; J. Faris, The Codification and Revision of Eastern Canon Law: Studia Canonica 17 (1983) 449-85.

¹⁴ Nuntia 3 (1976) 3 ss (English version: 18-24).

¹⁵ Potz (Fn 13) 59 ss.

¹⁶ Faris (Fn 13) 463.

Let me conclude: In the time of the preparation of the CCEO we find important clarifications and also new developments regarding our topic:

4.2. The arising of the concept of *Ecclesiae sui iuris*¹⁷

One of the first steps in the work of the Commission was to abandon the equalization of the terms *Particular Church* and *Rite* as we had found it in *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*. "Church refers to a communion of persons, rite to something that belongs to a church."¹⁸ Thus the Church consists of people, juridically spoken it is a moral person constituted as an *universitas personarum* and the Rite is something that belongs to it.

The next problem was to clarify the notion *Particular Church*. This designation was inadequate because it was not specific for the Eastern Churches, since in the Constitution *Lumen Gentium* as well as in the *Decree on Ecumenism* the eparchy or diocese in which and of which the Universal Church consists is called a Particular Church.

Therefore the Latin CIC 1983 employs the term to designate the diocese and its juridical counterparts (c. 368), whereas it employs the term *ecclesia ritualis* (c. 111 §1) and *ecclesia ritualis sui iuris* (c. 112 §1) for the Latin Church and the Eastern Churches as well.

"Though the term 'particular church' can be used analogously in one of its senses in a given context without any ambiguity, it becomes equivocal when it becomes a technical term."¹⁹ Therefore the term "particular church" was eliminated in the work of the Commission. Nevertheless the problem of terminology persisted. Let me add two observations: At first, it is a scientific experience, that problems of terminology should not be underestimated, usually they indicate a substantial problem. But on other hand, this first observation rises only due to Western thinking which always tries to define and distinguish. As far as I can see there is in Byzantine orthodox terminology the term "Local Church" which describes the eparchy as well as the Autocephalous Church.

In search of a new terminology the term *Ecclesia sui iuris* was at least established and found its way into the CCEO. But the use of the term was not without its detractors since it seems to restrict the nature of these churches to their juridical stature and the realities of their spiritual, theological and liturgical traditions, which also contribute to the identity of these churches are ignored. But this criticism was not fair. It seems to me, that it derives from a traditional positivistic understanding, which reduces law to a closed system of coercive rules. In my view law has much to do with liberty and the defending of rights.

Therefore the term *sui iuris* indicates much more than an own juridical status within the ecclesial constitutional system. To be a Church *sui iuris* includes the right to live according to the own spiritual, theological and liturgical traditions and last but not least to defend these traditions with juridical means.

¹⁷ Cf. C.G. Fürst (Fn 6) 347 ss: *G. Nedungatt*, *Ecclesia universalis, particularis, singularis*: *Nuntia* 2 (1976) 75-87.

¹⁸ *G. Nedungatt*, *Equal Rights in the Church*: *The Jurist* 49 (1989) 3 Fn 3.

¹⁹ *Nedungatt* (Fn 18) 77.

4.3. The Theory

The theory of the almost full communion between the Catholic Churches and the Orthodox Churches was only slowly discussed in combination with the ecclesiological concept of the Church as *Communio Ecclesiarum*. For instance, it was said in a document of the Commission for the Anglican-Catholic Dialogue²⁰ concerning the Authority in the Church that – from a Catholic point of view – a Church which is outside the full communion with Rome is lacking nothing but the visible manifestation of the full Christian communion. Although this concept was heavily criticized by Cardinal Ratzinger²¹ I think that it represents an ecclesiological and canonically important starting point.

This concept means that we have to look for an ecclesiology which has its origin in the one Church of Christ. But this one Church is realized in a dialectic universal-local perspective and from an ecumenical point of view according to the different degrees of communion.²²

That is to say, the conviction was growing that the Catholic and Orthodox Churches are manifestations of the one Church of Christ; some of them are connected with the bond of full communion. From the Catholic point of view this almost full communion means a lack of the visible manifestation of full unity because this is guaranteed by the communion with the Holy See.

We find in this time a remarkable changing in the theory of the different degrees of Communion. The episcopalistic approach was given up in favour of a concept that puts the bishop on an ecclesiological and juridical place within the Church: Not only "*ubi episcopus – ibi ecclesia*" but also "*Ubi ecclesia – ibi episcopus*."²³

4.4. Regarding the Fundamental Rights

Regarding the fundamental rights we can ascertain a stagnation and even a backlash in the seventies and eighties as far as the formulation of the rights and duties of the faithful in general are concerned.

This step back was caused by a lot of misunderstandings in dealing with human rights which we can unfortunately find even in official Catholic documents.

On the other side we have to stress at the same time the clear option for the human right of religious freedom which is doubtless one of the most important concerns of John Paul II.

²⁰ *J. Ratzinger*, *Probleme und Hoffnungen des anglikanisch-katholischen Dialogs*: *IKZ Communio* 12 (1983) 244.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Potz* (Fn 10).

²³ Cf. *H. Müller*, *Die Leitung der Partikularkirche nach dem neuen lateinischen Kirchenrecht*: *Kanon VII* (1985), who emphasizes that – according to the relevant title *De ecclesiis particularibus et de auctoritate in iisdem constituta* – in the new latin Code the ecclesiological and canonical place of the bishop is within the Communion of the People of God.

Discussion:

Professor Davids: I have two questions and one observation: (1) Why this title? Is it not an affront to name this code of canons C.C.E.O. (Codex Canonum Ecclesium Orientalium) Why did the Romans want this title? (2) Why do you use the phrase "self-determination" (sui iuris) instead of autonomy? (3) The professors should have thought about the ecumenical aspects, but most canons are on the Pope and these canons were taken literally from the Latin code.

Professor Potz: (1) The trial title of the code was C.I.C. (Codex Iuris Canonici) Orientalis. This would just have meant a deficient version of the C.I.C. Corpus Canonum Orientalium would have been better. (2) The term autonomy, in the beginning, was too much for them. Moreover, autonomy implies that the legislating body is a foreign body. Sui iuris is much more than that. (3) The part of the code dealing with the Pope is considered a terrible one by many.

Archbishop Keshishian: (1) Where is authority vested? In the ecumenical council or in the Roman pontiff and papal office? This question, to me, was clearly solved by Vatican II. The locus of authority is in the Petrine office alone and not in the council. (2) Your statement on the Roman pontiff as the office of unity is acceptable. I would welcome that. But from what we know, for the Catholic Church it is more than that, namely the office of authority. (3) The references on page 122 and 123 (the start of chapter 3.) are overshadowed by the so-called "wounded churches theology". (4) What is "almost full communion"? What is lacking is not simply manifestation of visible unity. Looking for clarity, this must be defined.

Professor Potz: This is only a beginning. We have to start somewhere.

Father Bouwen: The ecumenical directory has a higher importance and was published later than the much quoted letter of Cardinal Ratzinger.

Professor Legrand states that he has learned a lot. Then he continues: (1) The concept of divine law on the Pope, the bishop etc. is a 19th century development. (2) You mentioned the rise of the concept of uniatism. This has various models: Diampier, Brest-Litowsk, Transylvania, the Melkites, etc. But is there one conception? (3) The decision to have one code for all the Oriental Churches was a mistake. (4) The principle ubi ecclesia - ibi episcopus (where there is the church there is the bishop) is to be found in the Latin code "De ecclesiis particularibus" of 1970. This is very important for the dialogue with the Protestant Churches. (5) As a clarification: a local church is a portion not a part or member of the Church, because if you have members you have a head.

Professor Potz: The Tridentine Council was the starting point of a new way of thinking. Of course various models were evolved later.

Professor Khoadapuzha: In the documents of Vatican II, the terminologies "local church", "particular church" etc. are used, which needs further explanation. We explain them with a certain ecclesiological position as follows:

local church: it implies a locus, it implies a place;
particular church: is that which has particularity;
ritual church: we do not accept this term but use instead
individual church: with an own liturgy, discipline, spirituality; individual churches are all equal.

Secondly, Pope John XXIII said: aggiornamento e riunione, which can be translated as: unity through renewal. The Second Vatican Council was designed to shake off the dust which had accumulated on the throne of St. Peter since the time of Constantine. We want to purify the juridical and organizational systems too. The C.C.E.O. was also influenced by the old thinking from which the Pope wanted to free the Church.

Professor Potz: Of course the terminologies are a problem.

Abuna Gabriel sees religious freedom violated by financial attraction. Who is going to stop this practice which is in daily use in Africa? Missionaries are building schools and attract the children to attend their schools by giving them free education.

Professor Potz: The only thing I can say about this is that it is against the spirit and terms of this declaration.

Father Bouwen: It is not enough to have the principles, they must be executed and realized on the local level.

Father George: You talked about the principle of diversity. It seems that it is a new thing for the Roman Catholic Church. The Eastern Churches never had a problem with diversity in the undivided Church; see the relations between the Ethiopian and the Indian Orthodox Churches. If we go back to the biblical understanding there would be one Church of God in several places of the world without polarization. In the Middle East there are diverse churches but in communion.

In the history of the Western Church, unity is achieved at the cost of diversity. In India in the 16th/17th centuries, the Patriarch of Antioch wanted to have uniformity and similar was the situation between the Egyptian and Ethiopian Orthodox. Every major organization tends towards uniformity.

Professor Potz: What you said is right. However, the Byzantine Church had concern for uniformity.

Professor Hofrichter: I think uniformity is a concern for all the churches.

Monsignor Fortino congratulates Prof. Potz on his paper and admires the perspective of the text showing a situation that is moving from Latinization to recognition of the Oriental traditions. Therefore the codex is useful.

The term "ecclesia sui iuris" is a somewhat apophatic (negative) terminology. We found a good explanation in the paper: a church guaranteed by the law, which has its own law protecting its tradition and heritage.

The question is: does this ecclesia sui iuris not also mean that this church has to give greater precision to some of the canons of the code? There are 250 to 300 places where

this is necessary. The same applies to the promulgation of new laws and different codes for different churches.

Archbishop Powathil: The synod of the Eastern Churches is actually the law making body. But this is not the case in the Latin Church.

Mar Severios: I have two questions. Firstly, according to canon law, is there an Oriental Catholic Church sui iuris? Secondly, what is decided by what? Canon law by ecclesiology or vice versa? Maybe in the Catholic Church, canon law decides ecclesiology.

Professor Potz: As Prof. Davids mentioned, there are 21 Catholic Oriental Churches existing as sui iuris. This is a dialectic situation of interdependence. Maybe in the Catholic tradition canon law was predominant. Unfortunately, this can freeze ecclesiology and ecumenism.

Monsignor Raheb: Firstly, I would like to refer to "Orientalium Dignitas". There I think all the patriarchates were considered to be equal. Secondly, the titles of patriarchatus maior and minor is discriminating the Oriental Catholic Churches. Finally, I would like to ask Fr. Tawfiq: what do you mean by Melkites in your paper?

Professor Potz: Orientalium Dignitas was a further step.

Father Tawfiq: What I meant by Melkites were all Chalcedonians of the area.

Professor Ishak: Melkite means belonging to the Roman Emperor and to Chalcedon. There were no Coptic Nestorians. never in our history!

Archbishop Keshishian: The relationship between ecclesiology and canon law is a pertinent question. In the Oriental Orthodox Churches canon law has never played an important role, but there is interaction. In the Roman Catholic Church, somehow, ecclesiology was conditioned by canon law. The church needs canon law for governing. But too much of it makes the church inflexible in view of the many changes of the living reality of society. Canon law makes the church a historically conditioned reality to the detriment of a transcendental scope. Our church has lived 1563 years without any councils or conciliar teaching and has lived centuries without canon law.

Father George expects a deepening of the concepts of local, particular and universal church. The local church constitutes the one, apostolic church which has one eucharist with the local bishop. The Church Catholic extends to a global level, also apostolic and in communion. What is the Roman Catholic understanding in this respect? He believes that a different Roman ecclesiology would be fruitful. His question: Will Roman canon law be an obstacle for an Indian Church to be established?

Archbishop Keshishian: Firstly, there is the issue of the restoration of communion between East and East rather than the communion between East and West. We Oriental Orthodox and Oriental Catholics are one in almost every respect. But we have to restore the broken union. Secondly, I would like to state that the Oriental Catholic Churches

are no bridge between East and West. Thirdly, if we really want communion we have to proceed step by step. The first step must be communion between the Eastern Churches and to give visibility to it. As far as I remember, Pope John XXIII spoke about reintegration, not reunion. This is very important! How can these families be reintegrated to restore communion?

Archbishop Powathil: (1) Laws do not only restrict but also secure, protect and establish ways to go. Law protects freedom. The English law is a law by convention which also gives the possibility to step out of the established ways. We should however also note that canon law of course expresses a certain ecclesiology. (2) Even all the Oriental Churches do not have the same tradition. There is no uniformity. The different traditions and the differences cannot be wiped out.

Professor Legrand refers to Mons. Fortino's explanation and the importance of canon law in ecumenism: In the Catholic Church we had renewal in the biblical and liturgical fields but not in canon law. Between the ecclesiologies which we have and profess there is a reality which is the Gospel, which must be interpreted in terms of law. The concept of grace in the Gospel comes from the law. The terms "adopted children, covenant and heirs of God" are also legal terms.

Therefore, the relationship between canon law and theology is a very important question for our dialogue. It seems to me, whether one understands canon law as dependent on ecclesiology or ecclesiology as dependent on canon law, in both cases we experience a stalemate.

The starting point for reflection on law must be the Gospel, because as Christians we are under the grace and not under the law. But the Gospel cannot be understood without referring to law. Let us consider the examples: The Gospel talks of grace, a juridical term which is central to the Gospel. It also talks of adoption, filiation, heritage, delegates, apostles, witness, heirs, alliance. All these terms are without exception taken from juridical life, not a legislative law but institutional law.

The Gospel then is not without institutional law and this institutional law must command the legislative law. Canon law must not be seen only as a law coming solely from the will of the legislator, here the Pope.

One must understand canon law not as the will of a legislator but as the explanation of the process through which grace came to us: preach the Gospel to all nations, baptize, celebrate the eucharist, forgive the sins and according to the New Testament ordain to the ministry. This should be the foundation of the Church as an institution, the foundations of institutional law.

If we accept this conception, in that case canon law and dogmatic theology are two ways of giving account of the Christian mystery. In that case we may together give a common foundation to canon law on this basis.

To this fundamental constitution of the Church we would have to add positive laws. Being positive laws, they cannot be put on the same footing as fundamental law and institutional law.

Conclusions:

(1) One avoids in this perspective the disastrous confusion between "droit = right" and "loi = law".

(2) One also avoids an understanding of canon law as being dependent on ecclesiology or ecclesiology as being dependent on canon law.

(3) Above all we must together provide a common evangelical concept of canon law which is an expression of grace and not of law.

Professor Potz: Western canon law is formed within the framework of continental secular law. The law tradition has to be strict, with boundaries (*ius positivum*), but can be changed any time, which for the church means decades.

Monsignor Raheb: Uniatism after the Tridentine Council developed because it was not possible to find union with the Protestants whereas the Roman Church turned towards the Orthodox faith. In the local church it is very difficult to restore understanding between the Protestants and the Oriental Catholics.

Fifth working session: Monday, July 4th: 9.00 a.m.

Chair: Archbishop Aram Keshishian

Archbishop Mar Joseph Powathil

Role of the Eastern Catholic Churches and the Search for Communion between East and West

1. Introduction

Many of the Eastern Churches glory in having their origin from the apostles themselves and are apostolic in the historical sense of the word itself. During the pre-Nicene period (before 325) there emerged a strong feeling of oneness and solidarity among the different local Churches. This feeling of oneness was mainly due to the oneness of faith specified in the eucharistic celebration. At this time there was no highly developed juridical structure for the Church. The pre-Nicene Churches were also conscious of the oneness of the Church as a basic property of the Church.¹ But after the definition and development of the christological dogmas and doctrines certain divisions in the one Church of God occurred. The feeling of oneness and the ecclesial solidarity among the Churches have been lost. "The first divisions occurred in the East either because of disputes over the dogmatic pronouncements of the councils of Ephesus, and Chalcedon or later by the breakdown of ecclesiastical communion with the Eastern patriarchates and the Roman See."²

After the division attempts at reunion began. On account of that from among the separated Churches a portion of that community again entered into communion with the see of Rome. Thus from the ancient Oriental Orthodox Churches we have Catholic Churches now. "Among those related historically to the Oriental Orthodox are:

¹ M. Fahey, "Ecclesia sorores ac Fratres: Sibling Communion in the pre-Nicene Christian Era", CTSAP 36 (1981) 15ff.

² Unitatis Redintegratio (=UR), no. 13

the Armenian Catholic, the Coptic Catholic, the Ethiopian Catholic, the Syrian Catholic and the Malankara Catholic Churches; those related to the Orthodox Church of the Byzantine tradition are the Melkite Catholic, the Ukrainian Catholic, the Ruthenian Catholic, the Romanian Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Bulgarian Catholic, the Slovak Catholic, Hungarian Catholic and several other communities of Byzantine practices"³ These Churches are called *uniate Churches* or simply as uniates in the sense that they are Churches united with the see of Rome.

2. The Factors That Influenced the Emergence of Uniatism

1. The phenomenon of uniatism appeared as a result of the attempt made to overcome the division between Western Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

2. The poor theological understanding of the nature of the Church at the time contributed to the emergence of the uniate Churches. On account of the Reformation and Counter reformation an individualistic world view has been strongly developed in the Western world.

3. The true Church was identified with the Roman Church and there was the feeling of ecclesiological self sufficiency on the part of the Western Church.

4. The Greeks were supposed to be in schism and their return to the true Church was considered to be similar to the return of the prodigal son.⁴

5. The juridical concept of Latin ecclesiology was so powerful that they thought all those Churches which were not under the jurisdictional power of the Roman pontiff should be made the object of the missionary activity of the Latin Church.

6. As a natural consequence the idea of the "rite" developed according to which those converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism were allowed to maintain their own liturgical traditions and some of the canonical disciplines.

7. Many of the Eastern uniate Catholics emerged on the basis of this newly developed Western theology and practice⁵

8. There was also some internal tension in the Western Church. After the great schism Rome found herself cut off from the most collegial segment and naturally she felt a certain isolation as simply the local Church of Rome. She became aware of losing a qualitative dimension of Catholicity.⁶ These are some of the factors which led to the emergence of the uniate Churches.

3. Uniatism: An Ambiguous Term

Conventionally *ounia*, *uniate*, *uniatism* are common expressions that came into the theological and ecclesiological parlance to refer to the Eastern Catholic Churches. But they carry certain ambiguity in their usages.

1. It is used as a convenient short name to refer to any Catholic of the Eastern rite.

³ M. Fahey, "The Eastern Churches", J. Komonchak et alii(eds) The New Dictionary of Theology, 304; Cf. also A. Fortescue, The Uniate Eastern Churches (Glasgow: 1923), 7f.

⁴ J. Meijer, "The Uniates, an Obstacle to Church Unity"? Sobornost no. 6 (1968), 424

⁵ R. G. Roberson, "The Revolution of 1989 and the Catholic Orthodox Dialogue" Christian Orient xiii (1992), 196

⁶ T. Zissis, "Uniatism a Problem in the Dialogue Between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics" GOTR 35 (1990), 23

2. To refer to all the Eastern Catholic Churches.
3. To refer to those Eastern Catholic Churches which have an Orthodox counterpart either in the Oriental Orthodox Churches or in the Eastern Orthodox Churches.
4. Uniatism according to many theologians refer to the Catholics converted from the Byzantine tradition.
5. The fact that Churches like Syro-Malabar and Maronite are not uniate in the strict sense of the term is conveniently forgotten.
6. By uniate Churches Rome means the Eastern rites rather than the Eastern Churches.

In this context a general discussion on the theological significance of the uniate Churches itself is an unclear reality. Therefore I would like to consider the matter under the following four headings:

1. Uniatism: Its Limitations and Negative Aspects.
2. Uniatism: Its Significance and Positive Aspects.
3. Any Other Form than Uniatism Possible?
4. The Theological Significance of non-uniate, but at the same time Eastern Catholic Churches.

3.1. Uniatism: Its Limitations and Negative Aspects

3.1.1. Uniatism Smacks of Negative Connotations

We have already mentioned how the uniate Churches came into existence. This term itself is used in theology in a pejorative sense. In its strict sense, uniatism is a term used by the Orthodox to refer to those Christians who are converted into Catholicism from Orthodoxy. Thus according to the Orthodox way of thinking they are groups of Christians who destroyed their original identity.⁷ What they mean is that the term *ounia*, *uniata*, *uniatism* etc. carry an inferior ecclesiological status. These terms also mean that they form a minority or the weak party while the ecclesial chunk remained outside. It also carries the meaning that they have only the merit of keeping the rite.⁸ The Orthodox are very strong on the fact that the *ounia* is not the real or authentic communion or even the means to that communion. Thus the uniate Churches are for them only the skeleton or caricature of the real Church.

