

CENTRO PRO UNIONE

N. 63 - Spring 2003

ISSN: 1122-0384



semi-annual Bulletin

In this issue:

<i>Letter from the Director</i>	p. 2
<i>The Pontifical Biblical Document</i>	
The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the New Testament. <i>A Jewish Perspective</i>	
Jack Bemporad.	p. 3
<i>The Observers at Vatican Two. An Unique Experience of Dialogue</i>	
Thomas Stransky.	p. 8
<i>Mass Without the Consecration? The Historic Agreement on the Eucharist between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East Promulgated 26 October 2001</i>	
Robert F. Taft.	p. 15
<i>A Bibliography of Interchurch and Interconfessional Theological Dialogues</i>	
Eighteenth Supplement (2003)	p. 28

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A Center conducted by the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement

Director's Desk

In this issue of the *Bulletin* we are pleased to present the texts of some of the lectures held at the **Centro** over the past months. With the publication of the important Pontifical Biblical Commission's document: "The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the New Testament" we felt it important to have the observations of an engaged Jewish Rabbi in the dialogue with the Catholic Church. We turned to Rabbi Jack Bemporad to offer his reflections on this document. We feel that our readers will find his remarks very interesting. This lecture was co-sponsored with our friends from SIDIC-Rome, a ministry of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion.

For this year's celebration of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, the **Centro** invited long time friend and expert, the Paulist Tom Stransky to offer his personal reflections on some of the events that took place in the lecture hall of the **Centro Pro Unione** during the Council years—kind of a "if these walls could speak" lecture. Tom did not disappoint our public! His lecture "The Observers at Vatican Two. An Unique Experience of Dialogue" is found in this issue. A prayer vigil for Christian unity followed his lecture and was led by Pastor Pieter Bouman, Methodist Pastor of the Ponte Sant'Angelo church in Rome with the homily of Pastor Paolo Rica of the Waldensian Faculty in Rome. Co-sponsoring the prayer service with the Centro was the Vincent Pallotti Institute and the Lay Centre at Foyer Unitas.

The fifth Paul Wattson-Lurana White lecture had to be moved to March this year due to the illness of the speaker. The wait was certainly worthwhile as can be seen from Prof. Robert Taft's brilliant lecture on the implications of the recent document concerning the validity of the ancient Eucharistic anaphora of Addai and Mari. This year's lecture entitled "Anglican-Roman Catholic Relations: A New Step to be Taken, A New Stage to be Reached?" will be given by Dr. Mary Tanner.

Also included in this issue is the eighteenth supplement of the "Bibliography of Interchurch and Interconfessional Theological Dialogues" prepared by our librarian, Dr. Loredana Nepi. All of this material is found in the Centro's library and is on line on our web site as well (www.prounione.urbe.it).

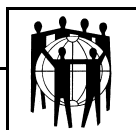
In addition to the lectures published here, the year's activities have included two other major lectures: Prof. Lawrence Cunningham of the University of Notre Dame spoke on "Thomas Merton: Dialogue and the Contemplative Life" and "Matteo: fonte per l'ecumene cristiana. La nuova traduzione letterario-teologica del Vangelo" given by Professor Valdo Bertalot, President of the Biblical Association in Italy and Prof. Luca De Santis, Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the Angelicum. We hope to publish these in a future issue of the *Bulletin*.

The Spring saw many diverse groups visiting the Centro from the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey to a group of pastoral care ministers from Sweden to the annual course prepared for the College of St. Olaf in Northfield, Minnesota. We are most thankful for the visits of these groups since it gives us a chance to share our vision for the unity of Christians and hear other visions.

I hope that you will enjoy the contents of this issue. Please remember that this *Bulletin* is sent to you free of charge but we always welcome a sign of your appreciation by making a donation to help us cover the expense of printing and mailing. Peace and all good!

This periodical is indexed in the *ATLA Religion Database*, published by the American Theological Library Association, 250 S. Wacker Dr., 16th Floor., Chicago, IL 60606 (<http://www.atla.com>).