3.1.2. Uniatism Involves the Tension Between Being Oriental and Occidental

Uniatism as it is maintained today involves a dual fidelity: one to their original Orthodox mother Churches and the other to the Roman Church. Prior to schism there was no uniatism but only communion of Churches. Uniatism is the aftermath of the schism in the Church. Their fidelity is really dual because they have something in the Orthodox and something in the Latin Church also. How can one be Eastern and Catholic is the point of tension. "Uniatism results from a rupture from Orthodoxy and endures thanks to Roman fidelity. It was strengthened and renewed through a permanent realization of a separation of self-defense and of rigid preservation. Today the former

⁷G. Gallaro, "Orientalium Ecclesiarum Deserves More Attention", *Nicolaus* 2 (1986), 296-7
⁸Maximos IV Sayegh, *The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity* (Stuttgart: 1963), 62-68

fear of Orthodoxy promiscuity seems to make place to a reaction against late but subtle Latinization. Between these two supposed threats uniatism is looking for an autonomous status which would enhance it to the level of the great denominations which claim to belong to an authentic form of Christianity."⁹

3.1.3. Uniatism stemmed from Latinization and from Historical Necessity

We have already mentioned several reasons for the emergence of the uniate Churches. Uniatism by its very existential nature involves a kind of Latinization. Almost all the uniate Churches are very drastically latinized, and still the Latinization process is being continued. But we cannot simply identify uniatism with Latinization. It was also due to the cooperation of a group of people from the Orthodox Church. For the uniates the union with Rome is a matter of conscience and it is neither a defection nor expediency.¹⁰ Their consciences, nevertheless do not allow them to return to an Orthodoxy which totally refuses the primatial power of Peter. Thus the point is that a group of people from the Orthodox want to become 'Catholic'. By remaining Orthodox they cannot realize that at least in the present time. To merge fully into Latin rite is to lose completely the Oriental identity. "By remaining Orthodox they cannot do this. This would be a denial of Catholicity, because it gives the impression that one cannot become Catholic without being a Latin or without becoming latinized. Only one solution, viz. to unite once more with Rome while remaining Eastern."¹¹ But critical theologians say that what is implied here is pure Latinization. It is the wolf in the sheep clothing. It is seen also as the building up of a solid foundation for the Western ecclesiology. "In the Roman communion with its new world wide dimension the old Eastern Churches hardly had their place. Thus most of the Eastern Churches distanced themselves and the schism became lastingly established. In the communion with Rome there remained frequently nothing but the promises of the Eastern dignitaries. While one part of the Church unites itself with Rome, the majority of the same Church remains outside this communion with Rome. In this way the Orthodox part proclaims itself as a Church vis-à-vis the Roman communion while the uniate part loses its ecclesial consciousness and becomes a "Rite". The eucharistic ecclesiology disappears and gives way to a mere sociological and juridical ecclesiology."¹²

This Latinization process implied in uniatism is sharply criticised by the Easterners. "If someone cannot be Catholic unless he gives up his own liturgy, hierarchy, patristic traditions, history, hymnography, art, language, culture, and spiritual heritage and adopts the rite, philosophical and theological thought, religious poetry, liturgical languages, culture and spirituality of a particular group, be it the best, then the Church is not a great gift of God to the whole world but a fraction, however numerous, and a human institution subservient to the interests of one group. Such a Church is no longer the Church of Christ."¹³ Cardinal Tisserant was a historian and a great well-wisher of the Eastern churches. He has clearly pointed out that in the expressions like *ounia*,

⁹J. Hajjar, *Les chrétiens uniates du Proche Orient* (Paris: 1962), 343

¹⁰N. Edely, "Between Orthodoxy and Catholicism", in *The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity*, 68

¹¹G. Panicker, "Reflections on Being a Uniate" *CO* xiv (1993), 164

¹²E. Lanne, "The Connection between the Post-tridentine Concept of Primacy and the Emerging of the Uniate Churches" in the Fourth Ecumenical Consultation between the Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, in: *Wort und Wahrheit - Supplementary Issue 4 - PRO ORIENTE* 1978, 104

¹³Maximos IV Sayegh, *The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity*, 61

uniatic, uniatism, there is implied a Latinization meaning that the real Church is the Latin Church and the others are mere "rites" united to the see of Rome. "It brings out of danger as follows: Catholics (Latins), uniates (Eastern Catholics), Orthodox, protestants etc. with the conviction, whether in good or bad faith that the Catholic Church is Latin, and that the Orientals of various rites are barely tolerated as Catholics of a lower grade."¹⁴

3.1.4. Uniatism as Imperfect Communion

Ounia is not the full communion of Churches. Communion is a wider, richer, all comprehensive and multiphased reality than unia which is only union of a small group. But unia is very often the only form in which the desired full communion is practised. Though what is intended is communion the uniate Churches cannot realize that. It is not full communion because the full identity of the Churches united with Rome is not established authentically. But unia can be considered as an 'in via' process to communion. It is a communion movement. What is intended is communion, though they achieve only the unia. But it should not also be called a re-union movement if it means that the Catholic Church lacks nothing to gain by this communion. It is also a false conception of communion. Attention should also be given to the fact that the Oriental Churches were in communion with the see of Rome in the early centuries. So the question is whether these unions with Rome were unions or re-unions? The point is to scrutinize whether the different groups had broken the relation in the past and re-established this, or whether they had never been united before.¹⁵ The existence of the uniate Churches are considered as an obstacle to full ecclesial unity by a very many Orthodox and Catholic theologians. "But whatever were the motivations of those who promised the method for achieving unity between Catholics and the Orthodox Church, now known as uniatism, one thing is clear: it intensified a sense of hostility towards the Catholic Church among the Orthodox and contributed to the strong feeling of being the victim of Catholic aggression which remains in the Orthodox historical consciousness. Moreover the Orthodox saw in the formation of the Byzantine Catholic Churches a denial of the ecclesial reality of their Church by the Catholic Church."¹⁶ At present there is an enormous quantity of literature which argues that uniatism is an obstacle to perfect ecclesial communion. They are considered barriers because they are neither true form of communion nor authentic means for ecumenism. Hence their existence is seen as a threat for communion and ecumenical ecclesiology. Moreover neither the great theologians nor Vatican II had envisaged the uniate Churches as permanent models of communion but only as temporary adjustments. "The Churches called uniates only have a legitimate place so long as full communion has not been established between the Orthodox and the Roman Church."¹⁷ This temporal character of the uniate Churches is also specified in the last paragraph of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*: "These directives of law are laid down in view of the present situation, until such time as the Catholic Church and the separated Churches come

¹⁴ Cardinal Tisserant, From the letter from Rome on 11th March, 1939 to the abbot of St. Procopius at Lisle, Illinois, Cf. ECQ vi (1946), 437-8

¹⁵ Cf. J. Meijer, "The Uniates, an Obstacle to Church Unity?", 425

¹⁶ Roberson, "The Revolution of 1989 ...", 198

¹⁷ Yves Congar, "Church Structures and Councils in the Relation Between East and West" OC 11 (1975), 366

together into complete unity."¹⁸ The greatest ecclesiological problem of today is that there is no proper theological bridge between the Orthodox and the uniates. Very often the uniates forget that their role is temporary not in these sense of losing their identity in Latinism but in reuniting themselves with the original mother Church. While uniatism has been employed as a method it has failed in its goal of bringing the apostolic Churches closer to their common roots.

3.1.5. Jurisdiction of Rome and Loss of Identity

Uniate churches are in communion with the See of Rome. It means that they accept the primatial power of the bishop of Rome. At the same time the uniate Churches follow their own liturgical tradition and other rituals. Uniatism involves submission to the jurisdictional power of the Roman see with the preservation of the Eastern liturgical patrimony. One of the theological problems involved here is that these Churches though they follow the liturgy of their own, cannot develop a liturgical theology on the basis of that. Liturgical theology is not simply the study of the history of liturgy but the proper application of *lex orandi lex credendi* to all the aspects of the Church life. Very often the Easterners are forced by circumstances to study the history of their liturgy and to follow the Latin theological and philosophical system. Though the Roman Church accepted the various rites of the Easterners there have been strong attempts at uniformity. "In accepting and admitting the rites and traditions of the new uniates, the Roman Church investigated whether they were in accordance with common Roman Catholic thinking, that is with theology, instead of and this would have been the right thing to do - investigating whether they were in accordance with the dogma of the Church."¹⁹ The theological reason for the loss of identity of the Easterners is the juridical and uniform approach from the part of many in the Church of Rome. They still consider the Easterners as mere rites. In fact these apostolic churches are not mere rites but real Churches in all its aspects. Sometimes Rome protects the Eastern Churches in such a way as to make them loose their identity. Hence there is a point in saying that because they come into communion with the see of Rome they lost or are losing their proper ecclesial identity as Easterners.

3.2. Uniatism: Significance And Positive Aspects

Though the theological positions of the uniate Churches are apparently untenable we have to accept the reality of these Churches as a theological and ecclesiological fact. We cannot deny this. These Christians entered into Catholic communion respecting their consciences. Hence it is unchristian to qualify it as the purposeful betrayal of their mother Churches.

3.2.1. The Uniates are Bridge-Churches

The existence of the uniate Churches have theological, liturgical and spiritual significance and relevance. Even though in all the Orthodox and Catholic dialogues

¹⁸ *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* no.30

¹⁹ J. Meijer, "The Uniates, an Obstacle to Church Unity"? 426

uniatism has become a contested issue, it is actually the existence of these uniate Churches that fostered a sober and serious ecumenical thinking in contemporary times. Many a time uniate Churches have worked as bridge Churches between Orthodoxy and Catholicism. Hence it is untheological to consider them simply as stumbling block to ecumenism. Some of the well known ecclesialogists and ecumenists like E. Lanne are from the uniate Eastern churches. (Lanne has fostered the ecumenical relation between the Churches in various capacities.) Therefore the uniate Churches should be seen as catalysts in ecumenical thinking. Being Oriental does not mean denial of Western tradition, nor of her communion. In the long period of the early Church these two traditions existed as complementary. On the other hand one is not to reject the East in order to be Catholic. What we need is advanced theological research basing on the sources to re-discover the common doctrinal basis of communion ecclesiology. In this process the uniate Churches have a lot to do. It is here that their bridge building function is to be explicitated. Within the Catholic framework which is predominantly Latin the uniates must remain Eastern and within the Eastern Christianity that is predominantly Orthodox they must remain Catholic. This is the bridge building role.

3.2.2. *Uniates as Visible Expression of Theological Pluralism and Sign of Qualitative Catholicity*

One of the imposing achievements of Vatican II is the notion of theological pluralism which it advocated through its various documents. The council has not patronized any theology as normative but it stood for theologies. It is acknowledged that authentic unity is not uniformity but unity in diversity. These uniate Churches are the visible signs of this theological pluralism. "Within the Catholic field they are witness of unity in diversity, and within Orthodoxy they are witness of Catholicity. Their function is to bring Orthodoxy as well as the Latin West to appreciate the universality of the Church."²⁰ They can re-establish the proper universality only by re-instating their own proper identity. If they succeed in that then they can draw Orthodox and Catholics closer to their common patrimony. The main function of the uniate Churches is to serve as the basis of a theological pluralism in the Church. The Western Church during the Middle Ages created a strange notion of Catholicity based on the quantitative and geographical dimension, leaving aside the genuine qualitative and spiritual basis of Catholicity. This principle of uniformity thus created a monolithic and uniform pattern of Church, a kind of a monism instead of communion. In this context the entry of the uniate Churches into the communion with them was at least a kind of a hindrance for their one-sided uniformity. They at least have maintained the idea that unity is not mere uniformity. This theological perception in ecclesiology has been reiterated with added vigour in Vatican II.²¹ Thus the ideal of unity in diversity has been esteemed as a theological imperative in the documents of Vatican II. It is only because of the existence of uniate Eastern Churches that the apostolic identity and equality of the Churches has been accepted. The uniate Churches proclaim that it is possible to be Eastern and Catholic. "Within the Catholic Church it is possible to believe in Christ, love brethren, live with them in one faith and charity and yet at the same time preserve

²⁰Edelby, "Between Orthodoxy and Catholicism", in *Eastern Churches...* 71

²¹*Lumen Gentium* (=LG) 23, 26; *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (=OE) 2-6, UR 13-18

all the qualities and talents that distinguish man from man, Western from Eastern, African and Asiatics. Greek and Latins, Arabs and Spaniards, "all can share one Catholic faith retaining their differences of origin, country, colour, language, rite and custom. Within the Catholic field, all believers in Christ can retain their legitimate liberation, sacred traditions, and glorious history."²²

We have in the past considered the unity of the Church in terms of uniformity in theological and canonical expressions which was fallacious. True unity diversifies. Ecclesial unity is rooted in the mystery of the trinity. For one who really knows what the unity and Catholicity of the Church means, Catholic and Eastern are not opposites. The Catholicity of the East is not to be assessed and determined by checking how far they resemble their Latin brothers and sisters.²³ The Easterners should remain Eastern. Then only can they point out that it is possible to be Eastern and Catholic. "But at least it is not an impossibility. Bandied about between an overwhelmingly Catholicism and an overwhelmingly Orthodox East, we wish to keep as far as possible a double and equal loyalty, to Catholicism in those things in which it is universal, and to Orthodoxy in all its positive aspects, which does not presuppose a denial of Catholicism."²⁴

From the part of the Easterners, serious loyalty to their own venerable tradition is a theological must. Neither the Latins nor the Uniates should try to erase diversities and to establish uniformity. The Eastern Catholic Churches should acquire the courage to say that they do not need a Catholicism that is static, defensive, polemical, hierarchical, monolithic, centralist and uniform. The Eastern Churches are indicators and signs of a personalistic, participatory, ecumenical, dialogic and pluralistic Catholicism.²⁵ What we need is an authentic universality which emerges from and integrates diversity, and not a universality which imposes uniformity and suppresses diversity.²⁶ Diversity should be the underlying principle of communion. Within the one communion of the Catholic Church we have several rites, two codes of canon law, celibate and married priests, leavened and unleavened bread, and a wide variety of liturgical rituals.²⁷

The existence of Eastern Catholic helped the Western Church to look into herself, and to adopt at least on certain occasions, a self corrective and self critical approach with a prognostic perspective. Thus we see a shift of emphasis in the very notion of Church and Catholicity. Instead of pre-occupying themselves with notion of quantitative Catholicity the Westerners began to think of communion of Churches. What is important is not mere universality but genuine Catholicity. "If we wanted to abandon it (Catholicity) today in order to adapt the expression universal Church, we would almost inevitably be suggesting the idea of a Church entirely different from that which Jesus Christ instituted on the foundation of the apostles and which has lasted ever since that time in history."²⁸ The uniate Churches must be fighting for this qualitative dimension of Catholicity. Only then will they be considered Churches of identity and integrity in the universal communion.

²²Nabaa, "Diversity in Unity", in *Eastern Churches...* 85

²³J. P. Lang, "Eastern and Catholic", *Diakonia* 17 (1982), 24

²⁴N. Edelby, "The Ecumenical Role of the Eastern Catholic Bishops at the Second Vatican Council", *ECQ*, 14

²⁵Cf. A. Dulles, "Catholic Ecclesiology since Vatican II", *Concilium* (1986), 11

²⁶J. M. R. Tillard, "The Church of God is a Communion: the Ecclesiological Perspectives of Vatican II", *OC* 17 (1981), 122-123

²⁷P. Granfield, *The Limits of Papacy* (London: 1987), 122

²⁸Henri De Lubac, *The Motherhood of the Church* (San Francisco: 1971), 178

We should banish exclusivism from theology. As long as Catholicism is considered exclusively Western, and Orthodoxy exclusively Eastern it is difficult to justify the theological position of the uniate Churches. Catholicity is the foundational property of the Church. It is neither Western nor Eastern. It is visibly expressed in the communion of various Churches. Catholicity is ultimately that of Christ. Each individual Church which has its own theology, liturgy, spirituality, and discipline is capable of expressing this Catholicity in an equal measure. It is expressed concretely through the eucharistic celebration of different Churches. Eastern communities are not mere 'rites' but 'Churches'.

4. Any Other Form Than Uniatism Possible?

The contemporary ecclesialogists and ecumenists share a strong feeling for the need of a theological *ressourcement*, going back to the sources of theology. Consequently they try to recapture the very primordial meaning of the Church and to re-establish it in contemporary ecclesiology. Certain well known Western theologians, many Eastern Catholic theologians and certain others also concentrate on the expression of the sister Churches.

4.1. Theology of Sister Churches

According to scholars the pre-Nicene ecclesiology was the embodiment of the Church as a communion of sister Churches. Among the ancient Churches there existed a kind of kinship as between sisters or brothers. It is in that analogical sense that this term is used in theology. It meant that there is no absolute monopoly and supremacy of the one Church over the other. While it welcomed the question of a seniority, or primus or even a centre of communication etc. Therefore the Roman Church has, in their view, no right to address herself as mater et magistra with regard to other Churches. All the Churches are equal, because all of them are Churches of God. A theology of sister Churches is implied in UR 14-18. Pope Paul VI himself has highlighted the consequences of a theology of sister Churches particularly in his letter to Patriarch Athanagoras on 20 July 1967. The letter reads: "In each local Church the mystery of divine love is at work. Is this not the reason for that fine traditional expression "sister Churches" which local Churches love to use for one another? We have lived this life of sister Churches for centuries, celebrating together the ecumenical councils which defended the deposit of faith against any alteration. Now, after a long period of division and mutual incomprehension the Lord has allowed us to rediscover ourselves as sister Churches..."²⁹

In this letter the pope explicitly mentioned the fact that they lived a life of sister Churches in the midst of diversities. It was that life which they lived together in communion. The pope did address them as a sister Church, not because they are Orthodox but because they are also the real Church of God. The expression "sister Church" is not Orthodox or byzantine. It was the first millennium model of the lived

communion of the Churches. The Byzantine Church has genuine apostolic identity and correct sacramental structure and that is why he called it as a sister Church. Among the Western theologians it is Yves Congar who made a deep investigation into the theology of sister Churches. His conclusion is that the faith and the sacramental structure of the Orthodox and the Latin Church are the same. Therefore it is the one Church of God that has been divided in 1054. It is erroneous to say that after the schism there is the true Church on the one side and on the other the schismatic Church.³⁰ Congar is emphatic on the fact that it is the same Church of Christ that we see in Orthodoxy and Catholicism. For him Orthodoxy and Catholicism constitute sister Churches because they are the one and the same Church of God. Secondly there is difference of tradition on the basis of apostolic identity. Thirdly the substance of the Eastern church is not derived from the Latin Church; rather they together constitute the patrimony of the universal Church.³¹ The common brotherhood of the Churches of the first millennium is the basic principle of the theology of the sister Churches. This is expressed through a specific apostolic identity and the sacramental structure of the Church.³²

According to the theological and ecclesiological positions of Tillard, Lanne, Fahey, Dulles, Roberson, Zizioulas, Madey, Hambye, et al. in order to establish full communion between Orthodoxy and Catholicism what is required is not uniatism but theology of sister Churches. Vatican II's position to various Eastern Churches is ambiguous. The council, it would seem, considered all the Eastern Catholic Churches simply as uniate Churches and it fostered, according to many, such a theology through its decree on Eastern churches. The confusion of the council is in a way manifest from the simultaneous promulgation of UR and OE whose basic intentions are, it would seem, contradictory, though both of them speak about the Eastern Churches. There is an irreconcilability between these two decrees. OE 24, 25 deal with uniate Churches and proposes it as criteria for Eastern Churches coming into unity with the see of Rome. But UR 14 considers the Orthodox Church as sister Church to Rome. Hence there is a 'contradiction'.³³ This ecclesiological complexity and contradiction has been created over centuries and it is the result of a mother-daughter relationship. The problem is so deep that the council itself is not able to solve it all on a sudden. A uniate mentality and a theology emerging from that, is, it may be said, a theological disorder. "However well intentioned, or clever pragmatic the solution may be they (uniatism) cannot resolve the problem set since Vatican II which is a theological problem. Nothing is gained by ignoring it. The decree on Ecumenism and the action and writings of Pope Paul VI have opened genuinely new paths based on the ecclesiology of sister Churches. Either the actions and writings are meaningless-in which case it is pointless to hope for the re-establishing of full communion with Orthodoxy or they mean what they signify, as I myself believe. The theological approach which can alone lay the foundation of practical, solid, and lasting results should immediately be made explicit."³⁴ So according to the theological investigation of Lanne what is urgently needed is the exercise of

²⁹Yves Congar, *Diversity and Communion* (London: 1984) The entire work deals with the theology of the sister Churches.

³⁰Congar, *Diversity and Communion*, 88-89

³¹E. Lanne, "Eglises soeurs: implications ecclésiologiques du Tomos Agapis", *Istina* 25 (1975); Cf. also J. Meyendorf, "Eglises soeurs: implications ecclésiologiques du Tomos Agapis", *Istina* 25 (1975).

³²E. Lanne, "United Churches or Sister Churches: A Choice to be Faced", *OC* 12 (1976), 116

³³Lanne, "United Churches or Sister Churches..." 122

²⁹Message of Pope Paul VI to Patriarch Athanagoras on July 25, 1967. Cf. *Information Service* 1967, 12: AAS 59 (1967), 852 ff.

a fundamental choice i. e. whether we move with the theology of uniatism, or leaving it aside we are making a positive decision to move with the theology of sister churches. Only a theology of sister Churches can properly establish the equality of Churches. For that a proper ecclesial symbiosis between the Orthodox and its Catholic counter part should be maintained. "One day by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, there will be no longer a Coptic Catholic and a Coptic Orthodox Church but one Coptic Church, an Ethiopian Catholic Church and an Ethiopian Orthodox Church but one Ethiopian Church, a Chaldean Catholic and an Assyrian (Nestorian) Church, but one East Syrian Church..."³⁵

5. The Theological Significance of non-Uniate but at the Same Time Eastern Catholic Churches

5.1. Unique Position and the Special Role of the Syro-Malabar Church in an ecclesiology of Communion

The Syro Malabar Church of St. Thomas the Apostle is not a uniate Church in the strict sense of the word. It has no exact counterpart though there is the so-called Nestorian Church. More over the St. Thomas Christians, it would seem, were always in communion with the see of Rome, though there was occasional communication gap.

5.2. The Semitic Root of the Syro-Malabar Church

The Church of God is one. But this one Church has flourished in its three main branches which are Syriac, Greek and Latin. The Syro-Malabar Church having the East Syrian heritage belongs to the Syriac brand of the Christian tradition. Thus the homeland (the motherland) of this tradition in India may be traced also to the Christian Aramaic culture. It is properly integrated into the indigenous culture of India. In fact the Dravidian culture had many elements in common with the semitic culture. The existence of the Syro-Malabar Church in the Catholic communion proves that Catholicism is in no way simply a Western product. An ecclesiology of communion in order to be proper and authentic must pursue this tri-polar system of the ancient Church. What we need is not an imported juridical ecclesiology but an ecclesiology from the perspectives of Christian origin and its one time centre and against the horizons of today's world.³⁶ To my way of thinking the importance of the Syro-Malabar Church consists in being a very luminous sign of the very origin of Christianity. Its venerable apostolicity and its Indo-Syriac cultural heritage are valuable contributions to the universal Church. About an ecclesiology basing itself on the original Christian milieu it has been observed: "Earlier in this century, the German scholar W. Bauer stressed the importance of focusing on a wide spectrum of local and regional Churches including the area of Edessa, Alexandria, Antioch, Western Asia Minor, as well as Rome for understanding how the Churches of the East and West developed. Other historians of the early Church such as Ekkart Sauser, have tried to reconstruct what Church life must have been like in the East in the Christian communities of Jerusalem, Antioch,

³⁵J. Madey, *The Future of the Oriental Churches* (Tiruvalla: 1979), viii (introduction)

³⁶Hans Kung, *Theology for the Third Millennium* (Glasgow: 1988), 106

Alexandria, Constantinople, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and in the West Lyons, Arles, Carthage, Trier, Barcelona, Ravenna, Milan and Rome."³⁷

Christianity was actually born in a semitic, Aramaic speaking milieu. When we think in that perspective the Syriac Churches have a unique testimony to give in the universal Church. It could even be that they are the source of ecclesiality. "Among the Oriental Churches those within the Syriac tradition may be said to hold the pride of place, since they were representatives of and to some extent direct heirs to the semitic world out of which Christianity sprang".³⁸ Edessa is the traditional birth place of Syriac Christianity.³⁹ Having Edessa as the centre the Syriac Christianity actually controlled the entire theological system of the time because it was one of most dynamic culture of the time. "In the formative period of historic Christianity, no other group of Churches can prove a more dynamic and creative record of service to gospel and to human culture."⁴⁰

5.3. The Special Traits of the Syro-Malabar Church

Syro-Malabar Church is steeped in a very unique heritage - the Syriac tradition. First of all it belongs to a very lively apostolic tradition developed outside the Greco-Roman sway. That means the Syriac wing to which the Syro-Malabar Church essentially belongs is, in a way, the purest form of Christianity. This Syriac tradition is known as the unhellenized and uneuropeized Christianity. The Syriac Churches were born and brought up in the cradle of Christianity. Their identity and ecclesial character is formed neither in the West, nor in the Roman mind-set but in a completely different circumstance. They developed in the Persian empire, which lay outside the Roman empire. This apostolic connection and the Persian culture provide the formative matrices of the Syriac ecclesial tradition. This aspect of Christianity has to be taken seriously when we speak about the communion of Churches. It is radically different from the Latin juridicism and the Greek exclusivism.⁴¹ It is the uniqueness of this apostolic tradition and the value of the semitic culture together with the elements of the Indian culture that the Syro-Malabar Church has to articulate. The Syriac Churches often tried to maintain ecclesial solidarity with the universal Church. Although the Syriac Churches were not a part of the Roman political matrix, and although separated from the Byzantine communion, this Church never ceased to consider its own patriarchate as an integral part of the Church universal.⁴²

³⁷M. Fahey, "The Church", in F. Schüssler Fiorenze and J. P. Galwin (eds), *Systematic Theology*, Vol II (Mineapolis: 1991), 25

³⁸S. Brock, *The Luminous Eye* (Moovattupuzha: 1985), 132

³⁹Details, R. Lavennant, "Edessa" in A. Berardino (ed), *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* vol. I (Cambridge: 1992), 263; F. Rilliet, "Syriac", *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Vol II, 811

⁴⁰R. Murray, "The Characteristics of Eastern Syriac Christianity" in N. C. Garrison et al (eds), *East of Byzantine: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington: 1982), 14

⁴¹S. Brock, *Syriac Perspectives in the Late Antiquity* (London: 1984), 1-18

⁴²A. Halleux, "Autonomy and Centralization in the Ancient Syriac Churches: Edessa and Seleucia Ctesiphon", *Wort und Wahrheit* (1978), 63

5.4. The Syro-Malabar Church has Lost Many of the Eastern Perspectives

It is the living tradition of the Thomas Christians that St Thomas, one of the twelve apostles of our Lord, came to India in A. D. 52 and founded the Christian communities here. Until the 16th century there was mainly only one ecclesial tradition in India - the Eastern tradition of the Church of the Thomas Christians. With the arrival of the Portuguese, the Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Thomas Christians also came into existence. As a result a thorough Latinization of the Church occurred and this Eastern Church had lost many of its venerable traditions and Eastern traits. The Thomas Christians were divided into many groups. From 1599 up to 1896 the Church of the Catholic Thomas Christians of India was ruled over by the bishops of the Latin rite. During this period their liturgy was mutilated, discipline, spirituality, theology etc. were latinized. "Latinisation of the rite and liturgy followed. Latin laws were put into execution and the time-honoured powers of the Archdeacon were curtailed. Latinisation of the liturgy was not a complete success. The liturgy was highly mutilated and many of its items were replaced with Syriac translations of the Latin liturgy".⁴³

5.5. Attempts to Regain the Proper Identity

Ever since the Church lost its identity, at least a portion of the Church tried its best to regain the proper identity. Due to so many years of Latin rule and the Latinization policy, the Catholic Thomas Christians still have a latinized outlook. After the second Vatican Council, we can see among the Thomas Christians a concerted effort to re-establish its genuine Oriental traits. The members of this Church have to acquire the awareness of being "Easterners" by a constant going back to the original sources and status of this Church. For this we have to make sincere studies regarding the ancient Oriental traits of this Church. Only this historical approach can save the Church from the present crisis.

5.6. Liturgical and Spiritual Traditions Have to be Recovered

For a Church what is of highest importance is its liturgy, spirituality, theology and discipline. For a genuine theological growth its proper liturgical and spiritual traditions have to be re-established. Without this liturgical and spiritual basis there is no solid theology. Theology is to be based on and drawn from liturgy and spirituality. Then only can we speak of a liturgical theology which is based on the ancient dictum: *lex orandi lex credendi*.⁴⁴ A theology cut off from the proper liturgy and spirituality of a Church is not worthy to be called theology in its profound sense. "...the whole Christian life as a memorial is a liturgy, since the pattern of the life in Christ is the liturgy and since the latter is the source of everything. This is the basic reason why in the Eastern Church any spiritual reality is bestowed as a liturgical reality."⁴⁵ The Syro Malabar Church has yet to learn to draw her theology from her liturgy and ancient spiritual

traditions. Though the Church has succeeded in keeping its own liturgical text, its theology is Western to a great extent. This situation will not enable her to be known as an Oriental Church in all dimensions of this expression. The apostolic identity of the Thomas Christians were expressed in their liturgy, spirituality, discipline, traditions etc. The axiomatic expression 'Law of Thomas' expresses all these ecclesial realities. "The hierarchy, the liturgy, the genius, the history, the temperament, the social customs, the special ecclesiastical usages etc. of the Malabarians constitute the individuality of their Church. This individuality must certainly present an appearance fully worthy of it in every aspect."⁴⁶ The profundity and genuineness of the Thomas Christians are to be re-established in and around the 'Law of Thomas' and then only can she establish a liturgical theology and spirituality. Only with this Eastern vision can it regain and establish its place among the Eastern Churches. The Eastern mind is not contradictory to the Latin way of seeing realities. But the Easterners have their own way of seeing God, Church, liturgy, spirituality, discipline etc. Hence both an awareness of being an Easterner and the fact that this is different from the Western speculative system have to be acquired.

5.7. Rome's Role in Recovery

All the Eastern Catholic Churches are in communion with the bishop of Rome. Communion with the bishop of Rome is one of the constitutive factors of the ecclesial communion. Now this is an important factor. How far Rome interfered in the affairs of the Oriental Churches of the first millennium? What was the nature of this relation in the Middle Ages? Do we find any change in the post-Vatican era? We are not going to answer these questions at present. I only want to make a comment that in the post-Vatican Period there is a better theological appreciation of the role of the bishop of Rome with regard to his relation with the Oriental Churches. From the part of Rome there is a self-critical and self-corrective approach regarding this matter. The communion ecclesiology has elevated the role of the bishop of Rome in a qualitatively superior manner. A centralized, authoritarian, and imperial concept of papacy shaped by history is not acceptable in the context of an ecclesiology of communion. What is desirable is a papal ministry that presides over the communities and acts as the centre of a collegiate and conciliar system. In the developing context of an ecclesiology of communion the traditional concept of primacy needs to be reinterpreted, reconsidered and justified. According to Catholic ecclesiology, there is both presidency and mutuality (or cephalicity and synodality). Presidency protects and maintains the universality of the Petrine ministry, and mutuality maintains the principle of collegiality and also the integrity of the ecclesial life at the local level.⁴⁷ We should give the bishop of Rome his due place in the ecclesiology of communion, neither more nor less. The bishop of Rome is certainly the first among the equals. But to say that his primacy is simply honorary is unbiblical. The merely honorary character of the primacy has been rejected by Pope John Paul II though he himself explained the primacy in terms of ministry. He invited the pastors and theologians of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches to study and determine the 'forms' in which this ministry can be exercised. "In the course of the first

⁴³Placid Podipara, *The Malabar Christians* (Ernakulam: 1972), 7

⁴⁴At present there are profound studies regarding liturgical theology. Cf. G. Wainwright, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine and Life* (London: 1982); Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (Pueblo: 1984); D. W. Fagerberg, *What is Liturgical Theology: A Study in Methodology* (Minnesota: 1992)

⁴⁵E. R. Hambye, *Dimensions of Eastern Christianity* (Kottayam: 1983), 14

⁴⁶Placid Podipara, *The Malabar Christians*, 23

⁴⁷P. J. Burns, "Communion, Councils, and Collegiality", in P. Empie and T. Murphy (eds), *Papal Primacy and the Universal Church* (Minneapolis: 1974), 157

centuries of our history, we each followed our path, even while maintaining our communion of faith and sacramental life in spite of the difficulties which might have arisen in our relations. During that period it was recognised that the See of Rome had not only a primacy of honour, but also a real responsibility to preside in charity ...and to foster the preservation of communion among all the Churches. I am aware that, for a great variety of reasons and against the will of all concerned, what should have been a service sometimes manifested itself in a very different manner. It is out of desire to obey the will of Christ truly that I recognise that as bishop of Rome, I am called, to exercise that ministry. Thus, in view of the perfect communion which we wish to reestablish, I insistently pray the Holy Spirit to shine his Spirit upon us, enlightening all the pastors and theologians of our Churches, that we may seek together, of course - the forms in which this ministry may accomplish a service of love recognized by all concerned."⁴⁸ In this citation we can see a radical evolution regarding the role of Rome in her relation with the other Churches. Leaving aside the authoritative titles, the Pope himself takes the title 'bishop of Rome'. He sees also the responsibility of the bishop of Rome as a ministry and a service in love. This service itself, it would seem, can be exercised in different 'forms' and 'modalities'.

In this role and in the present context, Rome can help an Eastern Catholic Church that has fallen away from its ancient ways to regain them and to become truly Eastern. In fact, the Vatican Council II exhorted these Churches to do this: "They (Eastern Catholics) are to aim always at a more perfect knowledge and practice of their rite, and if they have fallen away due to circumstances of time or persons, they are to strive to return their ancestral traditions."⁴⁹ This has great relevance to the Syro-Malabar Church. In its present emotional attachment to Western forms and theology, only a leadership from Rome can perhaps put them on the right path to restoration and organic growth. This being a genuine Oriental Church is a sine qua non for its bridge-building role.

5.8. Role of the Eastern Churches in General

The Eastern Catholic Churches have a substantial role to play in the search for the full communion between the East and West. Vatican II in its documents, especially in OE and UR, emphasized greatly to re-establish the Oriental identity of these Eastern Catholic Churches. The Council has made it clear that they can contribute to the ecclesial communion only by showing religious fidelity to their tradition. "It is the mind of the Catholic Church that each individual Church or a rite retains its traditions whole and entire, while adjusting its way of life to the various needs of time and place."⁵⁰ - "If they have improperly fallen away from them because of circumstances of time or personage, let them take pains to return to their ancestral ways."⁵¹ The ecclesiology of communion based on the principle of unity in diversity is a direct proclamation of the acceptance of the individuality of all the Churches. The principle of unity in diversity is a direct proclamation of the acceptance of the individuality of all the Churches. The principle of unity in diversity stands as the methodological hermeneutics of the

⁴⁸From the Pope's homily at a Mass celebrated on Dec. 6, 1987, in St. Peter's Basilica in the presence of the Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios I of Constantinople. Cf. Information Service no. 66 (1988), 25

⁴⁹Orientalium Ecclesiarum (=OE) 6

⁵⁰Ibidem, c.2

⁵¹Ibidem, c.6

ecclesiology of Vatican II. A great appreciation regarding the religious fidelity to tradition can also be seen in UR 14 - 18. In LG 23 we read that the various Churches established by the Apostles have their own liturgy, theology, spirituality etc. The Code of the Eastern Catholic Churches also envisages means for preserving the patrimony and traditions of the Eastern Churches. "The rites of the Eastern Churches, as the patrimony of the entire Church of Christ, in which there is clearly evident the tradition which has come from the Apostles through the Fathers and which affirm the divine unity in diversity of the Catholic faith, are to be preserved and fostered."⁵²

All these explicitly speak that the Eastern Catholic Churches can contribute to the ecumenical growth only by remaining faithful to their proper traditions. They have certain serious roles to play:

- 1) they should remain Catholic and Oriental altogether,
- 2) they are "the living signs" of pluralistic Catholicism;
- 3) to re-gain that Eastern sensitiveness without which there is no genuine Christian East;
- 4) to train the clergy and laity to recover their ecclesial identity;
- 5) to make a conscious and systematic return to the most authentic sources of Oriental character;
- 6) to eschew proselytism among the Orthodox, though without losing that acute awareness that schism and division are sinful.⁵³

Proselytism can be defined as the concerted and organized effort of inducing members of non-Catholic Churches to sever the bonds with their Churches and to join one of the Catholic Churches."⁵⁴ Our attempt to preserve the Eastern patrimony should move with less emphasis on proselytism. It is not explicitly explained in the New Code that it is forbidden. But the present Pope, John Paul II, in a number of documents expressed opposition to Catholic proselytism.⁵⁵

All these Churches should take ecumenism as a basic thrust for the authentic ecclesial growth. The Eastern Catholic Churches should be the stepping stone to enter into a new ecumenical era. The Catholic Church through the Decree on Ecumenism encourages the ecumenical discussions and dialogues. The Code of Canons for the Eastern churches also seeks in detail regarding the regulations of a baptized non-Catholic coming into full communion with the Catholic Church. Hence uniatism is not a 'spent force'. We have already seen their ecumenical significance as bridge Churches and as visible expressions of the genuine Catholicity and universality of the one Church of God. They also guarantee the ecclesial pluralism. They should contribute to the ecumenical growth not by assimilating the Latin elements but by accepting and appreciating the positive aspects of Orthodoxy. At present there is a gap between the Eastern Catholic and Orthodox and this situation is thoroughly unecumenical. "Many would think today, especially among ecumenical-minded Christians and Catholics, that uniatism as an effort to create Oriental Catholic communities is a spent force. Either the Uniates should cross the floor and become wholly Latin, or perhaps Orthodox. Apparently such a radical approach have the superior advantage of suppressing a situation

⁵²CCEO, c. 39

⁵³E. R. Hambye, *Dimensions of Eastern Christianity*, 154-155

⁵⁴Victor J. Pospishil, *Eastern Catholic Church Law. According to the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (New York: 1993), 547

⁵⁵Victor Pospishil, *Eastern Catholic Church Law*, 547-548

which is unclear. But, actually, like many such radical solutions, it is no solution at all. The real one lies in their returning to the sources, in their keeping faithful, painfully but sincerely, to their dual allegiance, and in realising that one's own future consists in restoring and keeping the authenticity of Orientalism within the Catholic fold.⁵⁶ These Churches must by all means take ecumenism as an existential and theological imperative.

6. *What Can the Syro Malabar Church Contribute?*

The Church of the Thomas Christians had its development in the Asian milieu. Their ecclesiastical system in several areas represented the earliest Christian tradition with its great emphasis on the local Church. The "Palliyogam" developed after the pattern of the Dravidian village assembly called Manram, the coordinating role of the Archdeacon and the spiritual and ascetic role of the bishops as the liturgical head are the characteristics of the St Thomas Christian tradition.⁵⁷ Their metropolitan was known as "the gate of All India" and the superior of all the bishops and archbishops of his rite.⁵⁸

This rich heritage and tradition is the priceless patrimony of the universal Church. "The importance of the apostolic individuality of the Malabar Church is, no doubt, very great. It is a precious treasure to be jealously guarded. Not all particular Churches nor any missionary Church can claim a direct apostolic origin and distinct continuity as the Malabar Church".⁵⁹ It is incumbent on the Syro Malabar Church to propagate the view that communion ecclesiology should move on this triangular pattern mentioned above. Communion of Churches must mean the communion between these three major traditions.

Since Syro Malabar Church participates in the "purest" form of Christianity, she can propose an ecclesiology which is prophetic, eucharistic and eschatological. Its theological tradition is biblically, patristically and liturgically rooted. Since it possesses a very rich liturgical text she should work as the pioneer of a liturgical theology explicating how the ecclesia is the meeting place of law of prayer and law of faith is deeply engraved in the liturgical text of this Church.

The Asian form of Christianity and theology must give greater attention to the Syriac tradition. For all those who are looking for a theology which is not over burdened by European philosophy and theology can find sprouting of fresh air in this tradition. The Syro-Malabar ecclesial tradition can play a leading role in the theological development of the entire Asiatic scene.

Syriac theology has nothing to do much with the speculative or analytical system of the Western world. Mysticism, asceticism, monastic ideals, liturgy, bible, patristics etc are all there in a synthetic manner. It is not a juridical system of theological speculation. I think the ecclesiology of the Thomas Christians also share the same traits. For us Christianity is a way of life. It is putting into practice the "Thommayude margam" (the way of Thomas) and it includes all the above said ideals. We also had no

⁵⁶E. R. Hambye, *Dimensions of Eastern Christianity*, 152

⁵⁷X. Koodapuzha, "Eastern and Western Christianity in India", CO XIV (1993), 33

⁵⁸Placid Podipara, *The Malabar Christians*, 5

⁵⁹Placid Podipara, *The Malabar Christians*, 14

centralized administrative system. From centuries ago the principle of collegiality has been upheld in all sectors of ecclesial life. Local communities have representative bodies called palliyogam, presided over by the senior priest of the parish.

Emphasis of the spiritual character of theology is one of the specialities of the Syriac tradition. Indian culture also has the deep influence of great spiritual ideals. In the Syro-Malabar Church the concept of the bishop is always that of a spiritual man. He led a spiritual and ascetical life and was seldom involved in the temporal administrations. The Indian and Asian image of a bishop is not as a mere ruler of a territory but the spiritual and liturgical head of the community.

Too much accent on the concept of territoriality is also foreign to the ecclesiology of the Thomas Christians. Two elements which this Church always insisted upon was the qualitative dimension of Catholicity and the collegial nature of the church itself. Catholicity and communion are not territorial products. Territorial concept of the Church is a Western products which is alien to Syriac tradition. "Now, the Church is the people of God 'worshipping'. It is not a territory like a state. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction should, therefore, be considered 'per se' personal, not territorial. What is important is that its subjects should be earmarked as belonging to a rite or community."⁶⁰

Syro Malabar Church is not a mere uniate Church. It is not a Church that has returned after a schism from Rome. Today it has its own Head, the major archbishop. The Church is today striving for a liturgical theology. It has its own rich liturgy, and other venerable traditions. It is an individual Church having its own theology, spirituality, liturgy, discipline which is different from the Greco-Roman model.

Under the juridical, hierarchical and philosophical theologies of the Western Church the meaning of Church, it could be said, has actually suffered a lot. The very perception of the Church itself was often distorted. The systematic, theoretical and philosophical mind of the Latins and Greeks are now turning to the Syriac tradition which offers mixture of asceticism, mysticism and spirituality. I think this Syriac flavour together with the uniqueness of the St Thomas Christians' Ecclesiology can be the inspiring force for an ecclesiology of the third millennium. Thus the Syro-Malabar Church can help the universal Church to re-capture the lost consciousness of the Church as a communion of Churches.

7. *Conclusion*

In this article, by means of exposition and analysis, I tried to elucidate the importance of Eastern Catholic Churches in the search for full communion between the East and West. I have highlighted the positive and negative aspects of the uniate and non-uniatic Eastern Catholic Churches. My theological conclusion is that all the Eastern Catholic Churches have to make a conscious return to their foundational sources in order to be genuinely Eastern. Ecumenical attitude should be a theological imperative and a basic thrust for all these Churches. Speaking about the non-uniatic Churches, I explicitated the unique position of the Syro-Malabar Church by pointing out the theological speciality of the East Syrian liturgical tradition and her apostolic identity. Her apostolic heritage is a valuable contribution to the patrimony of the universal Church.

⁶⁰Placid Podipara, *The Malabar Christians*, 18

Discussion:

Archbishop Keshishian: Regarding history, we do not read in the books about the emotional burden. This paper explains the background in a clear, articulate and critical way. - A question: The sister churches, Catholic and Orthodox, manifest full ecclesiology. At the same time, however, you say that the catholicity of the church is expressed through catholicism. How can this be explained?

Archbishop Powathil: According to the Eastern Catholic thinking, it is through the unified ministry of the Petrine office that catholicity is expressed.

Professor Koodapuzha: Catholicity today must be understood not in its old juridical form but as a service and ministry of the unity of the church.

Mar Severios: Calling the Syro-Malabar Church not a uniate church itself is an example of interpreting history in a unilateral way.

Father George: Archbishop Powathil is a potential ecumenical leader in India in the third millennium but the Syro-Malabar statement "Moreover, the St. Thomas Christians, it would seem, were always in communion with Rome" is not right. This is not our opinion and feeling. Only after the Portuguese came to India, a part of the St. Thomas Christians came to be in communion with Rome. Before that we had a purely Oriental character. Every other expression is manipulation of history. (2) Catholicity means communion with the bishop of Rome; and actually the position of the bishop of Rome is an impediment. There is a basic disagreement. (3) You called the uniates bridge churches. It is only a one-way bridge. So, the metaphor does not stand.