James F. Puglisi, sa
Director





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Centro Conferences

The Pontifical Biblical Document ***The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the New Testament*** **A Jewish Perspective**

Rabbi Jack Bemporad
Director, The Center for Interreligious Understanding (USA)

(Conference held at the **Centro Pro Unione**, Thursday, 12 December 2002)

The pontifical Biblical document¹ is an important step in the direction of better understanding between Catholics and Jews. In some respects it makes new, significant and positive affirmations as to Catholic appreciation of Judaism. In other respects it is problematic and I will deal with these in detail, but even here the document is both important and helpful since it tries in an honest and comprehensive manner to clearly present a Catholic understanding of the place of the Jewish people and its scriptures in the New Testament. The document places its findings in the inter religious context both in its preface and in more detail in the concluding sections.

First of all I want to express my appreciation to the Pontifical Biblical commission for such a difficult and valiant effort. The problem it addresses has haunted Jews and Christians for centuries. What is the real and binding connection between our two faiths. Even the most superficial view of the New Testament immediately impresses the reader with its indissoluble connection to the Hebrew Bible and if one is cognizant of Rabbinic texts and institutions with the Rabbinic context within which it emerged.

I think it took daring for the Pontifical Commission to present its results when so much of the material it covers is in the process of intense scrutiny and changing scholarly opinions. This uncertainty is not just in the study of early Rabbinic Judaism but also in New Testament research, both in the scholarly work on the historical Jesus, and even more so in the intense debate over the Apostle Paul.

One of the many merits of this document is that it is viewed as part of an ongoing process embodying the results of current work, which is subject to revision.

The leitmotif of the document is announced in Cardinal Ratzinger's introduction where he quotes section 84:

“Without the Old Testament the New Testament would be an unintelligible book, a plant deprived of its roots and destined to dry up and wither.”

Hence any attempt to view the NT as self-sufficient or in a Marcionite context is again repudiated but in a much more vigorous form.

¹ PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL COMMISSION, *The Jewish People and Their Scriptures in the Christian Bible* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2002). All references to this document appear in the text.

The document clearly reaffirms the past statements of the Church in the section on pastoral orientations. The Second Vatican Council, in its recommendation that there be “understanding and mutual esteem between Christians and Jews, declared that these will be born especially from biblical and theological study, as well as from fraternal dialogue” (§86).

The present Document has been composed in this spirit; it hopes to make a positive contribution to it, and encourages in the Church of Christ the love towards Jews that Pope Paul VI emphasized on the day of the promulgation of the conciliar document *Nostra aetate*.

With this text, Vatican Two laid the foundations for a new understanding of our relations with Jews when it said that “according to the apostle (Paul), the Jews, because of their ancestors, still remain very dear to God, whose gifts and calling are irrevocable (Rm 11:29).”²

Through his teaching, John Paul II has, on many occasions, taken the initiative in developing this Declaration. During a visit to the synagogue of Mainz (1980) he said: “The encounter between the people of God of the Old Covenant, which has never been abrogated by God (cf. Rm 11:29), and that of the New Covenant is also an internal dialogue in our Church, similar to that between the first and second part of its Bible.”³ Later, addressing the Jewish communities of Italy during a visit to the synagogue of Rome (1986), he declared:

“The Church of Christ discovers her ‘bond’ with Judaism ‘by searching into her own mystery’ (cf. *Nostra aetate*). The Jewish religion is not ‘extrinsic’ to us, but in a certain way is ‘intrinsic’ to our religion. With Judaism therefore we have a relationship which we do not have with any other religion. You are our dearly beloved brothers and, in a certain way it could be said that you are our elder brothers.”⁴

“An attitude of respect, esteem and love for the Jewish people is the only truly Christian attitude in a situation, which is mysteriously part of the beneficent and positive plan of God.

² VATICAN II, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra aetate*, §4.

³ JOHN PAUL II, “Dialogue. The Road to Understanding”, *Origins* 10, 25 (1980) 400.

⁴ JOHN PAUL II, “Discourse at the Rome Synagogue, 13 April 1986”, *Origins*, 15, 45 (1986) 731.

Dialogue is possible, since Jews and Christians share a rich common patrimony that unites them. It is greatly to be desired that prejudice and misunderstanding be gradually eliminated on both sides, in favor of a better understanding of the patrimony they share and to strengthen the links that bind them.”⁵

Never before as far as I am aware has as unequivocal an affirmation as the following been made by a pontifical commission.

“The New Testament recognizes the divine authority of the Jewish Scriptures and supports itself on this authority. When the New Testament speaks of the ‘Scriptures’ and refers to ‘that which is written,’ it is to the Jewish Scriptures that it refers” (§84).