Mar Themotheos: Firstly, I would like to quote the famous church historians Fr. Hambye who says that the Indian church was one until the 16th century and was divided only in the 16th century due to the Portuguese and Roman influence. Of course, several historians have tried to prove otherwise to promote the Roman interest. Secondly, I think we need to distinguish clearly whether it is communion with Rome or communion between East and West that we want.

Archbishop Powathil: (1) Even after accepting your view of history, still, the Syro-Malabar Church is not a uniate church. This is a dialogue among St. Thomas Christians of which one part went to Rome and the other to Antioch. My side decided their way because they thought the link with Rome would be important. (2) The uniate churches do have bridge functions: we can help the Western churches e.g. to think in a more ecumenical way and to preserve the Orthodox rites. To the Orthodox side we can convey the understanding of the value of the Petrine office. (3) Of course history is a disputed question and it needs further study.

Professor Koodapuzha: Until the 16th century the Indian church was undivided. When the Portuguese came, it was said: we follow the law of St. Peter and St. Thomas (Thomamaargam). At the end of the 16th century, however, they decided: there is only the way of St. Peter. This is how trouble and division began.

He agrees that the Syro-Malabar Church became latinized. Actually we Indians welcomed all traditions.

Father George: The expression "welcoming the Portuguese" is impossible to accept because they came as colonizers. They did not allow us freedom of thought, they were constraining us.

Father Chediath: Until the 16th century, the Christians in India had one history. We were one Catholic and apostolic church though not Roman. Then there came the split. After the division in the 16th century one part became Roman and the other remained Syrian. In 1930 the uniates came into existence in India. It happened under the impression that it was necessary for the ecclesial nature.

Professor Hofrichter: (1) The Syro-Malabar and also other Churches like the Ukrainians and Maronites do not want to be uniates. They have for long been in communion with Rome but not in jurisdiction. Rome must renounce jurisdiction over the Eastern Churches sui iuris to start new negotiations.

Communion in jurisdiction did not start before the 4th/5th century when there were appeals to Rome to settle disputes. Universal jurisdiction, this matter of history, was never accepted by all the churches.

(2) The Eastern Catholic Churches are a bridge. We Roman Catholics would never have been acquainted with Eastern spirituality because the Eastern Churches are self-content. The uniate churches played an important role in mediating at Vatican II.

(3) Contacts should be multilateral: not only with Rome but also with other Catholic centres like Vienna, Paris, the U.S.A., the Netherlands etc.

Professor Legrand: (1) Primacy has to be agreed upon together, commonly. (2) Archbishop Powathil, you mentioned in your paper "... less emphasis on proselytism". Does it mean that it can be exercised with less emphasis? (3) Like Archbishop Keshishian I believe that catholicity is not union with Rome alone but a matter and quality of the local church. Placid Podipara was quoted: The Church is the people of God practising, personal, not regional. I think the proposition has many dangers. Diversity must be kept but unity must be there. We cannot accept seven Catholic bishops in Cairo and we have to have synodal life, otherwise we remain divided locally.

Archbishop Powathil: (1) My objection is to the use of the term "uniatic" in ecumenical conversations picturing the Malabar Church at par with the other uniate churches. There were different ways of coming into existence. Terms sometimes are offensive, the words must be ecumenical. (2) Regarding the Petrine office, we Oriental Catholics have an important and special way of looking at it. But catholicity is also connected with it. But I do not mind leaving it an open question. Seven Catholic bishops in one place, as long as they represent different spiritualities and traditions, I do not find that abnormal. They can coexist and have a common voice before the State, united in diversity. In the Indian situation diversity is not a problem for us. In India we have a common synod. We have to take into consideration all the various traditions and groups in the same place.

What could be the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West?

1. Introduction

My present lecture is not a systematically achieved study on the thorny and delicate problem of uniatism and on the possibility of inserting the Oriental Catholic Churches "on both local and universal levels", into the dialogue of love and theology.¹ Only at the beginning of this study seminar I was asked to prepare a short comment on the theme under discussion from view point of the Armenian Church. Therefore I have the honour to present to you only some theses and arguments in order to enable you to be acquainted with the Armenian position.

As you will notice, I have reformulated the original title of the study "What is the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West?" into a more reasonable sentence: "What could be the Role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West?"

Already in May 1970 H.H. Pope Paul VI and H.H. Catholicos Vasken I in a common declaration published in Vatican stated:

"Conscious of their duties as pastors, they invite all Christians, especially those of the Catholic Church and the Apostolic Armenian church, to respond with greater fidelity to the call of the Holy Spirit stimulating them to a more profound unity which will accomplish the will of our common Saviour, and will render fruitful the service of the world by Christians.

This unity cannot be realized unless everyone, pastor and faithful, really strive to know each other... However, the efforts run the risk of remaining sterile unless they are rooted in the whole life of the entire Church."²

Again in April 1983 H.H. Pope John Paul II and H.H. Catholicos Karekin II of Cilicia (in Antelias) in a joint communiqué underlined the importance of the dialogue of faith and pastoral cooperation as well as of Christian witness in a world of plurality of religions, confessions and political directions, particularly in the region of the Middle East. Here I quote a paragraph:

"Our Churches wish to respond by an active witness, in collaboration with the other Churches, to this appeal, this cry for more justice, which rises from the depths of humanity at this end of the second millennium. This witness is urgent, particularly in the region of the Middle East, where it will involve both developing understanding, respect and co-operation between men regardless of their religious affiliation, and working to assure all peoples of the region harmonious development of their identity, of their liberty and of their culture in peace and justice."³

¹Balamand Statement, "Ecclesiological Principles" No. 16

²The Vienna Dialogue - Five PRO ORIENTE Consultations with Oriental Orthodoxy, Booklet No. 1, Communiqués and Common Declarations, Vienna 1990, p.107

³Ibidem, p.116

Though the problem of proselytism is not mentioned in these declarations, I know personally that it has been subject of discussion every time when an official delegation from Rome on different occasions and led by cardinal Wilibrands visited the Holy See of Etchmiadzin. The Cardinal always assured H.H. Catholicos Vasken I that Vatican strictly disapproves proselytism and asked His Holiness to report to the Council for Promoting Christian Unity whenever concrete cases would be known here and there.

2. General Remarks

2.1. Affirmation One

The question of Uniatism is not a matter of two partners, but rather a three-dimensional problem in which are involved not only the Oriental Catholic and Orthodox Churches, but also the Church of Rome. Since the Oriental Catholics live and act under the jurisdiction of Vatican, and they do not enjoy full rights of self-government, in a dialogue of reconciliation all these three parties have to participate and express their will and agreement.

2.2. Affirmation Two

It is remarkable and interesting that in most cases the relations of both Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches with the Roman Catholic Church, especially after the Council of Vatican II, are much better than with the Oriental Catholic Churches which are called to be „bridges“ between the Churches. The reason of this paradoxal phenomenon is that, according to my modest opinion, after Vatican II the Oriental Catholic Churches at least for several years were neglected by all sides and not included in the new ecumenical dialogue. Some of them became jealous and angry and even tried and try willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously to disturb the brilliant ecumenical relationship between Vatican and the Orthodox Churches. The Balamand Declaration that the Oriental Catholic Churches "should be inserted, on both local and universal levels, into the dialogue of love and theology" is therefore a pleasing proposal.

2.3. Affirmation Three

Every Oriental Catholic ecclesial community has its own history, development and characteristics. All such communities are similar in their origin, formation and growth, but they do not present exactly the same picture. I used the designation "ecclesial community" for the Oriental Catholics, because the appellation "Oriental Catholic Church(es)" suffers of ambiguity. The Roman Catholic Church is one body under the authority of one shepherd who is the Pope. There are no states within the same state. It is possible to speak of the Roman Catholic Church of or in Austria, but it is not accurate to call her the "Austrian Roman Catholic Church"! Because of the absence of a better and correct name, we are naturally obliged to use the ambiguous term „Church“. Vatican II calls the Oriental Catholic ecclesial communities as "individual Churches or Rites" (!)

3. Concerning the Armenian Catholics

Speaking of the Armenian Catholics, one has to differentiate between the Armenian Catholic Communities with their Patriarchate in Beirut, and the Armenian Catholic Orders.

There are two Mekhitharist Orders and one Order of Bzommar in the mountainous Lebanon. 1721 in Lebanon the Armenian Catholic Order of Anton was formed whose members 1924/25 joined the Brotherhood of Bzommar which was established in 1742.

Vardapet Mekhithar of Sebaste, born 1676 and originally a member of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, on 8th September 1701 with the help of Rome organized a small brotherhood of 10 monks in Constantinople. For this latinophil activity he was persecuted by the Armenian Apostolic Patriarch; he fled from Turkey and found shelter and security in Morea at Methon/Greece (1708). During the war of Ottomans and Venetians, he came to Venice and 1717 established his order on the island of San Lazzaro which exists until now. Because of disparity of views, 1773 a part of this Brotherhood departed and settled down in Trieste. 1810 as Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) entered Trieste, these Mekhitharist monks left the city and came to the capital where 1811 they were offered by the Emperor Franz I a monastery of Capuchin monks in the suburb of Vienna (now 7th district) which in course of time developed and became a renowned centre of armenological, educational and pastoral activities. The cultural activities of the Mekhitharist Fathers in general are appreciated by the Armenian Church and people. In May 1970, in connection with his journey to Rome, H.H. Catholicos Vasken I visited the island of San Lazzaro and there he unveiled the bust of Abbot Mekhithar of Sebaste, the founder of the Order.

In the first millennium of our Christian era, the relations of Armenians with Rome and the Roman Empire were rather of political nature. At the beginning of IVth century, as Emperor Constantine the Great transferred his residence to the East and made Constantinople the capital city of his empire, Armenians cultivated very close relationship with the new East Roman or Byzantine State, Church and Culture. Therefore in 554/55 as the Armenian church at the Second Synod of Dvin officially rejected and condemned the dogmatic decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451), this was a remove or dissolution from Byzantine domination and policy of assimilation and not necessarily from Rome. Pope Leo the Great was repeatedly anathematized by the Armenians, not as the head of the Church of Rome, but for his theology and theological writing - the Tomus Leonis.

The actual relations with the Church of Rome started in 11th century. Specially during the crusades and crusaders, in 12th and 13th centuries, the Armenian church in Cilicia or the Mediterranean coast and area came into close contact and confrontation with the Latin Church. The relationships with the Roman Catholic crusaders and missionaries sometimes were friendly and sometimes hostile (in German it can be described in a better sounding sentence: "Die Beziehungen zwischen der römischen und der armenischen Kirche waren manchmal freundlich und manchmal feindlich"(!)). The Armenians were rather interested in obtaining political and military assistance from Rome in order to defend their Kingdom against islamic countries and invaders and for that reason they were willing to agree with some limited concessions which would not endanger and imperil their national and ecclesiastical identity. 1307 at the

Vth Synod of Sis they were ready for a union with the Church of Rome: King Leo and his father Hethoum participated in the assembly together with 26 bishops, 17 vardapets and several princes. The Synod, under the pressure of Leo, signed a document of unity, but the majority of the people und the learned vardapets in Armenia refused the decision. In the same year, eight months after the Synod of Sis, the King and his father were condemned to death by the Tatar commander Bilargu on the demand of dissatisfied and angry Armenians. 1311 the Armenian monasteries and monks in Jerusalem, as a reaction to the Synod of Sis, proclaimed the establishment of a Patriarchate, not only in the name of the Armenian Church, but also for the protection of all non - Chalcedonian communities in the Holy Land!

Efforts of reunion were repeatedly undertaken throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. Even the Council of Florence (1439-1445) recognizes a union of the Armenian Church with Rome, but such unions were effected under political pressures and always had very short life. It is true that even in 14th century Franciscan and Dominican fathers succeeded to set up missionary centers in Cilicia and Armenia and to gain followers, but the formation of an Armenian Catholic ecclesial community can not be dated earlier than 17-18th century.

4. Proselytism

There are two evil facts and factors which permanently disturb the relations between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian Catholic communities, namely proselytism and manipulation of history.

The Armenian Catholic communities possess a missionary spirit and use all possible means and methods in order to take away members of the Armenian Apostolic Church and integrate them in their church. To my opinion proselytism is the result of misunderstanding and confessional fanaticism. It is a misunderstanding, because the ecclesiastical confession has no value at all in the eyes of Jesus Christ. Important is our faith and our deeds of love and hope! At the last Judgment our Lord will not ask about our confession, but he will be interested whether we have listened to Him and translated his words into reality.

Truly the Balamand - Declaration is an agreement between Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, but it can serve as pattern for a similar arrangement between the Roman Catholic and Oriental Orthodox Churches. In any case, until a final solution or unity of Churches, it would be fair and correct, if both sides could refrain from acts and activity of proselytism. The ecumenical dialogue for the reunion of Churches is much more important than the quantitative increase of the members of a special confession!

5. Manipulation of History

The second evil which has disturbed and still disturbs the relations of the Armenian Church with the Armenian Catholic communities is the manipulation of history and historical texts by Armenian Catholic authors. May I present here some of their arguments and disputations:

1. Thaddeus and Bartholomew have never visited Armenia and they can not be regarded as apostles and "*first Illuminators of Armenia*".

2. Before St. Gregory there was no Christianity in Armenia. All historical references to Christians in second or third centuries should be understood for *Armenia minor* under the political influence or domination of Rome.

3. Christianity into Armenia was introduced from Rome. St. Hripsime, Gayane and their 35 or 37 companions who accelerated the proclamation of Christianity in Armenia in the years 301-314, had escaped from Rome.

4. In 554/55 at the second Synod of Dvin as the Armenian Church rejected the Christological formula and decisions of Chalcedon (451), she fell in heresy. But a part of the people and clerics through the centuries remained faithful to Chalcedonian dogma and Rome, and later they formed and built up the "*Armenian Catholic Church*"!

Such manipulation of history and accordingly of historical texts go back as far as 18th century, when a Mekhitharist father of San Lazzaro and a famed historian, Michael Tchamitchian, 1784-86 published a "History of Armenia" (or of Armenians) in three volumes. His theses were repeated and even exaggerated later by the other Armenian Catholic writers. It is enough to mention two names: archbishop Alexandre Balgany/Balgy and archbishop Sahak Gokyan/Goky, both of them members of the Mekhitharist Order of Vienna. Balgany's book is entitled: History of the Catholic Teaching among Armenians and their Union with the Roman Church at the Synod of Florence. This author goes so far in this zeal and enthusiasm that some of the famous saints of the Armenian Church, like the Tathewatsi and Orotnetsi fathers, he calls "champions of heresy!"⁴ Goky's is similarly called "*The Armenian Church until the Council of Florence*" and was published 1961 in Beirut with a preface of Cardinal Gregory Peter Agagianian. The last but not the least, to those I wish to add another booklet written by a Mekhitharist father of Venice, archbishop Garabed Amadouny - L'Église Arménienne et la Catholicité.

A quotation from this writing elucidates the whole problem and the main reason of conflicts between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian Catholics:

"L'Église Arménienne Catholique de nos jours, en temps qu'elle est l'héritière suivie, dans sa plénitude, et de la foi et de la communion ecclésiastique catholique de l'Église Arménienne hiérarchisée par St. Grégoire l'Illuminateur, poursuivie par les Saints Nersès, Sahak - Mesrop et par leurs fidèles continuateurs, ne peut pas être rangée parmi les Communautés ecclésiastiques catholiques, constituées en Orient, à partir du 16^e-17^e siècles, dans la sphère byzantine, appelées Uniates.

Le début de l'Église Arménienne Catholique, en contrepartie de celui de l'Église Arménienne non-Chalcédonienne, ne date pas du 18^e siècle, mais du moment où débuta une Église Arménienne séparée de la communion catholique par suite de son opposition au Concile de Chalcédoine.

Dans le précis historique, on a relevé comment et où, vers la fin du VI^e siècle, une poignée de l'Épiscopat arménien, ayant à sa tête le Katholikos 'pro tempore', avait créé un état de scission à cause du Concile de Chalcédoine, à laquelle

scission, un autre groupe d'évêques arméniens répondit en se refusant d'adhérer et élit, au Synode de Karin (=Erzeroum), son propre Katholikos, dans la personne de Hovhannés III Bakarantzi, afin de pouvoir poursuivre sa communion ecclésiastique, - tout en fidélité à la tradition arménienne, - à travers l'Église de Constantinople, avec l'Église Universelle, c'est-à-dire Catholique."⁵

As long as such affirmations are published and publicized, naturally there can not be effected a real reconciliation between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian Catholic Church. The insistence of Catholic authors that the Armenian Apostolic Church is separated from the "*Catholic Communion*", and that the Armenian Catholic Church is not a "*uniate*" Church, but the real "*Armenian Church*" which after the 6th century has maintained communion with the "*catholic or universal*" Church through Constantinople, exposes senseless and useless manipulations. The interpretation of the Armenian Catholic authors radically contradicts to the understanding of Vatican which in June 1993 was expressed in the Balamand Declaration. In article 8 of the "*Ecclesiological Principles*" we read as follows:

"In the course of the last four centuries, in various parts of the East, initiatives were taken within certain Churches and impelled by outside elements, to restore communion between the Church of the East and the Church of the West. These initiatives led to the union of certain communities with the See of Rome and brought with them, as a consequence, the breaking of communion with their Mother Churches of the East. This took place not without the interference of extra-ecclesial interests. In this way Oriental Catholic Churches came into being. And so a situation was created which has become a source of conflicts and of suffering in the first instance for the Orthodox, but also for Catholics."

The arguments of the Armenian Catholic authors have serious defects.

It is now accepted by many scholars that in the first millennium neither Rome nor Constantinople were the centre of Christianity. Rome possessed a primacy of honour, but not a jurisdictional primacy. The Chalcedonian Armenians were Byzantine-Greek Chalcedonians and had nothing to do with Rome. Apart from the fact that they were very few in number, they were not under the jurisdiction of Rome or Rome did not recognize them as a part of its Church. As Prof. Peter Hofrichter mentioned during the discussions, the Chalcedonian Armenians jurisdictionally were not in communion with Rome. In any case, by 16th century such Armenians were either assimilated or they embraced Islam, and therefore there is no connection whatsoever between them and the uniate Armenians who in 17th-18th century formed a separate community under the authority and jurisdiction of Rome.

6. Anno Domini 1992

After the decay and collapse of the Soviet Union, on 23rd August 1990 the new democratically elected Parliament of Armenia declared its independence and consequently also freedom of conscience, of religion and of expression of personal opinion.

⁴Alexandre Balgy, *History of the Catholic Teaching among Armenians and their Union with the Roman Church at the Synod of Florence* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1878, 21

⁵Garabed Amadouni (Karapet Amatouni), *L'Église Arménienne et la Catholicité*, Venice, 1978, 65-66

On 21st Sept. 1991 on the ground of a referendum Armenia finally restated the proclamation of its independence. 19th October of the same year the yearly Synod of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate of Beirut was convened at the Monastery of Bzommar (in the mountainous Lebanon). The Synod under the presidency of H. B. Hovhannes - Petros XVIII Catholicos - Patriarch of the Armenian Catholics has taken several decisions which we outline hereinafter:

1. Since Armenia and Georgia stand outside the jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate in Beirut, it is necessary to secure the presence of the Patriarchate in these countries.
2. To establish the parishes in Armenia and Georgia wherever there are concentrated Armenian Catholics.
3. "To send to the Country (Armenia) devoted priests who possess apostolic zeal and spirit of sacrifice whose aim would be in accordance with the command of Jesus, to evangelize, baptize and sanctify our orphan people."
4. "To establish diocesan seminaries on the soil of Armenia."

In this connection the participant bishops have stated:

"The Holy Spirit opens before us a boundless virgin field in Armenia, a genuine fertile soil of vocations, irrigated by pure faith, out of which will be born new priests and virgins, if we can start with the work at the right time."

At the end of the Synod, on 24th October, the fathers have addressed a petition to His Holiness Pope John Paul II asking him to put Armenia and Georgia under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate in Beirut. However before this request the Pope had already nominated Rev. Nerses Der-Nersessian, a member of the Mekhitarist Brotherhood of Venice, as Apostolic Administrator for Armenia and Georgia. Since Father Nerses was a former pupil of Catholicos Vasken I in Bucarest, Etchmiadzin welcomed his assignment. But the friendly relationship between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian Catholic communities were suddenly and totally changed in 1992 as the Armenian Catholic Patriarch edited a pamphlet under the title "*Return to Armenia*". In this encyclical are published the decisions of the Synod of October 1991, a short historical description of the formation of the Armenian Catholic communities, as well as an appeal to evangelize Armenia. The Booklet does not repeat openly the defective arguments of the Armenian Catholic authors, but in veiled manner suggests that the Armenian Church "until 5th century was sprouted and flourished under the patronage of the Universal Church where she achieved her own rites and literature and erected her ecclesiastical structures."⁶

The following sentence reveals at least the unfriendly spirit of Balgy, Goky and Amadouni:

"The Chalcedonian quarrel split the Armenian Church, divided the garment (not made by hand) of Christ. Along with the increase of dogmatic persecutions, the Armenian Catholicity was scattered, and throughout centuries it became a minority, always retaining its presence on the soil of the fatherland."⁷

⁶"Return to Armenia" (arm.), encyclical of Patriarch John Peter XVIII, Beirut, 7th June 1992, 5-6

⁷Ibidem, p. 6

The title or the self-description of the Patriarch is quite interesting, misleading and provocative. The author presents himself as:

"Servant of Jesus Christ
Hovhannes Petros XVIII
By the Mercy of God,
Patriarch of the House of Cilicia
and
Catholicos of the Orthodox Armenians"⁸

The Armenian text uses the word "*ulap`ar/oughapar*" which means ("*orthodox*" as well as "*those who hold the right faith*", in German "*rechtgläubig*"). In both cases it is not right and fair to utilize this term, since, first the designation "*oughapar*"/"*orthodox*", normally is used for the Armenian Apostolic Church, and secondly, to claim that the Armenian Catholics are "*those who hold the right faith*", indirectly suggests that the Apostolic Armenians do not possess the right faith!

After the appearance of the pamphlet, in August 1992 the official monthly review of the Catholicosate of St. Etchmiadzin express their disappointment:

"Reading the mentioned pamphlet, the Catholicos of all Armenians and all of us here were filled with deep disappointment and grief. It is a distortion of the history of almost two thousand years of the Armenian Church and at same time an insult to the whole of our devout people; it is the negation of the ecumenical spirit of our times as well as an ruthless attempt, in those critical and hard days of our country, to raise senseless disputes on Chalcedon and to create new divisions within the bosom of our nation."

The editorial ends with the following conclusion:

"If the anti-historical and anti-ecumenical passages of the unfortunate encyclical of Patriarch Hovhannes-Petros are not withdrawn officially, then the Armenian Apostolic Church together with the Mother See of St. Etchmiadzin will take position against the Patriarchate of the Armenian Catholic Church." (Until now there is no positive reaction from the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate!)

At the same time, at the end of August 1992, Vasken I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of all Armenians, and Karekin II, Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia issued in Etchmiadzin an encyclical "*A Paternal Word addressed to the Armenian People*" in which the appeal or the "unfortunate circular" of the Armenian Catholic Patriarch was once again condemned and refuted. I quote only two paragraphs of this pamphlet which clearly reject the claims of the Armenian Catholics and state that "Armenia is not a country without master; Christ reigns there. It is not an abandoned land; this vineyard of the Lord is not fenceless."⁹

⁸Ibidem, p. 3

⁹ Etchmiadzin, monthly review of the Catholicosate of St. Etchmiadzin, August 1992. There is an English translation of this article published in the journal *The Armenian Reporter International*, New York, Oct. 17, 1992, p. 10

Paragraph 10:

"... To consider Armenia as an open and barren field for Christian evangelization, means above all, transgression against history and the given reality of today. Moreover, it means also a lack of love, recognition and respect towards the Armenian Church founded by the Apostles St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew, and nurtured by St. Gregory the Illuminator, as well as towards the Armenian people who - let it not be forgotten - were the first nation in the world to proclaim Christianity as their national state religion. Armenia is not a country without master; Christ reigns there. It is not an abandoned land; this vineyard of the Lord is not fenceless. For about two thousand years the light of Christ has been kept alive and has shone forth in this land, and this in spite of many calamities and tempests that have befallen it. This work of Christian enlightenment, this carrying on of the torch and this bearing of the Cross have been accomplished by the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia, a fact which historians of so many nations have so universally and so frequently stated and illustrated with such eloquent testimonies."

Paragraph 15:

"With Christian love and in the sense of national unity, we greet the spiritual care that is being provided by the official authorities of our Armenian Catholic and Armenian Evangelical Churches to the faithful who already are members of their own confessions. The Armenian Apostolic Church has recognized them as a historical reality and in the spirit of brotherly love greets their action within the fold of their constituency. In that respect we find natural their services to their own people.

We expect that respecting the ethos, the faith and order, the traditions and mission of the Armenian Church, that has been the spiritual nourishing mother of the Armenian people in the past centuries, they will cooperate through the Mother See of St. Etchmiadzin, with the Holy Armenian Apostolic Church, thus enhancing and promoting its religious, spiritual, educational and social work."¹⁰

Shortly after the publication of the reply, on September 26, 1992 H. H. Vasken I Catholicos of all Armenians, assembled an extraordinary meeting with bishops and sent a letter of discontent and protest to Rome, addressed to Cardinal Achille Silvestrini. As an important document hereinafter I publish this letter:

"His Eminence
Cardinal A. Silvestrini
Prefect of the Oriental Congregation
Vatican-Rome

With fraternal love, we acknowledge receipt of your congratulatory message and your best wishes addressed to the Holy Apostolic Orthodox Church of Armenia and to us personally.

¹⁰The encyclical, "*A Paternal Word addressed to the Armenian People*" is dated 30th August 1992 and signed by Vasken I Catholicos of all Armenians and Karekin II Catholicos of Cilicia. It was first translated and published in: *The Armenian Reporter International* (19 Sept. 1992, pp. 23 and 26), and then edited as a pamphlet by the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias (16 pages)

Regretfully, your message coincided with an official document which reached us recently. The document is an encyclical called "Return to Armenia" dated June 7, 1992, and signed by His Beatitude Patriarch John Peter Kasparian of the Armenian Catholics. The encyclical is published in Beirut, Lebanon, and makes a general declaration about our Mother Church of Armenia, causing suspicion with regard to the legitimacy of the Holy Apostolic Orthodox Church of Armenia. Moreover, the encyclical seems to regard our Church to be a sort of a heretical church as a result of the Council of Chalcedon.

This aggressive motion against our Holy Church is a violation of the spirit of ecumenism.

As a consequence of the unexpected content of the Catholic Patriarch's encyclical, we now come to realize that the presence of the Armenian Catholic Church in Armenia is unacceptable and must be rejected.

Today, 26 September 1992, a Holy Synod presided by ourselves, co-chaired by His Beatitude Patriarch Torkom II of Jerusalem and His Grace Bishop Mesrob Mutafyan, Patriarchal Vicar of Constantinople, with the participation of 18 archbishops and bishops of dioceses in Armenia and abroad, expressed general dismay towards the encyclical of Patriarch John Peter of the Armenian Catholics, and decided to take the necessary measures in defense of the authority of the Holy Apostolic Orthodox Church of Armenia and the Holy Mother See of Etchmiadzin and the dignity of the Armenian faithful in Armenia and the Diaspora.

Fraternally in Christ,
Vasken I
Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos
of all Armenians"

Exactly a month later, on 26th October (1992) four Apostolic Bishops on their way from Armenia back home to the United States and Istanbul, namely Archbp. Vatche Hovsepian, Primate of the Armenian Church Western Diocese of North America, Bp. Khajag Barsamian, Primate of the Armenian Church in Canada, and Bp. Mesrob Mutafyan Chancellor of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople - paid a visit to Rome. On the same day they were received at a private audience by H. H. Pope John Paul II, which was shared also by Bishop Pierre Duprey and Fr. Bernard Dubasque of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. After conveying his greetings and sympathy to H. H. Catholicos Vasken I, H. H. Pope has expressed hope that the visit of the Armenian clergymen to Vatican and the dialogue would be fruitful in order to eliminate misunderstandings which might have been created.¹¹ The next day the Delegation met with Cardinal Cassidy, President of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, and his secretary Rev. Bernard Dubasque, and with Cardinal Achille Silvestrini, Prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, and his secretary Mons. Claudio Guggerotti. The Cardinals have stressed the natural right of existence of the Oriental Catholic Church in Armenia and within the Commonwealth of Independent Republics in cooperation and good relation with the countries' national Churches. The remark of Cardinal Cassidy that the Armenian Catholic Patriarch had not secured the consent of the See of Rome before issuing his encyclical is interesting.

¹¹The Armenian Reporter Int'l, 14th Nov. 1992. 14

Another interesting remark of the same Cardinal is his statement, "that the Armenian Catholic Patriarch has specific spiritual authority over the Armenian Catholics of Armenia."¹² This point is still subject of internal dispute, since the first Ordinaris for the Armenian Catholic communities in Armenia and Georgia was appointed by H. H. Pope John Paul II from the Mekhitharist Brotherhood of Venice, namely Fr. Nerses Der-Nersessian (consecrated bishop in November 1992). Even after the Synode of the Armenian Catholic Church in Nov. 1992 at Vatican, apparently the problem has not clearly been solved yet. However the representatives of Rome have assured that the Holy See also in future will try to promote reciprocal understanding and cooperation between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian Catholic communities. On this occasion the Armenian Delegation handed over to the Cardinals a letter in which they refute some of the charges and claims of Patriarch Kasparian.¹³

Continuing their pilgrim's journey, the Armenian bishops arrived in Constantinople and the next day, 29th October (1992), together with the Armenian Patriarch Karekin Kazandjian, they paid a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch, H. H. Archbishop Bartholomaios. According to the reports, "A cordial consultative meeting was held between the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Armenian clergymen which lasted over an hour, with both sides examining the Catholic Churches' cultivated and implemented plans of proselytizing Christians within the former Soviet Union and Middle Eastern countries."¹⁴

At the meeting it was suggested that the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Oriental Orthodox Churches should in common consultation and in joint action oppose to the proselytizing activities of the Catholic communities in the Sovereign Republics of the former Soviet Union, in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East.

7. Concluding Words

In the past and at present the Armenian Catholic Church has not played and does not play the role of a bridge or of mediator. Moreover, after the publication of Patriarch Kasparian's "unfortunate encyclical", the Armenian Catholic Church has become a factor of disturbance and trouble between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Armenian Catholic Church could play a positive role in the rapprochement of the Western and Eastern ecclesiastical traditions, first, if she would publish a correct interpretation and presentation of history of the Armenian Church, and secondly, if she would cultivate open and cordial relations with the Apostolic Armenians. However, I am afraid, such a process may need a long time!

¹²Ibidem

¹³The Armenian Reporter Int'l, 7th Nov. 1992, 6

¹⁴Ibid., 14th Nov. 1992, 14. A photo of the Armenian Delegation together with the Ecumenical Patriarch can be seen *ibid.*, 7th Nov. 1992, 6

Discussion:

Archbishop Keshishian: Unfortunately we have no Armenian Catholic here to respond. In this paper we find three problems common to all the Orthodox:

1. the question of reading history,
2. certain acts performed by our brothers which are interpreted by our side as an expression of proselytism,
3. the Oriental Catholic Churches and the Church of Rome are not on the same wavelength concerning certain issues; we are on good terms with Rome but not with the uniate brother churches.

Continued Discussion of Archbishop Powathil's paper

Mar Gregorios objects to the use of the term "non-uniates". Obviously it is us who are that. Does it mean that we are the ones separated from Rome?

The issues you listed on page 140 (3.1.4. Uniatism as Imperfect Communion) and 148/9 (5.6. Liturgical and Spiritual Traditions Have to be Recovered) are important.

For solving problems and finding answers let us see: how were the interventions in the first millennium, the Middle Ages etc.

You said that the uniates are bridge-builders. I doubt whether it is a bridge at all. You said yourself "...there is no theological bridge". So, what does it mean? The evidence is that 400 years with them did not bring us together. Their role is temporary.

Archbishop Powathil: (1) As far as the word "non-uniate" is concerned, I was pointing to the Eastern Catholic Churches which are not uniate churches. (2) Regarding the question of bridge, it is difficult to explain. There is a certain tendency of exclusivism on both sides.

Abuna Gabriel: (1) You quoted Yves Congar saying, "Therefore it is the one Church of God divided in 1054." Division first occurred in 451, not in 1054. What is your opinion? (2) It was said that the Church flourished in three branches: Latin, Greek and Syriac. What about the other churches like Coptic and Armenian?

Father Tawfiq: Many measures of ecumenism have been taken to improve the relationship with the Copts. There is a Coptic Catholic synod plus a conference of all the Catholic bishops plus a Catholic pastoral council. The rules for mixed marriage are rules against proselytism and we do not let Orthodox children take part in our catechism and first communion.

What now do we expect from the Orthodox side? It is brotherly relations. But we experience that the uniates are rejected and despised, ignored and ill-treated and cut out of the negotiations between the Orthodox and Rome.

Father George: (1) We are positive to the ecclesiology of communion. The Oriental Orthodox are inclined to make new moves towards communion but there is an incompatibility between how Rome acts towards the uniates and the uniates towards

Rome. The Oriental Orthodox hope that this incompatibility will be removed but this hope is obviously diminished with primacy remaining as it is.

(2) He agrees that the Syro-Malabar Church has a special quality. But all the churches which affirm that union with Rome is essential are uniate churches.

There is a general need for more and better communication.

Prof. Hofrichter stresses again: the decisive point is jurisdiction. We must distinguish between primacy with communion and primacy with jurisdiction. Many say: once this kind of jurisdiction is removed the way to unity is free.

Father George: Even regarding the term jurisdiction we differ. There is no exclusive binding character for communion within the Oriental Orthodox Churches. But with Rome it is different and difficult.

Amba Bishoy expresses his gratitude for both extensive and elaborate papers of this day.

Concerning your statement of hellenisation and the purity of the Syrian tradition, I have a problem. In my view St. Athanasius, St. Severius and almost all the fathers underwent this process. What is the experience of the Indian Christians about the influence of Hindu and Nestorian thinking? They must protect themselves! We in Alexandria must escape the Hellenistic influence. No one should say "purist Syrian theology" because this is an accusation to us. (2) It was not through a theological dialogue that the Oriental Catholics united with Rome. Ministry of Peter was not the concern there. There is a contradiction. Rome obviously is now suffering from the Catholic Syrian Churches in the East. How can they respect St. Peter and not respect their orders? (3) Synodal life in a local area is necessary to govern the people. To have unity and to retain the Oriental Catholic Churches will be very difficult because they are materially richer.

Archbishop Keshishian: I have two questions to the Oriental Catholic brothers. (1) There is suspicion in the hearts of the Orthodox towards the attitude of the Oriental Catholic Churches. Are they ready to take action to dispel this suspicion? So far not. (2) Regarding a free dialogue with the Oriental Catholics, the Oriental Churches are reluctant. To which extent are the Oriental Catholic Churches ready to enter into dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches?

Professor Davids thinks that Archbishop Powathil has good reasons when he tries to define terms because this will bring us ahead.

The main result of the Balamand declaration is that uniatism and proselytism should not be a method.

The codex unfortunately uses the term *ecclesiae acatholicae*, which is a negative term.

The church as a bridge: it should be built from both sides at the same time.

Mar Severios: Communion among the Roman Catholic Churches is based on the authority of the bishop of Rome. This is a problem to us. In the Catholic Church there exists only one church *sui iuris* which is the Church of Rome.

Archbishop Powathil: If we want to take away suspicion, both sides must consider:

(1) Ecumenical dialogue means accepting the partners as they are.

(2) Let us not use the term "uniate" but Eastern Catholic Church because there are other non-Latin Eastern Catholic churches like the Maronites.

(3) We will have to see primacy in a different perspective. We, the Catholic party, are open with regard to the shape of primacy in the future. Primacy on the basis of jurisdiction is a latecomer. Now there is a further shift in emphasis. And with a shifting of emphasis there are many Roman Catholic Churches *sui iuris*. The present mood is that the Pope allows the local synods to work in their own way. He does not interfere in everything, even though juridically he can. - For us the relationship with the Petrine ministry and Petrine office are very important. But this office can take different forms.

My reference to the three strands concerned the cultural strands. - By my statement on the purity of the Syriac tradition I meant nothing other than that the Syriac tradition was not involved in the imperial conflict. The Indian church was not Nestorian, even though we had East Syrian liturgy. Therefore we should recognize these Churches as true sister Churches.

Archbishop Krikorian: Fr. Tawfiq asked about how we show good will towards the Armenian Catholics. We do not call them uniates but in a brotherly way Armenian Catholic. During the time of Soviet rule, our Catholicos even appointed Armenian Catholics as professors in our seminary. But when they started missionary activities, we had to send them back.

On another occasion, an Armenian Catholic representative was received and greeted by Vasken I and finally we recognized them as a historical reality.

Sixth Working Session: Monday, 4th July, 3.30 p.m.

Chair: Metropolitan Amba Bishoy

At the beginning of the afternoon session the diploma of honorary membership of PRO ORIENTE is presented to Archbishop Aram Keshishian on behalf of Cardinal Groër by the President.

Professor Ishak: (1) What can the Oriental Catholics give us more than liturgy, what is their positive role? In theology they do not believe in infallibility and purgatory. Do they have theological differences with Rome or not? (2) Are the Oriental Catholic Churches ready to stop proselytism?

Father Tawfiq: (1) We must distinguish between official theology and personal convictions which are sometimes against the dogma. As a local church we can have a special attitude contrary to Rome, e.g. mixed marriages with Muslims. We are a church *sui iuris*, we have the C.C.E.O. different from the codex of the Latin Church and there is the possibility of differences from the other Oriental Catholic Churches also. (2) As the Coptic Church has not ceased to rebaptize, which we see as proselytism being forced on people without choice, there is proselytism on both sides.

Archbishop Powathil: By the very fact that the new CCEO speaks of the patrimony of the Oriental churches, it is made distinct and legally recognized. They can canonically hold the theological position of their Orthodox counterparts. This freedom we should estimate and make use of in the ecumenical dialogue. On the question of Petrine office, all the Catholics hold to it. For the Oriental churches liturgy is the source of their theology. So, when the liturgy is different, the theology can also be different. There is freedom of diversity within the Catholic Church.

Professor Ishak: The sharia would not permit a Christian to marry a Muslim wife, therefore no mixed marriage is possible in this case. A Muslim again would never accept a Christian marriage, they are not allowed and have no right of decision. To joint the Muslim religion you only have to sign a paper. We demand more.

Archbishop Krikorian has the impression that the Indian church enjoys more freedom than the Coptic Church and that the Armenian Catholics are not allowed to have a different theological position.

In the West, some theologians dare to bring new interpretations of theological questions. But in principle the Roman Catechism and teaching is binding for all Catholics.

I have great understanding for the Christians in Egypt, Orthodox or Catholic, they are in a special situation. But I do not understand why they rebaptize other Christians, including Armenian Orthodox. The theological reasons are not clear, an explanation would be helpful.

Father Tawfiq: In Egypt there used to be no rebaptism until 15 years ago. There can be no theological reasons in the Alexandrine tradition or in Coptic Orthodox theology.

Archbishop Powathil: I also distinguish between doctrine and theology. Catechism is a convenium of doctrines. The new Roman Catechism, which presents the Latin expression of their faith, was printed because Rome felt that in many places Christian doctrine was not taught in its integrity.

Prof. Koodapuzha: The quality of identity and freedom within the Catholic Church in the post Vatican II period has changed considerably. According to the declaration of the Council, all churches have the same rights, the emphasis lies on diversity and communion: diversity in liturgy, theology, discipline. This diversity acknowledges catholicity.

We, the Syro-Malabar Church, have been able to establish nine new dioceses in our tradition, all outside Kerala, and there is a lot of difference in the practice of pastoral care. For instance, a new diocese for the Syro-Malabar immigrants from Kerala is created in Kalyan near Bombay. The tide has turned since Vatican II. The Decree on Ecumenism declares that all these traditions are complementary and represent the Catholic fullness.

Mar Severios: I was under the impression that that there is doctrinal identity within the Roman union. Can any of the Latin participants explain this allowance and the reason behind it?

Monsignor Fortino: I think the profession of faith of all Catholics is the same. The reflection on this faith, coming from reflections on the liturgy, the Fathers, the pastoral and social background of the respective church however, can lead to different results, if they are from Western, Syrian or Greek sources. The reflection on this profession of faith can take a particular orientation, articulation and accent in each place and church. The Decree on Ecumenism says: The reflection in the Oriental Orthodox Church and in the Roman Catholic Church can be complementary. This is much more valid within the Catholic Church. But if Oriental Catholics say something against a very central part of the Catholic faith, this will meet with the intervention of the Catholic Church. In disciplinary matters it can be different. Hence, one must see things in the light of the principle of inculturation.

Archbishop Powathil: The term doctrine may have a different meaning between us. I also favour the word "faith" here rather than "doctrine". The reflections will be different.

President Stirnemann: The filioque was never translated into the vernacular by the Greek Catholics. After Vatican II, the Pope did not want to impose it on them.

Archbishop Krikorian: This is a specific point where the Vatican is tolerant. There seems to be readiness to solve this problem. But due to other reasons this is no argument for demonstrating the tolerance of diversity. But if you, the Indian Catholics enjoy more freedom in general, I congratulate you.

Professor Legrand: I believe, it is a good example. We discussed it with the Greeks in Florence. There was a solution. Procedere in Latin means you can proceed from two principles, in Greek it implies coming from one principle. It relates to the history you have and the language you use.

Archbishop Powathil: For Westerners it is a matter of doctrine. Even in that there is tolerance. I would mention another example: we also use the phrase "Mother of Christ" several times.

Professor Koodapuzha: In disciplinary and administrative matters too there are instances where diversity is allowed. For example, synods, celibacy of priests etc. We, the Syro-Malabar Church in India have the so-called "palliyogam" for parish administration. It is different from other traditions.

Professor Davids: (1) Vatican I was not completed with defining infallibility. (2) Unia-tism is not a method but has behind it different historical developments. So, also proselytism should never be a method. (3) When we speak of the Syriac tradition, we must remember that there is not only the East Syriac but also the West Syriac tradition.

(4) I think that the imagery of bridge-building stems from Catholic theology and therefore I feel that it should be avoided.

Mar Severios: (1) Doctrine and theology are not so sharply distinct in the Orient as it is in the West. (2) Regarding the Latin *procedere*, I think there is not so much difference on the subject. (3) I have a question to Prof. Legrand: how was the solution found in Florence? The Son was considered as a second source?

Professor Legrand: Sometimes theology is not the last word, we may be unable to express the truth. St. Augustine was in favour of *filioque*, Greek church fathers and saints were not. The conclusion was: there must be a truth to our understanding, so they agreed that the two formulas could be in agreement.

Abuna Gabriel is pleased: For the first time I hear that there is no obligation for the Easterners to pray the *filioque*. Maybe this once can also be true for primacy.

Professor Hofrichter: In fact, primacy has to be left open to interpretation. We can learn from the first millennium and the fact that the Pope is acting on different levels, starting actually as the bishop of Rome.

Mar Themotheos: I have three questions to Archbishop Krikorian: Firstly, was there in Armenia an inner-church situation which led to the development of the uniates? Secondly, was there a Byzantine Armenian hierarchy in Armenia? And: Did any other ethnic groups join the church?

Archbishop Krikorian: (1) The rise of uniates in Armenia was a result of both missionaries and political reasons. In the 17th century, the Armenian Orthodox Church was in a very difficult situation. Maybe at that time some said that the Armenian Church could not provide the necessary education. But this does not give the right to found a new church. (2) There were Byzantine Chalcedonians in Armenia. But they were not under Rome. (3) Georgia and Albania (in the Causasus) were missioned through Armenia according to European historians. The Georgians do not accept that. We had no success with the Mongols. Later, due to our political situation, there was not much missionary activity.

Professor Koodapuzha: (1) The liturgical tradition is very much affiliated to identity. Can this also be seen in the Armenian church? (2) The role of the papacy is changing.