Cardinal Ratzinger believes that the Hebrew Bible can become a common ground for the fostering of positive relations between Christians and Jews.

Another very positive affirmation of this document that Cardinal Ratzinger alludes to is in section §22. Here what is affirmed is that:

“Christians can and ought to admit that the Jewish reading of the Bible is a possible one, in continuity with the Jewish Sacred Scriptures from the Second Temple period, a reading analogous to the Christian reading which developed in parallel fashion. Both readings are bound up with the vision of their respective faiths, of which the readings are the result and expression. Consequently, both are irreducible” (§22).

In clarifying what this twofold reading entails, and in clearing the ground for a “possible” Jewish reading, the text states:

“It would be wrong to consider the prophecies of the O.T. as some kind of photographic anticipations of future events. All the texts, including those which later were read as Messianic prophecies, already had an immediate import and meaning for their contemporaries before attaining a fuller meaning for future hearers. The messiah-ship of Jesus has a meaning that is new and original.” He continues stating that it is therefore better not to excessively insist “...on the probative value attributable to the fulfillment of prophecy [which] must be discarded.” (§21).

This is all very positive since it clearly maintains separate readings of the Biblical foundations of Judaism and Christianity and also makes room for a reading for the Biblical prophecies in non fulfillment terms. It also perceptively affirms that what happened in Jesus from a Christian point of view was “new and original.” And again later:

“Although the Christian reader is aware that the internal dynamism of the Old Testament finds its goal in Jesus, this is a retrospective perception whose point of departure is not in the text as such, but in the events of the New Testament proclaimed by the apostolic preaching. It cannot be said, therefore that Jews do not see what has been proclaimed in the text, but the Christians, in the light of Christ and in the Spirit,

discovers in the text an additional meaning that was hidden there” (§21).

What is left hanging is what exactly is the difference between Jewish and Christian Messianic expectations? The obvious answer from a Jewish perspective is that the Messiah is seen in the Hebrew Bible as ushering in a Messianic age of Justice and peace for all. Here the Jewish communities view of the very texts used by the Church in a Christological manner are viewed very differently in Judaism.

Recognizing this divergence a remarkable and welcome affirmation follows:

“Jewish messianic expectation is not in vain. It can become for us Christians a powerful stimulant to keep alive the eschatological dimension of our faith. Like them, we too, live in expectation. The difference is that for us the One who is to come will have the traits of the Jesus who has already come and is already present and active among us.” (§22)

From a theological point of view this is a most important step forward in recognizing the legitimacy of a Jewish understanding of the Messiah not merely by rejecting the long standing belief that Jewish Messianic hopes are vain but even more that traditional Jewish expectations can become a powerful stimulus to keep alive the eschatological understanding of the Christian faith. What this accomplishes is the identifying of Jewish expectations of the coming of the Messiah with the second coming of Jesus and in this sense we both share this anticipation.

One caution however is necessary. The concept of the Messiah in Jewish thought has not the same centrality as it does in Christianity. I think our great teacher Leo Baeck expressed this accurately when he states:

“the hope is no longer for one man who will renew the world but for the new world that is to arise upon the earth. For it is inconsistent with the way of Judaism that one man should be lifted above humanity to be its destiny. The conception of the one man retired into the background on favor of the conception of the one time; the Messiah gives way to the “days of the Messiah” and side by side with it the more definite expression of the Kingdom of God.”⁶

There is much that could be said about the documents detailed analysis of the relationship between the OT and the Jewish environment that accompanied the NT and the NT itself. Much as I have noted is very positive. The long descriptions of Paul’s teaching in paragraphs 36 and 37 ending in §36 with the words: “Paul is convinced that at the end, God, in his inscrutable wisdom, will graft all Israel back onto their own olive tree, ‘all Israel will be saved’” is very positive indeed.

Also at the conclusion of each section there are a number of positive assertions about Judaism and the Jewish people.

If the parallel development from the Hebrew Bible as the original foundational covenant would be traced in two directions with the Christian emerging out of its early Rabbinic context then a more incisive connection between our two faiths would ensue. However in

⁵ Cf., *ibid.*, 732.

⁶ L. BAECK, *Essence of Judaism* (NY: Schocken Books, 1961).

the detailed comparison I find the discussion somewhat wooden, mechanical, and not properly valenced. It is all presented on the same level without clarifying what is essential and what is peripherals.