Monsignore Fortino: Regarding the relationship of of Oriental Catholic Churches with the Pope, I would like to add: The Vatican Decree on Ecumenism speaks about the Oriental Catholic Churches and states that we must always have in mind their development, especially the situation of the first millennium.

Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Demetrios spoke about primacy and concluded: This subject has to be studied together. We see it as a useful service.

If you compare the Latin and Oriental canons you will find: The service of unity given to the Pope is expressed differently. E.g. the Pope does not nominate patriarchs, they

are elected by the respective synods, but he nominates the bishops of the Western Church.

Amba Bishoy: Ephesians 4,5 says: one Lord, one faith, one baptism. This is the Coptic Orthodox theological explanation also pointed out in Prof. Ishak's paper page 65/6 (3.3.1.2: Invalid Baptism). For us there are differences of faith with the Catholic Church. This is why there are dialogues. If we lift our anathemas in the near future, as I hope, then we can have full communion and recognition of all the sacraments. In fact, there is evidence of a larger degree of freedom in the Catholic Church today. Secondly, the reconciliation of Florence did not stand. If we agree on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, we can have full union while you keep from the Father and the Son. But the Greek text cannot include the *filioque*. For some procession through the Son is not a source but a channel. I cannot say that we accepted this position.

Archbishop Krikorian: (1) Still, I do not understand that rebaptism is justified. We have the same Bible, Creed, etc. why then rebaptize? (2) Our liturgy has different elements from Caesarea, Jerusalem etc. Some small things were taken from the Latin liturgy during the crusades. (3) I do not think that the Oriental Catholics are allowed to elect their bishops. In the Armenian Church it is a democratic election. I think it is not so in the Catholic Church.

Father Tawfiq brings up the role of the Ethiopian Church and the primacy of the Church of Alexandria, but there is no more time to discuss the question.

Mar Gregorios: All the Oriental Orthodox Churches, or at least the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, differ in their position on rebaptism from that of the Coptic Orthodox Church. We do not rebaptize. According to the letters of Mar Severios of Antioch, it is known that in the 6th century followers of the so-called heresies were also not rebaptized when re-joining the Church.

The Council of Florence would not be considered a model for the unity of the Church. Firstly, because for us, many documents concerning our presence at this Council are false. Secondly, according to our historical sources, the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch was not at all present at the Council of Florence. For these above mentioned reasons, we need to know more about the contribution of the Oriental Catholics to the issue of unity.

Seventh working session: Tuesday, 5th July, 9.00 a.m. and

Eighth working session: Tuesday, 5th July, 3.00 p.m.

Chair: President Alfred Stirnemann

The whole day was spent for the draft of the report of the study seminar and the discussion of that draft. In the late afternoon session an agreed report was finalized. In the morning session the Archbishop of Vienna, Hans Hermann Cardinal Groer, was also present and then joined the participants for lunch.

**Agreed Report on the third PRO ORIENTE Study Seminar
"Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church"
(Vienna, 1 - 5 July 1994).**

At the invitation of PRO ORIENTE a third study seminar was held in Vienna, in the Bildungshaus Lainz, from 1-5 July 1994, on the theme "Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church." Its purpose was to continue the work started at the two previous study seminars on "Primacy", in 1991, and on "Concils and Conciliarity", in 1992.

The main theme this time was a comparative study of the ecclesiologies of the Catholic and the Oriental Orthodox Churches with special attention given to the place of the Oriental Catholic Churches. A number of specialists on this subject and theologians of the Oriental Orthodox and Oriental Catholic Churches took part in the presentations and discussions.

The general theme was introduced by two presentations on "Ecclesiology and the search for communion between East and West": one from the Catholic side by Prof. Fr. Hervé Legrand OP(Paris) and one from the Oriental Orthodox side by Prof. Emile Maher Ishak (Cairo), of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

Two general briefings were given to the participants as a contribution to the discussions:

1. "The Current Theological Discussion of the Problems of Uniatism and Proselytism in the Framework of the Theological Dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox", by Fr. Frans Bouwen PA (Jerusalem);

2. "The Ecclesiological and Canonical Status of the Oriental Catholic Churches according to Vaticanum II and the Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (1991)", by Prof. Richard Potz (Vienna).

"The role of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Search for Communion between East and West" was introduced by two representatives of the Oriental Orthodox Churches: Archbishop Mar Gregorios of Aleppo of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, and Archbishop Mesrob K. Krikorian of Vienna of the Armenian Apostolic Church of Etchmiadzin, as well as by two representatives of the Oriental Catholic Churches: Fr. Makarios Tawfiq (Cairo) of the Coptic Catholic Church, and Archbishop Mar Joseph Powathil of Changanacherry of the Syro-Malabar Church.

The discussions that followed the introductory papers were characterized by a spirit of fraternal openness, brotherly love and peaceful joy in the Holy Spirit. The main elements of the common reflection can be summarized in the following points.

Both the Roman Catholic and the Oriental Orthodox families of churches seek unity on the basis of an Ecclesiology of communion. Communion, though having a broad spectrum of meanings primarily signifies eucharistic communion in both our traditions.

On each place where the Eucharist is celebrated in the one faith and around the bishop in the Apostolic succession the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church is present in its fullness. This local church is in communion with all other churches that celebrate the same Eucharist in the same Apostolic Faith. The links of communion are the bishops. The worldwide church (Church universal) is a communion of local Churches, bound together at every level by ways of a conciliar fellowship. It is within

this conciliarity that the presence and function of Primacy should be seen, at the local, regional and universal levels.

Churches in full communion with each other are Sister Churches in the full sense of the word. In spite of the fact that the Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches are not yet in full communion, they have already so much in common regarding Apostolic Faith and sacramental life that they can call each other Sister Churches, although in a still imperfect way.

We commonly recognize that in each one of our traditions we have some difficulties in expressing church unity at the regional level or within the wider context of our communions. Having this problem in common, we believe that we can learn from each other and we hope that reflecting in common we shall find better ways to express the full catholicity of the One Church.

For the time being, divergences appear between Roman Catholic and Oriental Orthodox traditions in understanding the wider character of ecclesial communion.

While the Roman Catholic Church can qualify itself as a communion of churches, it sets the principle of communion with the Bishop of Rome as successor of Peter as an essential condition for this ecclesial authenticity of the churches and their communion. The concepts of the universal church and universal primacy of the Bishop of Rome are integral to this understanding of communion.

The Orthodox Churches maintain the principle of eucharistic communion in one faith between this local churches in a conciliar context as a sufficient expression of the ecclesiology of communion. Integral to this communion is the catholicity of the church understood as the fullness of truth which includes historical and geographical elements. In a situation of true unity it is this mutual communion among this churches that becomes the essential and visible sign of the ecclesial authenticity of churches. It does not require any exclusive authentication by any one See within this communion.

The integral connection between ecclesiality, catholicity, conciliarity, primacy and unity cannot be underestimated. The holistic nature of unity as understood in Western and Eastern traditions demands that we consider these elements not in isolation, but in their constant mutual interactions.

A deep awareness of the undivided church is ingrained in our different ecclesiological positions. The vision of one church arises from the reality of the one Body of Christ.

The concept and practice of primacy and in particular the nature of the interrelation between primacy and conciliarity at the universal level constitute one of the main and most sensitive points of difference between the Catholic and Oriental Orthodox Churches. Common reflection and research should continue in order to clarify the principles and to come to a commonly acceptable practice.

The quality of the relations between the local Churches and the worldwide Church, in full respect for the distinct identity and the legitimate diversity of the traditions is intimately linked with the interrelations between primacy and conciliarity, especially on the universal level.

Some form of primacy is recognized in the present historical life of all our churches. While in the Roman Catholic traditions primacy of the bishop of Rome is understood to be the guarantee and indispensable condition of communion between local churches, in the Oriental Orthodox traditions primacy arises out of the experience of communion, without the concept and practice of jurisdiction. In the Oriental Ortho-

dox view primacy at different levels is consequential to communion within and between local churches. Although primacy may in turn pastorally nourish this existing communion, in the form of a ministry for unity it is not the condition of existence or criterion of authenticity of the communion among local churches.

The Roman primacy understands itself as a binding test of authentic ecclesial communion and it appears to the Oriental Orthodox to be of mainly jurisdictional character.

The traditional expressions used to qualify primacy in the Orthodox tradition like primacy of honour, primacy of love and primacy among equals - all pointing to the same reality - presuppose eucharistic communion and conciliar consensus as conditions. They do not suggest necessarily any jurisdictional character. Primacy can be the expression of conciliarity but not vice versa.

It is against the background of the tragedy of the division within the one Body of Christ and the untiring efforts of the churches to fulfil the will of Christ that "they may be one", that the origin and history of the Oriental Catholic Churches have often to be seen. Without questioning the sincerity of the intentions of the persons involved, it is now possible to say that these efforts did not succeed to restore unity. On the contrary they led often to new divisions and to new sufferings.

Now that fraternal relations have been re-established between the Catholic Church and all of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, it is desirable that the Oriental Catholic Churches be integrated in this common search for unity.

Thus we are glad to see that in fact, the respective Oriental Catholic Churches have been fully involved in the official dialogue that the Catholic Church has initiated with the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church and the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church. Likewise we hope that similar dialogue may whenever possible, emerge with the other Oriental Orthodox Churches.

This integration of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the common search for unity is possible and profitable only if certain conditions are fulfilled. In the first place, every proselytism, every aim of expansion of one church at the expense of the other or every purpose of the passing of people of one church to another should be clearly eliminated. Pastoral, educational and social activities that involve faithful of the other church should not be undertaken without the knowledge, the approval and the cooperation of the authorities of that church. Moreover, the aim should be to come to a mutual consultation and collaboration beyond a mere peaceful living side by side.

We welcome fully the directives given by the church authorities in this sense, as well as the common principles and practical rules evolved in the dialogues between the Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches, between the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church.

It was stressed that the declarations of principles are not sufficient. Experience shows that there is often a wide gap between the texts and their implementation in the life of the Churches. First, it is of great importance that the principles agreed upon and the decisions taken at the level of authority are in fact communicated to the bishops, the priests and the faithful on all levels. Secondly, concrete ways and means should be explored, according to the different local circumstances, to promote a real change in mentality and attitude in the relations among our Churches. There is also hope that the Churches will be able to take concrete steps aiming to lift and to remove the feelings of suspicion of proselytism that weigh on them and hinder mutual trust. In certain places,

the creation of joint local workgroups or commissions maybe advisable in order to facilitate implementation and to evaluate the situation in common.

There is not only need for dialogue between the Churches of the East and West. There is perhaps still a greater need of dialogue between East (Oriental Orthodox) and East (Oriental Catholic) on the local level. Together they have the same history and the same tradition. They live side by side most of the time and are confronted with the same difficulties and challenges.

The fact that the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the respective Oriental Catholic Churches have a different and at times conflicting reading of their common history can cause misunderstanding and mistrust. Efforts for a common reading of history would therefore be very helpful to facilitate mutual acceptance and collaboration.

It is an encouraging sign that some Oriental Orthodox and Oriental Catholic Churches are already involved in dialogue and collaboration in the frame of national or regional ecumenical organizations, like for instance the Middle East Council of Churches.

It is not yet entirely clear what other role the Oriental Catholic Churches can play in the search for communion between East and West. In fact, it is generally accepted that the present status of the Oriental Catholic Churches in the Catholic Communion is essentially of a provisional nature. That is clear as well from the texts of Vatican II as from the Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (1991). Their present status cannot be a model of possible future relations between the Oriental Orthodox Churches and Rome in case of unity.

Nevertheless the Oriental Orthodox Churches do not remain unaffected in front of certain direct interventions of the authorities of Rome in the life of the Oriental Catholic Churches. Sometimes they are for them a cause of concern raising the question of liberty in the church, and whether a real respect for diversity in unity is concretely possible, because of the ways the Roman Primacy is being exercised. A more harmonious development in this field could help to dissipate certain apprehensions.

The Oriental Catholics think that they still have a role to play within the Catholic Church in the search for unity between East and West. Their presence in the Catholic Communion can help the Latin Church to discover in an even more concrete way that she does not on her own represent the whole Christian tradition, that diversity exists and is an enrichment for the Church of Christ. In this way, they think that they have the task to open the Catholic Communion to the diversity of the East and to prepare it to welcome the Oriental churches and their traditions as authentic, rich and important.

At the conclusion of the Study Seminar some concrete suggestions were made for future study or action, in PRO ORIENTE or elsewhere, to facilitate a harmonious development of the relations between the Oriental Orthodox and the Oriental Catholic Churches in the search for full communion between the Catholic Church and the family of Oriental Orthodox Churches:

1. The method of organizing study seminars should also in the future be maintained, however there could be an introductory part in them, in order to reconsider those parts of previous Study Seminars, which treated similar subjects and strict chairing should prevent repetition of already studied problems.
2. As the problem of Primacy seems to be the most difficult of all, this subject should be approached from different sides in order to consider various approaches such as: Jurisdiction (episcopate, primacy and synod; distinction between the powers

Selected Literature on the Topic of Ecclesiology and the Unity of the Church

1. Study Papers and Reports:

- Chiese locali e cattolicità.* Atti del Colloquio internazionale di Salamanca. 2-7 aprile 1991, Bologna 1994.
- Church and World.* The unity of the church and the renewal of human community. Geneva 1990 (= *Faith & Order Paper 151*).
- Common Witness and Proselytism.* A study of the Joint Working Group between the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, in: *The ecumenical review* 33 (1971) 9-20.
- Déclaration commune* du Comité orthodoxe-catholique romain des États-Unis sur les tentions en Europe orientale en relation avec l'„Uniatisme“ 28 mai 1992, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 488-490.
- Die eine Kirche und die vielen Kirchen.* 5. Theologische Konferenz, 12. bis 14. April 1973 in Wien-Lainz, in: PRO ORIENTE (ed.): *Ökumene, Konzil, Unfehlbarkeit.* Innsbruck, Wien, München 1979 (= PRO ORIENTE Bd. 4), 91-189.
- Die Einheit der Kirche.* Materialien zur ökumenischen Bewegung. München 1965.
- Documentation on Ecumenical Statements and Initiatives* of the Holy See in regard to Central and Eastern Europe in the New Situation, in: Information Service (The Pontifical Council For Promoting Christian Unity) 81 (1992) 61-158.
- Dossier sur l'Uniatisme* (II), in: *Courrier Oecuménique du Moyen-Orient* 14-15 (II/III-1991).
- Dossier sur l'Uniatisme* (III), in: *Courrier Oecuménique du Moyen-Orient* 18 (III-1992).
- Dossier sur l'Uniatisme: Balamand 1993*, in: *Courrier Oecuménique du Moyen-Orient* 21 (III-1993).
- Église locale et église universelle.* Ed. Centre orthodoxe du Patriarcat oecuménique. Chambésy/Genf 1981 (= *Les Études Theologiques de Chambésy* 1).
- Kirchen in Gemeinschaft – Gemeinschaft der Kirche.* Studie des Deutschen Ökumenischen Studienausschusses zu Fragen der Ekklesiologie. Ed. Neuner, Peter, Ritschl Dietrich. Frankfurt/Main 1993 (= *Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau* 66).
- L'uniatisme, methode d'union du passé, et recherche actuelle de la pleine communion.* Le document d'Ariccìa 15 juin 1991, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 491-498; *Ostkirchliche Studien* 49 (1991) 319-323.
- Les Églises orientales catholiques et l'oecuménisme.* Aspects ecclésiologiques du thème. Conclusions du Colloque de Chevetogne 1992, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 440-448.
- On the Way to Fuller Koinonia.* Official report of the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order Santiago de Compostela, August 1993. Geneva 1994 (= *Faith & Order Paper 166*).
- Proselytism, Sects and Pastoral Challenges.* A Study Document. Middle East Council of Churches 1990.
- The Church and the Churches.* Autonomy and Autocephaly. 2 vols. Vienna 1980/1981 (= *Kanon. Yearbook of the Society for the Law of the Oriental churches* IV and V).

of ordination and jurisdiction); Local and Universal Church - ethnicity and Church; the Petrine office as seen in the Second Vatican Council; Infallibility of the Church.

3. Symposia of Church historians and teachers of history in Church seminars should be convened in view of a common reading of history.

4. Common research work on controversial questions, such as the origins of the Oriental Catholic Churches.

5. Study on not outspoken emotional reservations as a motivation to uphold division among Christians.

6. A common study of obstacles to unity on the local level, encouraging the dialogue between the Churches on the local level, especially by establishing information flow (information service and exchange of documents to promote a better understanding of the other side).

7. Elaboration of hypothetical models of unity with a view on future ecumenical possibilities at least on the local level.

8. Working out of the best model of future union among the Churches with special attention on practical problems.

The visit of His Eminence Cardinal Hans Hermann Groër at the last session of the Study Seminar was welcomed cordially by the participants. Words of greetings were exchanged by His Eminence and the chair. The presence of the Cardinal was regarded as a sign of encouragement for the ecumenical dialogue.

All the participants express their gratitude to PRO ORIENTE for this occasion of being together as brothers in the One Lord, working in the One Spirit for the Unity of the One Church to the Glory of the One Father.

The Nature of the Church: Papers presented to the Theological Commission Appointed by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order. London 1952.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church. Documents (1973-1988), in: Information Service (The Pontifical Council For Promoting Christian Unity) 76 (1991) 1-33.

Towards Visible Unity. Ed. by Kinnamon Michael. Geneva 1982 (= *Faith & Order Paper* 113).

Uniatism, Method of Union of the Past, and the present Search for full Communion (Joint International Commission for the Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, Balamand 1993), in: Information Service (The Pontifical Council For Promoting Christian Unity) 83 (1993) 95-99.

Uniatism, method of union of the past and the present search for full Communion. Document of the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. Balamand Statement, June 1993. French version: *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 347-356.

Unity and Renewal. A study guide for local groups. Programme on the unity of the church and the renewal of human community. Geneva 1987 (= *Faith & Order Paper* 136).

2. Monographs:

Antón A. La Iglesia de Cristo. Madrid 1977.

Barauna Guilherme (ed.) De Ecclesia. Beiträge zur Konstitution Über die Kirche“ des II. Vatikanischen Konzils. 2. Bde. Freiburg, Frankfurt 1966.

Bassett W. The Determination of Rite (Analecta Gregoriana 157), Rom 1967.

de Bernardis L.M. Note sulla sinodalità nelle chiese orientali, in: Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'oriente e d'occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.2, 1994, 193 ff.

Best Thomas F. (ed.) Beyond Unity-in-Tension. Unity, renewal and the community of women and men. Geneva 1988 (= *Faith & Order Paper* 138).

Bharanikulangara K. An Introduction to the Ecclesiology and Contents of the Oriental Code, in: Chiramel J., Bharanikulangara K. (Hrsg.), The Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches. A Study and Interpretation. Essays in Honour of Joseph Cardinal Parecattil, President, Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Eastern Canon Law, Alwaye 1992, 11-38.

Bonhoeffer Dietrich. Sanctorum Communio. Eine dogmatische Untersuchung zur Soziologie der Kirche. 4. Aufl. München 1969.

Bouyer Louis. L'Église de Dieu, corps du Christ et temple de l'Esprit. Paris 1970.

Buri Fritz/Lochman Jan M./Ott Heinrich. Dogmatik im Dialog. Bd. I: Die Kirche und die letzten Dinge. Gütersloh 1973.

Camelot Pierre-Thomas. Die Lehre von der Kirche. Väterzeit bis ausschließlich Augustinus. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1970 (= Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte III/3b).

Chiramel J. Hierarchical Structuring in the Oriental Legislation, in: Chiramel J., Bharanikulangara K. (Hrsg.), The Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches. A Study

and Interpretation. Essays in Honour of Joseph Cardinal Parecattil, President, Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Eastern Canon Law, Alwaye 1992, 91-107.

Congar Yves. Die Lehre von der Kirche. Vom Abendländischen Schisma bis zur Gegenwart. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1971 (= Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte III/3d).

Congar Yves. Die Lehre von der Kirche. Von Augustinus bis zum Abendländischen Schisma. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1971 (= Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte III/3c).

Congar Yves. Diversité et communion: Dossier historique et conclusion théologique. Paris 1982.

Congar Yves. Heilige Kirche. Ekklesiologische Studien und Annäherungen. Stuttgart 1966.

Cattaneo A. Il presbiterio della chiesa particolare (Questioni sollevate dalla dottrina canonistica ed ecclesiologica postconciliare), in: *Ius Ecclesiae* V/2 (1993) 497 ff.

Cullmann Oscar. Einheit durch Vielfalt. Grundlegung und Beitrag zur Diskussion über die Möglichkeiten ihrer Verwirklichung. Tübingen 1986.

De Lubac Henri. Die Kirche. Einsiedeln 1968.

De Lubac Henri. Les Églises particulières dans l'Église universelle. Paris 1971.

Dias Patrick V. Kirche. In der Schrift und im 2. Jahrhundert. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1974 (= Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte III/3a).

Döring Heinrich. Grundriß der Ekklesiologie. Zentrale Aspekte des katholischen Selbstverständnisses und ihre ökumenische Relevanz. Darmstadt 1986.

Döring Heinrich. Kirchen - unterwegs zur Einheit. Das Ringen um die sichtbare Einheit der Kirche in den Dokumenten der Weltkirchenkonferenzen. Eine phänomenologisch-theologische Betrachtung. München, Paderborn, Wien 1969.

Dulles Avery. Models of the Church. A critical Assessment of the Church in All Its Aspects. Garden City-New York 1987.

Dumont C. Concile oecuménique Vatican II - L'Église, l'oecuménisme, les Églises Orientales, Paris 1965.

Duquoc Christian. Kirchen unterwegs. Versuch einer ökumenischen Ekklesiologie. Freiburg/Schweiz 1985.

de Ercole I./de Vries A.M. Comunione Interecclesiale: Collegialità - Primato - Ecumenismo 1/2 (Communio 12/13), Rom 1972.

Esposito R.F. Il Decreto conciliare sulle Chiese orientali. Testo e commentato, Rom 1966.

Faris J.D. The Eastern Catholic Churches: Constitution and Governance According to the "Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches", New York 1992.

Faris J.D. Eastern Catholic Churches: Constitution and Governance, New York 1992.