Its chief defect can be simply stated. The document evinces little awareness of the great debt the authors of the NT owe to Rabbinic Judaism and the almost complete lack of appreciation for what early Rabbinic Judaism contributed.

The clearest example is poofexting, a rabbinic contribution which lies at the whole foundation of the Gospels and Paul. It is not simply the use of hermeneutic principles but the whole innovation of using Biblical verses as prooftexts that is Pharisaic and fundamental to the way the early Rabbinic sages, and after them Jesus and Paul established their authority. This is clearly seen in Jesus' controversy with the Sadducees in Mathew 22:23-32. This is very important for understanding the controversies in the NT.

The New Testament clearly identifies Jesus as a Jew. The religious terminology he used came from Judaism. When asked, "What is the chief one of all the commandments? Jesus replied, 'The chief one is: Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, and you must love the Lord your God with your whole heart, with your whole soul and with your whole mind, and with your whole strength. The second is this. You must love your neighbor as yourself. There is no other commandment greater than these.'" (Mark 12:32ff)

In affirming the central teachings of religion, Jesus responded much as Hillel or Rabbi Akiba responded when asked similar questions. When a pagan challenged Hillel to summarize the whole of the Torah while he stood on one foot, Hillel answered, "what is hateful to you do not unto your fellow human being, this is the whole of the Torah the rest is commentary, go and learn,"⁷ and Akiba affirmed that the central principle of the Torah is "you shall love your neighbor as yourself."⁸

The selection of the passage from Deuteronomy is Rabbinic and completely accepted by Jesus, and incidentally by the earliest Christian prayer communities. The conflicts relating to Sabbath Observance and the dietary laws are in principle no different than the disagreements between the various schools of Judaism of that time. They resemble the type of differences that took place between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, (incidentally neither Hillel nor Shammai were rabbis as is affirmed in the text), between the Sadducee and Pharisees, and are really not such as to separate Jesus from Judaism.

Y. Kaufmann in his important work *Golah v Nekhar* points out that "no controversy concerning the 'Son of God' concept as such is reported in the New Testament."⁹ If I am not mistaken there is no debate between Jesus and his Jewish antagonist over whether Jesus is the Messiah or not, no debate on the virgin births or incarnation or any "dogma that may have separated the Christian sectarians from Judaism."¹⁰

On the critical question of authority many spoke with authority and indeed their own authority basing it in one form or another on the

received tradition. Luke 16:31 clearly endorses the authority of Moses and the prophets, and as Kaufmann points out "Jesus never cites a prophetic word which was revealed to him or claims 'authority' to alter Pentateuchal statutes. He either explicates the texts according to the expository system of the Pharisees, or cites the intent and spirit of the law; so in his discussion with the Pharisees in Mark 2:23-28 (and parallels Matthew 12:1-4; Luke 6:1-5), Jesus quotes a well known rabbinic dictum, the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, but what is more important he then bases the legitimacy of what his disciples did through an interpretation of scripture and not on his own authority and the interpretation is a typical rabbinic hermeneutical method of inferring from minor to major. Perhaps, as I have noted above, the clearest example of the Pharisaic manner of Jesus' exegesis is in his teaching the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead. The Sadducees rejected any form of resurrection and immortality as being not based on the Pentateuch. The Pharisees and Jesus defend both and defend their position using the same Hermeneutical principles. Jesus does not teach the Doctrines of Immortality and Resurrection as a prophet proclaiming the word of God nor on the basis of his own authority but rather on scriptural exegesis. Thus, Kaufmann after a careful analysis points out that on the issue of oaths and vows "the difference of opinions concerned Halachic niceties; and Jesus' reasoning is definitely Pharisaic."¹¹

Let me make this as clear as possible. The ancient prayer of the synagogue emphasizing resurrection clearly connects Rabbinic Judaism and the NT. It states "He sustains life with His grace, revives the dead with His boundless mercy, supports the falling, heals the sick, loosens the bounds, and keeps his faith with those who sleep in the dust. Who is like unto Thee master of mighty acts, and who bears resemblance unto Thee, O King, Who deadens and enlivens and causes salvation to flower? And Thou art indeed utterly trustworthy to resurrect the dead. Praised be Thou, O Lord, Who causes the dead to come to life." This is foundational and must be recognized for a proper understanding of Judaism and its relation to the NT.