Fortino E.F. La fisionomia di una Chiesa orientale cattolica nel Concilio Vaticano II: Oriente Cristiano 29 (1989) 3-18.

Fries Heinrich/Rahner Karl. Einigung der Kirchen – reale Möglichkeit. Mit einer Bilanz „Zustimmung und Kritik“ von Heinrich Fries. 2. Aufl. der Sonderausgabe. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1983 (= Sonderausgabe von QD 100). English version: Unity of the Churches: An Actual Possibility. Philadelphia 1985.

Fries Heinrich. Das Mysterium der Kirche. Würzburg 1966.

Garijo-Guembe Miguel M. Gemeinschaft der Heiligen. Grund, Wesen und Struktur der Kirche. Düsseldorf 1988.

Gassmann Günther/Meyer Harding (eds.): The Unity of the Church: Requirements and Structures. Geneva 1983.

- Groscurth Reinhard (ed.) *What Unity Implies. Six essays after Uppsala.* Geneva 1969.
- Habbi J. La structure patriarcale de l'Église, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale. Incontro fra canonici d'oriente e d'occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.2, 1994, 157 ff.*
- Hasenbüttl Gotthold. *Herrschaftsfreie Kirche. Soziotheologische Grundlegung.* Düsseldorf 1974.
- de la Hera A. La suprema autoridad de la iglesia en la codificación canónica latina, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'oriente e d'occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.1, 1994, 393 ff.*
- Horst Ulrich. *Umstrittene Fragen der Ekklesiologie.* Regensburg 1971.
- Huber Wolfgang. *Kirche.* München 1988.
- Jensen Anne. Die Zukunft der orthodoxen Konzilspläne und Kirchenstrukturen. Mit einem Vorwort von Metropolit Damaskinos. Zürich, Einsiedeln, Köln 1986 (= *Ökumenische Theologie* 14).
- Kehl Medard. *Die Kirche. Eine katholische Ekklesiologie.* Würzburg 1992.
- Kehl Medard.: *Kirche als Institution. Zur theologischen Begründung des institutionellen Charakters der Kirche in der neueren deutschsprachigen katholischen Ekklesiologie.* 2. Aufl. Frankfurt 1978.
- Keller M. „Volk Gottes“ als Kirchenbegriff. Einsiedeln 1970.
- Klinger Elmar. *Ekklesiologie der Neuzeit. Grundlegung bei Melchior Cano und Entwicklung bis zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil.* Freiburg 1976.
- Klostermann Ferdinand. *Kirche – Ereignis und Institution. Überlegungen zur Herrschafts- und Institutionsproblematik in der Kirche.* Wien 1976.
- Kress Robert. *The Church: Communion, Sacrament, Communication.* New York 1985.
- Küng Hans. *Die Kirche.* 4. Aufl. Freiburg 1973.
- Küng Hans. *Strukturen der Kirche.* Freiburg 1962 (= *Questiones disputatae* 17).
- Küng Hans. *Wahrhaftigkeit. Zur Zukunft der Kirche.* Freiburg 1968.
- Madey Johannes. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum: More than Twenty Years After,* Paderborn 1987.
- Manna S./Distante G. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum - Decreto sulle Chiese Orientali Cattoliche,* Casale Monferrato 1986.
- Mar Baselios C. *Ecclesial Perspectives Emerging from the New Code of Canon Law for the Oriental Catholic Churches,* Kottayam 1991.
- Marchetto A. In partem sollicitudinis... non in plenitudinem potestatis. *Evoluzione e Fortuna di una formula di rapporto Primato - Episcopato,* in: *Apollinaris* 66 (1993) 451-485.
- Meyendorff John. (Hrsg.), *The Primacy of Peter. Essays in Ecclesiology and the Early Church.* Crestwood, NY 1992.
- Monneron Jean-Louis. *L'Église: institution et foi.* Brüssel 1979.
- Müller H. Die Leitung der Partikularkirche nach dem neuen lateinischen Kirchenrecht: *Kanon 7* (1985) 54-73
- Müller H./Pottmeyer H. (Hrsg.), *Die Bischofskonferenz. Theologischer und juristischer Status,* Düsseldorf 1989
- Pallath P. *The Synod of Bishops of Catholic Oriental Churches,* Rom 1994.
- Papandreou D. *Orthodoxie und Ökumene. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* Stuttgart 1986.
- Peri V. *Chiesa romana e "rito" greco.* G.A. Santoro e la Congregazione dei Greci (1566 - 1596), Brescia 1975.
- Peri V. *Orientalis Varietas, Roma e le Chiese d'Oriente - Storia e Diritto canonico,* Rom 1995.
- Pospishil V.J. *Eastern Catholic Church Law,* Brooklyn-New York 1993.
- Primum Regnum Dei. *Die Patriarchalstruktur der Kirche als Angelpunkt der Wiedervereinigung. Die Konzilsrede von Abt J. Hoeck, kommentiert von F. Gahbauer,* Ettal 1987.
- PRO ORIENTE (ed.) *Konziliarität und Kollegialität als Strukturprinzipien der Kirche. Das Petrusamt in ökumenischer Sicht. Christus und seine Kirche – christologische und ekklesiologische Aspekte.* Innsbruck, Wien, München 1975 (= PRO ORIENTE Bd. 1).
- PRO ORIENTE (ed.) *Auf dem Weg zur Einheit des Glaubens. Koinonia - Erstes ekklesiologisches Kolloquium zwischen orthodoxen und römisch-katholischen Theologen. Referate und Protokolle.* Innsbruck, Wien, München 1976 (= PRO ORIENTE Bd.2). French version: *Istina* 20 (1975).
- PRO ORIENTE (ed.). *Ökumene, Konzil, Unfehlbarkeit.* Innsbruck, Wien, München 1979 (= PRO ORIENTE Bd. 4).
- Pujol C. *Decretum Concilii Vaticani II "Ecclesiarum Orientalium". Textus et Commentarium,* Rom 1970.
- Pujol C. *The Care and Organization of Particular Churches (Second Vatican Council-Decree "Orientalium Ecclesiarum", n.4). (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 186),* Rom 1970, 209-224.
- Ratzinger Joseph. *Das neue Volk Gottes. Entwürfe zur Ekklesiologie.* 2. Aufl. Düsseldorf 1970.
- Ratzinger Joseph. *Unità e pluralismo nella Chiesa dal Concilio al Post-concilio, Quaderni di o Odigos* 1985.
- Roberti Jean-Claude. *Les Uniates,* Paris 1992, 129 p.
- Saier O. "Communio" in der Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils, *Münchener Theologische Studie,* 32. Bd., III. Kanonistische Abteilung, München 1973.
- Schillebeeckx Edward. *Menschen. Die Geschichte von Gott.* Basel, Wien 1990, especially 188-307.
- Schulz Hans-Joachim. *Ökumenische Glaubenseinheit aus eucharistischer Überlieferung.* Paderborn 1976 (= *Konfessionskundliche und kontroverstheologische Studien* 39).
- Schüssler Fiorenza F. *Foundational Theology. Jesus and the Church.* New York 1984.
- Schütte Heinz. *Kirche im ökumenischen Verständnis. Kirche des dreieinigen Gottes.* Paderborn, Frankfurt 1991.
- Suttner E. *Chr. Church Unity: Union or Uniatism? Catholic-Orthodox Ecumenical Perspectives (Placid Lecture Series 13),* Rome-Bangalore 1991
- Thornhill J. *Sign and Promise. A Theology of the Church for a Changing World.* London 1988.
- Tillard Jean M. R. *Église d'Églises. L'ecclésiologie de communion.* Paris 1987.
- Trembelas Panagiotis. *Dogmatique de l'Église orthodoxe catholique.* 2 vols. Chevetogne 1967.
- Van der Ven Johannes A. *Kontextuelle Ekklesiologie.* Düsseldorf 1995.
- Vischer Lukas (ed.). *What Kind of Unity.* Geneva 1974 (= *Faith & Order Paper* 70).

- Vries Wilhelm de.* Orient et Occident. Les structures ecclésiales vues dans l'histoire des sept premiers conciles œcuméniques. Paris 1974.
- Werbeck Jürgen.* Kirche. Ein ekklesiologischer Entwurf für Studium und Praxis. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1994.
- Wiedenhofer Siegfried.* Das katholische Kirchenverständnis. Ein Lehrbuch der Ekklesiologie. Graz 1992.
- Zirker Hans.* Ekklesiologie. Düsseldorf 1984.
- Zoghby Élias.* Tous schismatiques? Beyrouth 1981

3. Individual Contributions:

- Altissimo Lorenzo C.* Problema degli uniati oggi, in: Studi ecumenici 9 (1991) 7-18
- Alzati Cesare.* Chiesa romana e Oriente cristiano tra medioevo ed età moderna. Il problema degli Uniti, in: Nicolaus 20 (1993) 31-54.
- Arrieta J.I.* Chiesa particolare e circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche, in: Ius Ecclesiae 6 (1994) 3-40.
- Assimakis G.* L'ecclésiologia nei documenti della Commissione mista di dialogo teologico tra la Chiesa cattolica romana e la Chiesa ortodossa nei primi dieci anni della sua attività (1980-1990), in: Oriente Cristiano 33 (1993) 3ff.
- Basarab Mircea.* Uniatismus und Proselytismus auf der Tagesordnung des internationalen katholisch-orthodoxen Dialog, in: Una Sancta 45 (1990) 321-323, 329.
- Basarab Mircea.* Der Uniatismus und der katholisch-orthodoxe Dialog, in: Una Sancta 46 (1991) 255-262.
- Basarab Mircea.* Balamand – und wie geht es weiter? Der orthodox-katholische Dialog muß weitergehen, in: Una Sancta 50 (1995) 69-75.
- Baum Gregory.* Die ekklesiale Wirklichkeit der anderen Kirchen, in: Concilium 1 (1965) 291-303.
- Bea A.* Communio Interecclesiale ed Ecumenismo, in: I. D' Ercole/A.M. Stickler (ed.), Comunione Interecclesiale: Collegialità - Primato - Ecumenismo 2 (Communio 13), Rom 1972, 1003-1019.
- Beaupère René.* Catholicisme et orthodoxie. Nouvelles tensions et ecclésiologie, in: Lumière et vie 201 (1991) 5-19.
- Beinert Wolfgang.* Kirchenbilder in der Kirchengeschichte, in: Beinert Wolfgang (ed.) Kirchenbilder, Kirchenvisionen. Variationen über eine Wirklichkeit. Regensburg 1995, 58-127.
- Bertrams W.* De Gradibus "Communio" in doctrina Concilii Vaticani II., in: Gregorianum 47 (1966) 286-305.
- Best Thomas F.* Models of Unity, in: One World 132 (1988).
- Biedermann Hermenegild M.* Orthodoxie und Unia. Das Dokument von Balamand (17-24.6.1993), in: Ostkirchliche Studien 44 (1995) 11-32.
- Bobrinskoy Boris.* L'uniatisme à la lumière des ecclésiologies qui s'affrontent, in: Irénikon 65 (1992) 423-439.
- Borowoj Vitalij.* Ekklesiologie und Ökumene, in: Piffli-Percevic Theodor/Stirnemann Alfred: Ökumenische Hoffnungen. Neun PRO ORIENTE-Symposien 1965 bis 1970. Innsbruck, Wien 1984 (= PRO ORIENTE Bd. 7), 209-220.
- Borras A.* Les limites canoniques de l'identité, catholique. A propos de quelques situations problématiques, in: Concilium 255 (1994) 63-76.

- Bouwen Frans.* Churches, Sister, in: Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement (ed. N. Lossky, J.M. Bonino, J. Pobee, T. Stransky, G. Wainwright, P. Webb), Geneva, WCC Publications, 1991. 186-187.
- Bouwen Frans.* Eastern Catholic Churches, in: Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement. Geneva, WCC Publications, 1991, 310-311.
- Bouwen Frans.* Balamand 1993. VIIe session de la Commission internationale pour le dialogue théologique entre l'Église catholique et l'Église orthodoxe, in: Proche-Orient Chrétien 43, 1993, 91-112.
- Breuning Wilhelm.* Die Konstitution über die Kirche, in: Schuh Karlheinz: (ed.): Die ökumenische Bedeutung der Konzilsbeschlüsse. Hildesheim 1986.
- Broggi M.* Aperture ecumeniche del Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium, in: Antonianum 66 (1991) 455-468.
- Broggi M.* Strutture delle Chiese Orientali sui juris secondo il CCEO in: Apollinaris 65 (1992) 299-312.
- Chapman Mark E.* The Unity of the Church and the Truth of the Gospel, in: One in Christ 26 (1990) 68-79.
- Chez, Maurice.* Évangélisation et prosélytisme en théologie catholique, in: Irénikon 68 (1995) 43-63.
- Cioffari Gerardo.* L'uniatismo: una sfida per la storiografia e l'ecumenismo, in: Nicolaus 19 (1992) 217-258.
- Cioffari Gerardo.* Il vero uniatismo in un sincero dialogo ecumenico, in: Studi ecumenici 11 (1993) 177-202.
- Clément Olivier.* Ecclésiologie orthodoxe et dialogue œcuménique, in: Contacts 15 (1963) 89-106.
- Congar Y.* Die Wesenseigenschaften der Kirche, in: MySal IV/1, 357-599.
- Congar Y.* Veränderung des Begriffs "Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche", in: IKZ Communio 5 (1976) 207-217.
- Congar Y.* Autonomie et pouvoir central dans l'Église vus par la théologie catholique, in: Kanon 4. (1980) 130-144.
- Corbon Jean.* Les principes catholiques de l'œcuménisme. À quand leur application au Proche-Orient?, in: Proche-Orient Chrétien 37, 1987, 3-21.
- Corbon Jean.* Le document de Balamand 1993 et son impact œcuménique au Proche-Orient, in: Proche-Orient Chrétien 43, 1993, 113-137.
- Corecco E.* Die kulturellen und ekklesiologischen Voraussetzungen des neuen CIC, in: AfkKR 152 (1983) 3-30.
- Corecco E.* Ekklesiologische Grundlagen des Codex Iuris Canonici, in: Concilium 22 (1986) 166-172.
- Davey Colin.* The Doctrine of the Church in International Bilateral Dialogues, in: One in Christ 22 (1986) 134-145.
- Dick Ignace.* Sens et vicissitudes de l'"unitatisme". L'écartèlement de la double fidélité, Beyrouth 1982
- Dragas Georgios.* Orthodox Ecclesiology in outline, in: Greek Orthodox Theological Review 26 (1981) 185-192.
- Dupuy Bernard.* L'Union de Brest jugée avec le recul du temps, in: Iстина 35 (1990), 17-42.
- Duprey P.* La structure synodale de l'Église dans la théologie orientale, in: Proche-Orient Chrétien 20 (1970) 123-145.

- Edelby N.* Our Vocation as Eastern Christians: The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity. ed.: Maximos IV Sayegh, New York 1963.
- Eid E.* La sinodalità nella tradizione orientale, in: La sinodalità nell' ordinamento canonico (1991) 59-84.
- Eid E.* La Synodalità dans la tradition orientale, in: Ephemerides Iuris Canonici 48 (1992) 9-27.
- Eid E.* Les recentes rencontres entre les Églises et leur signification canonique - point de vue catholique, in: Kanon 8 (1987) 85-104.
- Eid E.* Authority and Autonomy (Critical Report), in: Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'Oriente e d'Occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.1, 1994, 417 ff.
- Faltin D.* L'institution synodale dans le Concile Vatican II, in: Kanon 2 (1974) 39-52.
- Faltin D.* L'Unità della Chiesa e la legislazione canonica delle Chiese Orientali, in: Unitas 27 (1972) 161-188.
- Faris J.D.* Synodal Governance in the Eastern Catholic Churches, in: Proceedings of the Canon Law Society of America (1987) 212-226.
- Felmy Karl Christian.* Die Grenzen der Kirche in orthodoxer Sicht. Orthodoxes ekklesiales Selbstverständnis und die Gemeinschaft mit den Kirchen des Westens, in: Evangelische Theologie 37 NF 32 (1977) 459-485.
- Fitzgerald T.* Conciliarity, Primacy and the Episcopacy, in: St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 38 (1994) 17-43.
- Fortino Eleuterio F.* Aspects ecclésiologiques de l'Église italo-albanaise. Tensions et communion, in: Irénikon 65 (1992) 363-386.
- Fortino Eleuterio F.* Evangelizzazione e ecumenismo nei Paesi ortodossi. Per una lettura adeguata del documento della Commissione "Pro Russia", in: Oriente cristiano 33 (1993) n. 1, 39-47.
- Fortino Eleuterio F.* Le Chiese ortodosse e le Chiese orientali cattoliche come Chiese sorelle, in: Oriente Cristiano 33 (1993) 58-66.
- Fries Heinrich.* Wandel des Kirchenbilds und dogmengeschichtlichen Entfaltung, in: My-Sal IV/1, 223-285.
- Fries Heinrich.* Einheit in Sicht? Die Ökumene 20 Jahre nach dem Konzil, in: Ökumenisches Forum, Graz 1984, 65-81.
- Fürst C.G.* Die Bedeutung des Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium für die ostkirchliche Diaspora: ÖAKR 43 (1993) 347 ff.
- Fürst C.G.* L'ecumenismo nel progetto del codice di diritto canonico orientale, in: AA. VV. Portare Cristo all'uomo (Congresso del ventennio dal Concilio Vaticano II), Studia Urbaniana, Rom 1986, 227-233.
- Fürst C.G.* Ökumenismus im Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium, in: Scientia Canonum. Festgabe für F. Pototschnig. hrsg. v. H. Paarhammer/A. Rinnerthaler, München 1991, 415-428.
- Gerosa L.* "De electione episcoporum": un banco di prova della sinodalità secondo la tradizione orientale e latina, in: Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'Oriente e d'Occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.2, 1994, 209 ff.
- Greenacre Roger T.* La signification des Églises orientales catholiques au sein de la communion romaine dans la perspective de "l'Église anglicane unie non absorbée", dans Irénikon 65 (1992) 338-351.
- Greshake Gisbert.* Die Stellung des Protos in der Sicht des römischen-katholischen dogmatischen Dialogs, in: Kanon 9 (1989) 17-50
- Greshake Gisbert.* The Pope's Office of Service: The Scope, Significance and Perspectives of the Decisions Made by the First Vatican Council about the Papal Primacy, in: Milltown Studies (1993) 112-142.
- Haddad Robert M.* Response to Rev. David M. Petras' "The Ecumenical Status of the Eastern Catholic Churches", in: The Greek Orthodox Theological Review 37 (1992) 383-391.
- Hajjar J.* Die Patriarchalsynoden im neuen Codex Canonicus für die katholischen Ostkirchen, in: Concilium 26 (1990) 314-325.
- Hajjar J.* Le Synode Permanent (Synodos Endemousa) dans l'Église byzantine des origines au XIIème siècle (OCA 164), Rom 1962.
- Hajjar J.* Les Synodes d'Églises orientales catholiques et l'Évêque de Rome, in: Kanon 2 (1974) 53-99.
- Halleux André de.* Uniatisme et communion. Le texte catholique-orthodoxe de Freising, in: Revue théologique de Louvain 22 (1991) 3-29.
- Halleux André de.* Concile de Florence : union ou uniatisme? in: Proche-Orient Chrétien 41 (1991) 201-219; Patristic and Byzantine Review 13 (1994) 29-48.
- Hamant Yves.* Les Catholiques et la Russie après la perestroïka, in: Communio 104 (1992) 83-98.
- Hannik Christian.* Annexions et reconquêtes byzantines : peut-on parler d'"uniatisme" byzantin? in: Irénikon 66 (1993) 451-474.
- Harakas Stanley.* The local church. An Eastern Orthodox perspective, in: The Ecumenical Review 29 (1977) 149-153.
- Harkianakis S.* Der offizielle Dialog zwischen der römisch-katholischen und der orthodoxen Kirche, in: Orthodoxes Forum 3 (1989) 149-164.
- Harnoncourt Philipp.* Die Notwendigkeit von bleibenden Spannungen in der Ökumene, in: Brox Norbert et al.: Anfänge der Theologie. FS Johannes B. Bauer. Graz 1987, 337-353.
- Hoek J.M.* Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches, in: H. Vorgrimler (Hrsg.), Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II Bd. 1, New York 1967, 307-330.
- Hotz Robert.* Ex Oriente lux, ex Occidente luxus, in: Lumen vitae 47 (1992) 51-60.
- Houtepen Anton.* Kirche im Werden. Fundamentaltheologische Beiträge zu einer ökumenischen Ekklesiologie, in: Ökumenische Rundschau 36 (1987) 397-420.
- Houtepen Anton.* Towards an Ecumenical Vision of the Church, in: One in Christ 25 (1989) 217-237.
- Hryniewicz Waclaw.* Der „Uniatismus“ im katholisch-orthodoxen Dialog, in: Ostkirchliche Studien 39 (1990) 319-338, 40 (1991) 210-221.
- Hryniewicz Waclaw.* Uniatismus – einst und jetzt. Reflexionen zum Dokument von Balamand (1993), in: Ostkirchliche Studien 43 (1994) 328-339.
- Huenermann P.* Volk Gottes - katholische Kirche - Gemeinde, Dreiheit und Einheit in der Ekklesiologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils, in: Theol. Quartalschrift 175 (1995) 32-45
- KANON* (Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen) - inbes.:
- * *Kanon 2:* The Synods According to the Sources and in their Application Today
 - * *Kanon 3:* The Position of the Laity in the Law of the Oriental Churches
 - * *Kanon 4/5:* The Church and the Churches - Autonomy and Autocephaly