A related, for me, disconcerting aspect of this document is the constant quotes from texts that the Jewish community never accepted, nor ever quoted in authorized scriptures as important for a description of Judaism such as the Dead Sea Scroll. To use such texts in explicating what the Jews believed is the equivalent, in a reconstruction of Christianity for one to quote all the non-canonical gospels like the Gospel of Thomas as an appropriate description of early Christianity, while ignoring the texts of the NT.

I do not in any way wish to minimize the importance of the summary statements in each section, which are all positive and affirmative of Judaism and the Jewish people, but in the comparisons in the intermediate sections the fundamental question is not clearly addressed. This question can be stated in its sharpest form in the following manner: what is unique to Christianity if all Jewish elements that contributed to it were deleted?

In an endeavor to answer this question, I am reminded of a statement by Raymond Brown, who, in a lecture on the book of Acts asked why Jesus as founder of Christianity did not establish laws and institutions like Moses and Mohammed? His answer was that he did not have to, since he accepted the fundamental teachings and institutions of Judaism. The synagogue was a foundational institution. Judaism was the only religion prior to Christianity and Islam that

⁷ Babylonian Talmud Shabbat 31A.

⁸ Midrash Bereshit Rabbah 24.

⁹ Y. KAUFMANN, *Christianity and Judaism: Two Covenants* (Jerusalem: Magnus Press, 1988) 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

made religion central in one's life and put one's faith in God before all else.

The belief in Monotheism is the foundation stone without which the whole revolutionary faith of Judaism would be impossible as well as Christianity. Monotheism is not just the belief in one God as one element among other elements in the Hebrew Bible. It integrates and transforms all the basic elements that makes for the very possibility of their being a Judaism as well as a Christianity and Islam.

The essence of Judaism is the affirmation of Monotheism and all that this implies. This was, and remains, its greatest contribution to the world.

The belief in Monotheism is not just the affirmation that God is one as opposed to the multiplicity of pagan deities, but more importantly, Monotheism brought about a revolution in religious thinking that to this day is the foundation for the three great Monotheistic faiths of the western world, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Monotheism implies :

- Spiritual creator God: As long as the gods were forces in nature as was true of all pre-biblical religion then each deity had a certain domain and was characterized by arbitrariness and conflict. There was the battle between the gods and nature was seen in constant strife.
- The Jewish Biblical view of a God that was not one among a number of natural forces, but the transcendent spiritual creator of nature. This revolutionary view which was initiated by the Prophets made it possible to see nature as the creation of God as a cosmos and not a chaos. Also since God created nature God is not a natural force but a spiritual being. God transcends nature.
- Another consequence of Monotheism is that Human Beings are made in and for the Divine image. They have a spark of the Divine. Hence they must be treated with respect and as ends in themselves and not solely as objects of use. Since God is a spiritual being then Human Beings made in the Divine image also transcend physical nature. They also have a spiritual quality that manifests itself not only in natural processes but in ethical action.
- As a result of the new concept of Human nature as a spiritual and not simply physical reality History is now possible. The Bible was the first book that actually viewed society as historical and not just cyclical. History became the means through which human values and goals could be realized. This also was a consequence of Monotheism
- Just as Monotheism affirmed one God and one Cosmos it also made it possible to believe in one ideal goal of history which would be constituted by a society of Justice and Peace. It is this working for a society of Justice and Peace which gives human beings their tasks and responsibilities in the world. It is a threefold responsibility. A) For themselves, in the sense that the spark of the Divine within them must be tended and realized and used to deal with all self-centered action at the expense of others. B) for others who also are made in the Divine image. The Bible was the first book to indicate that all human beings have a claim on us and that in the sight of God they are spiritually equal. Thus the ideal of a Just society for all was a basic affirmation of Monotheism. C) for God who is the ground for the order, value and meaning in the world and in our lives.
- Monotheism means that Peace is now a possible ideal. With no

warfare between the Gods and one cosmos and one goal of history then the realization of peace is now the end of all our striving.