- * *Kanon 7: The Bishop and his Eparchy*
 * *Kanon 8: Interecclesial Relations and Canon Law*
 * *Kanon 9: The 'Protos' and his Jurisdiction*
- Kaiser M.* Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche, in: *IKZ Communio* 5 (1976) 196-206.
- Kasper H.* Kirche als communio. Überlegungen zur ekklesiologischen Leitidee des II. Vatikanischen Konzils, in: *IKZ Communio* 15 (1986).
- Khairallah Philip A.* The Ecumenical Vocation of the Melkite Church, in: *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 30 (1986), 189-216.
- Koodapuzha A.* Ecclesiological Perspectives and the Particular Law of the Syro-Malabar Church, in: *Christian Orient* 13 (1992) 5-22.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Églises unies ou Églises sœurs: un choix inéluctable, in: *Irénikon* 48 (1975) 322-342.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* United Churches or Sister Churches: A Choice to be Faced, in: *One in Christ* 12 (1976) 106-123.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Églises-sœurs: implications ecclésiologiques du Tomos Agapis, in: *Istina* 20, 1975, 47-74.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Schwesterkirchen – Ekklesiologische Aspekte des Tomos Agapis (Koinonia – Erstes ekklesiologisches Kolloquium zwischen orthodoxen und römisch-katholischen Theologen, Wien, PRO ORIENTE), in: *Auf dem Weg zur Einheit des Glaubens*, Innsbruck-Wien-München 1976, 54-82.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* The connection between the post-Tridentine concept of primacy and the emerging of the Uniate Churches (Fourth Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Churches [1978], Vienna, PRO ORIENTE), in: *Wort und Wahrheit*, suppl. issue 4, 1978, 99-108.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* La conception post-tridentine de la Primauté et l'origine des Églises unies, in: *Irénikon* 52 (1979) 5-33.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Les catholiques orientaux: liberté religieuse et œcuménisme, in: *Irénikon* 63, 1990, 20-46.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Présentation du Colloque de Chevetogne 1992: Les Églises orientales catholiques et l'œcuménisme. Aspects ecclésiologiques du thème, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 307-324.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Conclusions du Colloque 1992: Les Églises orientales catholiques et l'œcuménisme. II. Aspects ecclésiologiques du thème, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 440-448.
- Lanne Emmanuel.* Les Églises orientales catholiques: un pont ou un mur? in: *Communio* 104 (1992) 75-82.
- Larentzakis Grigorios.* Unierte Kirchen des Orients, in: *Ökumene Lexikon, Kirchen-Religionen-Bewegungen* (hrsg. H. Krüger, W. Löser, und W. Müller-Römheld), Frankfurt am Main, 1983, 1189-1192.
- Larentzakis Grigorios.* Gemeinsames Zeugnis, Proselytismus und Missionsdisziplin. Ökumenische Grundprinzipien aus orthodoxer Sicht, in: *Ortodoksia* 2 (1995) 96-113.
- Larentzakis Grigorios.* Diachrone ekklesiale Koinonia. Zur Bedeutung der Kirchenväter in der orthodoxen Kirche, in: *Brox Norbert et al.: Anfänge der Theologie.* FS Johannes B. Bauer. Graz 1987. 355-373.
- Larentzakis Grigorios.* Orthodoxie und Katholizismus. Ein Diagramm des gemeinsamen Weges nach dem II. Vatikanum, in: *Ökumenisches Forum*, Graz 1984, 135-142.
- Larentzakis Grigorios.* Trinitarisches Kirchenverständnis, in: *Breuning Wilhelm (Hg): Trinität. Aktuelle Perspektiven der Theologie.* Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1984, 73-96.
- Larentzakis Grigorios.* Vielfalt in der Einheit aus der Sicht der Orthodoxen Kirche. Versuch einer Selbstdarstellung, in: *Ökumenisches Forum. Jahrbuch für konkrete Ökumene* 8 (1985) 65-87.
- Legrand Hervé.* Une éventuelle relance de l'uniatisme pourrait-elle s'appuyer sur Vatican II? Quelques enjeux ecclésiologiques de la crise actuelle autour des Églises unies, in: *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 7-37.
- Limouris Gennadios.* Le COE, Foi et Constitution et la question des Églises catholiques orientales (rite byzantin), in: *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 475-489; 67 (1994) 41-50.
- Löffler Paul.* Proselytism. in: *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement.* Geneva, WCC Publications, 1991, 829-830.
- Löser Werner.* Das Einheits- und Ökumenismusverständnis der römisch-katholischen Kirche, in: *Löser Werner: (ed.): Die Römisch-Katholische Kirche (= Die Kirchen der Welt* 20), 331-345.
- Lossky Nicolas.* De l'uniatisme à l'unité : le préalable ecclésiologique, in: *Service Orthodoxe de Presse* 125 (1988) 18-21.
- Lossky Nicolas.* La présence orthodoxe dans la "diaspora" et ses implications ecclésiologiques, de même que celles des Églises orientales catholiques, dans *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 352-362.
- Lossky Nicolas.* L'urgence de l'annonce de l'Évangile, le témoignage et le prosélytisme. in: *Irénikon* 67 (1994) 473-480.
- Lubatschivsky Myroslav I.* Zum Balamand Dokument, in: *Una Sancta* 49 (1994) 68-72.75.
- Madey Johannes.* Les chrétiens de Saint-Thomas en Inde. Églises catholiques et orthodoxes, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 24-41.
- Madey Johannes.* Das Konzilsdekret über die katholischen Ostkirchen, in: *Begegnung* 20 (1965) 256-260; 287-290.
- Madey Johannes.* Der theologische Ort des Bischofs von Rom in der Sicht der neueren orientalischen Theologie, in: *Petrus und Papst.* hrsg. v. A. Brandenburg und H.J. Urban, Münster 1977, 303-330.
- Madey Johannes.* Sakramentengemeinschaft von Orthodoxen und Katholiken: zum Problem der vollen "communicatio in sacris", in: *Kyrios* 10 (1970) 243-251.
- Madey Johannes.* Ökumenische Fragen und Probleme im neuen katholischen Ostkirchenrecht, in: *Catholica* 36 (1982) 280-293.
- Maximos I'* (Catholic Melkite Patriarch), *Autonomy and Collaboration between the Eastern Churches and the Universal Church*, in: *Eastern Churches Review* 3 (1970) 181-187.
- McPartlan Paul.* Eucharist Ecclesiology, in: *One in Christ* 22 (1986) 314-331.
- Meyendorff John.* The Orthodox Concepts of the Church, in: *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 6 (1962) 59-71.
- Meyendorff John.* Églises-sœurs: implications ecclésiologiques du Tomos Agapis, in: *Istina* 20, 1975, 35-46.

Meyendorff John. Schwesterkirchen – Ekklesiologische Folgerungen aus dem Tomos Agapis (Koinonia – Erstes ekklesiologisches Kolloquium zwischen orthodoxen und römisch-katholischen Theologen, Wien), in: Auf dem Weg zur Einheit des Glaubens, PRO ORIENTE Bd.2. Innsbruck-Wien-München 1976, 41-53.

Meyendorff John. The Melkite Patriarchate: Paradoxes of a Vocation. An initial response to Father Khairallah, in: St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 30 (1986), 217-230.

Meyer Harding. Pourquoi dans le document luthérien "Face à l'unité" (1984) a-t-on envisagé l'union de Florence comme "exemple" d'unité?, in: Irénikon 65 (1992) 325-338.

Meyer Harding. Einheit in versöhnter Verschiedenheit – konziliare Gemeinschaft – organische Union: Gemeinsamkeit und Differenz gegenwärtig diskutierter Einheitskonzeptionen, in: Ökumenische Rundschau 27 (1978) 377-400.

Müller H. Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche als Problem der Neukodifikation des kanonischen Rechts, in: ÖAKR 28 (1977) 81-98.

Nasrallah Joseph. Église melkite et Union des Églises, in: Istina 21 (1976) 178-206.

Nedungatt G. Autonomy, Autocephaly, and the Problem of Jurisdiction Today, in: Kanon 5 (1981) 19-35.

Nedungatt G. Ecclesia universalis, particularis, singularis, in: Nuntia 2 (1975/76) 75-87.

Nedungatt G. Equal Rights of the Churches in the Catholic Church, in: The Jurist 49 (1989) 1-22.

Nedungatt G. Synodalität in den katholischen Ostkirchen nach dem neuen Kodex des Kanonischen Rechts, in: Concilium 28 (1992) 396-408.

Nikolaou Theodor. Die Grenzen der Kirche in der Sicht der Orthodoxen Katholischen Kirche, in: Ökumenische Rundschau 21 (1972) 316-332.

Onclin W. Ordinatio Ecclesiae universae in specie ad ecclesias rituales sui iuris quod attinet, in: Revue de Droit Canonique 30 (1980) 304-317.

Panicker Geevarghese. Reflections on being a 'Uniate', in: The Christian Orient 14 (1993) 161-169.

Papandreou D. The Superior Authority in the Orthodox Churches, in: Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'Oriente e d'Occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons, Bd.1, 1994, 349 ff.

Paulos Mar Gregorios. Ecclesiological Issues Concerning the Relation of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches, in: Paulos Gregorios et al.: Does Chalcedon Divide Or Unite? Towards Convergence in Orthodox Christology. Geneva 1981, 127-137.

Paulos Mar Gregorios. Necessity and Signs of „Communio“ between the Local Churches, in: PRO ORIENTE. Wort und Wahrheit. Supplementary Issue 3 (1976) 71-76

Peri V. La pentarchia: istituzione ecclesiale (IV-VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica, in: Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell' Alto Medioevo, Bd. I., Spoleto 1988, 209-311.

Peri V. L'unione della Chiesa Orientale con Roma. Il moderno regime canonico occidentale nel suo sviluppo storico, in: Aevum 58 (1984) 439-498.

Peri Vittorio. Considerazioni sull'Uniatismo, in: Oriente cristiano 31 (1991) n. 4, 13-42.

Petras David M. The Ecumenical Status of the Eastern Catholic Churches, in: The Greek Orthodox Theological Review 37 (1992) 349-381.

Petri Heinrich. Kirchenbilder der Ökumene, in: Beinert Wolfgang (ed.): Kirchenbilder, Kirchenvisionen. Variationen über eine Wirklichkeit. Regensburg 1995, 128-157.

Phidas Vlassios. Uniatism. Historical Development and Ecclesiological Implications in the Ecumenical Dialogue, in: Ortodoksia 1 (1994) 556-575.

Pirson D. Communio als kirchenrechtliches Leitprinzip, in: ZfEvKR 29 (1984) 35-45.

Popescu Dumitru. The local church and conciliar fellowship, in: The ecumenical review 29 (1973) 265-272.

Pospishil V.J. The Constitutional Development of the Eastern Catholic Churches in the Light of the Re-codification of their Canon Law, in: Kanon 5 (1981) 36-71.

Pospishil V.J. The Patriarchate in the Law of the Eastern Catholic Churches, in: John XXIII Lectures 1 (1966) 122-131.

Postoutov Joseph. Point de vue orthodoxe sur Prosélytisme et unité chrétienne, in: Irénikon 68 (1995) 64-78.

Pottmeyer H. Die zwiespältige Ekklesiologie des Zweiten Vaticanums - Ursache nachkonziliärer Konflikte, in: Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 92 (1983) 272-283.

Pottmeyer H. Der Heilige Geist und die Kirche. Von einer christomonistischen zu einer trinitarischen Ekklesiologie, in: Tutzingen Studien 2/1981, 45-55.

Potz R. Autonomie und Autokephalie als Verfassungsstrukturen der orthodoxen Kirche, in: Kanon 5 (1981) 143-156

Potz R. Die Grade der Communio im katholischen Kirchenrecht, in: Kanon 8 (1987) 51-64.

Raip. Église Locale et Église Rite, in: Proche Orient Chrétien 21 (1970) 290-288.

Raiser Konrad. Modelle kirchlicher Einheit, in: Ökumenische Rundschau 36 (1987) 195-216.

Rance Didier. La résurrection de l'Église catholique d'Ukraine : un problème ou une chance? in: Communio 104 (1992) 105-114.

Romanides John S., Orthodox and Vatican Agreement (Balamand, Lebanon, June 1993), in: Theologia 64 (1993) 570-580.

Ratzinger Joseph. Die Ekklesiologie des Zweiten Vatikanums, in: Communio 1 (1986) 41-52.

Rinne Joann. One Bishop, One City, in: Kanon VII (1985) 91-109.

Rodopoulos Panteleimon. Ecclesiological Review of the Thirty-fourth Apostolic Canon, in: Kanon 4 (1980) 92-99.

Salachas Dimitrios. Ecclesia Universa et Ecclesia sui iuris nel Codice latino e nel Codice dei Canonici delle Chiese Orientali, in: Apollinaris 65 (1992) 65-76.

Salachas Dimitrios. Ecumenical Significance of the New Code, in: Chiramel J., Bharanikulangara K. (Hrsg.), The Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches. A Study and Interpretation. Essays in Honour of Joseph Cardinal Pappalardo, President, Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Eastern Canon Law, Always 1992, 258-275.

Salachas Dimitrios. I battezzati acattolici che vengono alla piena comunione con la Chiesa Cattolica, in: Apollinaris 60 (1987) 227-244.

Salachas Dimitrios. Il concetto ecclesiologico e canonico di "Chiese Orientali" (Ecclesiae sui iuris), in: Oriente Cristiano 1 (1990).

Salachas Dimitrios. Il principio della struttura sinodale delle Chiese orientali nella legislazione canonica antica, in: *Nicolaus* 6 (1978) 221-249.

Salachas Dimitrios. Le "status" ecclésiologique et canonique des Églises orientales "sui iuris" et des Églises orthodoxes autocéphales, in: *L' Anne, Canonique* 33 (1990) 29-56.

Salachas Dimitrios. Autocephalie ou autonomie des Églises orthodoxes et status "sui iuris" des Églises orientales catholiques, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'Oriente e d'Occidente/Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.1*, 1994, 369 ff.

Schon Dietmar. Orts- und Regionalebene als Schwerpunkt ökumenischer Bemühungen, in: *Der Christliche Osten* 49 (1994) 27-41.

Schwendenwein H. Ökumenische Perspektiven des neuen kirchlichen Gesetzbuches, in: *Ökumenisches Forum*, Graz 1984, 39-54.

Schemmann Alexander. „Unity“, „Division“, „Reunion“ in the light of Orthodox Ecclesiology, in: *Theologia. Athenai* 22 (1951) 242-254.

Senyk Sophia. Vicissitudes de l'Union de Brest au XVIIe siècle, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 462-487.

Senyk Sophia. Interritual Participation in the Sacraments: An Example from Ruthenian Lands, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 60 (1994) 563-585.

Severius Zakka Iwas. Necessity and Signs of „Communio“ between the Local Churches, in: *Wort und Wahrheit. Supplementary Issue* 3 (1976) 60-71.

Soetens Claude. Origine et développement de l'Église copte catholique, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 42-62.

Spinelli L. L'incidenza della comunione gerarchica nell'esercizio della potestà di giurisdizione dei vescovi ortodossi, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale Incontro fra canonici d'Oriente e d'Occidente/ Proceedings of the International Congress The Meeting of Eastern and Western Canons Bd.2*, 1994, 183 ff.

Stéphanos Mgr. Mission et prosélytisme, in: *Unité chrétienne* 108 (1992) 4-16.

Sullivan Francis A. „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, in: *One in Christ* 22 (1986) 115-123.

Suttner E. Chr. Abkehr vom Uniatismus – eine Bewährungsprobe im Dialog zwischen der orthodoxen und der katholischen Kirche, in: *Der Christliche Osten* 47 (1992) 153-157.

Suttner E. Chr. Die in München, Bari und Valamo verabschiedeten gemeinsamen Erklärungen der gemischten Kommission für den orthodox-katholischen theologischen Dialog, in: *Orthodoxes Forum* 3 (1989) 177-187.

Suttner E. Chr. Wege und Abwege wechselseitigen Gebens und Nehmens zwischen Kirchen des Ostens und Westens nach dem Abbruch der Communio, in: *Ostkirchliche Studie* 36 (1987) 123-153.

Suttner E. Chr. Dialog und Uniatismus, in: *Una Sancta* 45 (1990) 87-94.

Suttner E. Chr. Die Partnerkirchen im offiziellen orthodox-katholischen Dialog. Ihre Einheit und ihre Vielgestaltigkeit, in: *Una Sancta* 36 (1981) 333-345; 37 (1982) 13-14.

Suttner E. Chr. Unionen mit Ostkirchen als ökumenisches Problem, in: *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift* 132 (1984) 195-201.

Suttner E. Chr. Ökumenismus und christliches Selbstverständnis in: *Altkatholisches Jahrbuch* 1985, 24-36.

Suttner E. Chr. Wandlungen im Unionsverständnis vom 2. Konzil von Lyon bis zur Gegenwart, in: *Ostkirchliche Studien* 34 (1985) 128-150.

Suttner E. Chr. Brachte die Union von Brest Einigung oder Trennung für die Kirche? in: *Ostkirchliche Studien* 39 (1990) 3-21.

Suttner E. Chr. Wie nahe stehen einander die getrennten Christen, in: *Altkatholisches Jahrbuch* 1990, 19-31.

Suttner E. Chr. Die Taufe zur Vergebung der Sünden. Zur Anerkennung der Taufe westlicher Christen durch die orthodoxe Kirche im Laufe der Geschichte, in: *Anzeigen der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 127 (1990) 1-46.

Suttner E. Chr. Der offizielle theologische Dialog zwischen der katholischen und der orthodoxen Kirche, in: *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift* 139 (1991) 156-167

Ternant Paul. Échange entre un prêtre melkite et un théologien orthodoxe sur la vocation de l'Église melkite, in: *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 37 (1987), 296-309.

Tesfai Jacob. The Church in Focus: Ecclesiology in contemporary ecumenical discussions, in: *One in Christ* 27 (1991) 134-143.

Thomas J. W. The Ecclesiological and Ecclesiastical Developments in the East and the West, in: *Diakonia* 6 (1971) 3-16, 135-146.

Timko Philip. Orthodox ecclesiology and ecumenical practise, in: *Worship* 50 (1976) 137-145.

Urban Hans Jörg. Katholische Ekklesiologie nach „Mysterium Ecclesiae“. Ein abgeschlossener Lernprozeß? In: *Ökumenische Rundschau* 23 (1974) 62-75.

Valiyavilayil A. The Notion of Sui Iuris Church, in: *Chiramel J., Bharanikulangara K. (Hrsg.). The Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches. A Study and Interpretation. Essays in Honour of Joseph Cardinal Parecattil, President, Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Eastern Canon Law, Alwaye* 1992, 57-90.

Vandervelde George. Koinonia ecclesiology – ecumenical breakthrough? in: *One in Christ* 29 (1993) 126-142.

Van Parys Michel. Les Églises orientales catholiques et l'œcuménisme, in: *Irénikon* 64 (1991) 323-331.

Varnalidis Sotirios. Come e perché l'uniatismo può bloccare il proseguimento del dialogo cattolico-ortodosso?, in: *Nicolaus* 19 (1992) 201-216.

Varnalidis Sotirios. L'ecclésiologie de l'uniatismo dans la création des exarchats de Constantinople et d'Athènes, in: *Irénikon* 65 (1992) 400-422.

Vischer Lukas. Conciliar Fellowship and Councils: Churches on their Way to a Universal Council, in: *The ecumenical review* 41 (1989) 501-514.

Vogt Hermann J. Necessity and Signs of „Communio“ between the Local Churches, in: *Wort und Wahrheit. Supplementary Issue* 3 (1976) 77-90.

de Vries W. Communicatio in Sacris. Gottesdienstliche Gemeinschaft mit den von Rom getrennten Ostchristen im Licht der Geschichte. in: *Concilium* (1965) 271-281.

de Vries W. Das "Collegium Patriarcharum", in: *Concilium* 1 (1965) 655-663.

de Vries W. Das Konzilsdekret über die katholischen orientalischen Kirchen (Eine theologische Auswertung), in: *Orientierung* 29 (1965) 201-204.

- de Vries, W.* Die unierten Patriarchate des Nahen Osten und das Uniatenproblem, in: Handbuch des Ostkirchenkunde, Bd I (hrsg. W. Nyssen, H.-J. Schulz und P. Wiertz), Düsseldorf 1971, 198-217.
- Walf K.* Avenir de l'identité catholique, in: Concilium 255 (1994) 151-161.
- Wetter F.* Der offizielle orthodoxe-katholische Dialog, in: Orthodoxes Forum 3 (1989) 141-147.
- Wiedenhofer Siegfried.* Ekklesiologie, in: Schneider Theodor (ed.): Handbuch der Dogmatik Bd. 2. Düsseldorf 1992, 47-154.
- Willebrands Johannes.* Vatican II's Ecclesiology of Communion, in: One in Christ 23 (1987) 179-191.
- Wojnar M.* Decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches, in: The Jurist 25 (1965) 173-255.
- Wojnar M.* De Ritu in Codice Iuris Canonici Orientalis, in: Analecta OSBM., Ser. II, Sec. II, vol. III, fasc. 1-2, Rom 1954, 105-118.
- Zaphiris Chrysostomos-Gerassime.* Presupposition for the beginning and the success of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, in: Theologia 50 (1979), 856-868.
- Zissis Theodore.* Uniatism: A Problem in the Dialogue between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics, in: The Greek Orthodox Theological Review 35 (1990) 21-31.
- Zizioulas John D.* Ecclesiological Issues Inherent in the Relations between Eastern Chalcedonian and Oriental Non-Chalcedonian Churches, in: Paulos Gregorios et al.: Does Chalcedon Divide Or Unite? Towards Convergence in Orthodox Christology. Geneva 1981, 138-156.
- Zizioulas John.* La communauté eucharistique et la catholicité de l'Église, in: Istina 14 (1969) 67-88.
- Zuzek I.* Ansichten über die künftige Struktur des ostkirchlichen kanonischen Rechts: Concilium 3 (1967) 665-675.
- Zuzek I.* Che cosa è una Chiesa, un Rito Orientale, in: Seminarium 28, N.F. 15 (1975) 263-277.
- Zuzek I.* La giurisdizione dei vescovi ortodossi dopo il concilio Vaticano II, in: La civiltà cattolica 2904 (1971) 550-562.
- Zuzek I.* Le Ecclesiae sui iuris nella revisione del Diritto Canonico, in: Vaticano II: bilancio e prospettive venticinque anni dopo (1962-1987), Assisi 1987, 869-882.
- Zuzek I.* The Patriarchal Structure According to the Oriental Code, in: C. Gallagher (Hrsg.), The Code of Canons of the Oriental Churches: An Introduction, Rom 1991, 40-58.