- Monotheism also in the Bible affirmed that the Jewish People were given the task of taking on the burden of making Monotheism known to the world. This was the concept in the Prophets of the mission of Israel. This mission was to make God and Righteousness real in the world.
- Monotheism also affirmed the centrality of the ethical which brought about the revolutionary idea that all ritual was not to be seen as a means of cajoling or bribing or propitiating God but as a means of the implementation of the ethical. As a result the ethical and the holy became indissoluble. The holy was seen as all that realizes the spiritual in man and brings him close to God and since the holy is inoperative without the ethical the prophets viewed ethical behavior and not ritual as central to Judaism. For example on Yom Kippur only ethical sins are listed and God will not forgive sins of a moral nature without moral-spiritual regeneration on our part. Ritual should be a symbolization, implementation, and a continual reminder of our ethical ideals and values.
- The goal of Jewish life on an individual basis is A) the transformation of self by using our best selves to deal with our worst selves. B) the transformation of society by establishing a just social order. C) taking our place in history by building on the past and doing our part. As Rabbi Tarfon said "it is not yours to finish the task neither is it yours to exempt yourselves from it."
- The rejection of Monotheism is idolatry. Idolatry is the having of a false sense of the Holy. It is the making sacred of all those things, objects, persons, institutions that have no right to be sacred. Monotheism in its ethical and ritual manifestations enjoins us to continually guard ourselves against the temptation to attribute holiness to the projection of our fears and desires. An idol is a false hope. It is the taking of something that is finite, limited, and time bound, and giving it the status of the ultimate and eternal. The worst form of idolatry is the acting as if we are the center of the universe and that all is there to serve us and to cater to us as if we were divine. It is the taking of ourselves and all extensions of ourselves as the true sacred without any consideration for the claims of others. It is not recognizing our proper place in the scheme of things.

All of the above constitutes the foundational covenant which became part and parcel of the Christian religion. A conceptual connectedness rather than a mechanical textual comparison is what is needed in any future work.

There is no need for me to elaborate on this before this group except to say that the distinction between faith and works is a distinction, which is alien to Judaism. One fulfills one's faith through one's works and one's works establishes and reinforces one's faith.

Herman Cohen has pointed out that the "idea of humanity" came from the Hebrew Bible and we can add so much more, most especially the ideal of a society of Justice and peace for all the world.¹²

Almost in passing the text makes many very significant points that

¹² H. COHEN, *Religion of Reason* (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1995) especially chapter 13.

are helpful for Christian Jewish relations.

At the end of § 28 it states “God was never resigned to leaving his people in wretchedness. He always reinstates them in the path of true greatness, for the benefit of the whole of humanity.” What a wonderful affirmation of the nature and role of the Jewish people. The text introduces contextual language to interpret the troublesome text for many non Christians of Acts 4:12.

In commenting on a servant passage in second Isaiah it clearly recognizes the servant as the People Israel, which is destined to be a light to the nations (§34). While there seems to be some hesitation in interpreting Paul in Romans as I indicated above the long section at §§ 36 and 37 is very positive. What is especially helpful is the document’s claim that the unconditional promises given to Abraham includes the “gift of the land” (§37) “to your descendants I give this land” in § 39 again it states “the Lord commits himself to the gift of the land”.

All of the above is positive. There is, however, unfortunately, much that from a Jewish perspective is troublesome.

First is the treatment of Paul, and especially Galatians and Romans. I personally believe that the work of Stendhal and Gager that Paul was indeed the apostle to the gentiles and that the strictures as to those under the law were strictures against Judaizers is convincing. The careful analysis of both Galatians and Romans in Gager’s book *Reinventing Paul* makes it clear that the disputes Paul alludes to were disputes “within the Jesus –movement, not with Jews or Judaism outside.”¹³ Building on the ground breaking work of Krister Stendahl, Gager summarizes his two books on Paul as follows:

“When Paul summarizes his gospel in 8:1f (“There is now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus. . . For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death), he does so using language characteristic of Gentiles throughout the letter. When he speaks unambiguously of the law and Israel, he never uses terms like condemnation and death. Moreover, there is a strong thematic continuity between Chapters 1-4, which emphasizes the disobedience, the sins, and redemption of the Gentiles, and Chapters 5-8, which speak of their new life in Christ. Any other reading goes against the grain not just of the entire letter but of every Jewish understanding of the law. Little wonder that older Jewish readers of Paul spoke with dismay of his profound distortion of Judaism. But if, as more recent readers have discovered, Paul is not speaking of the law and Israel, that issue disappears. Still, the damage has been done. “I believe it a great tragedy that generations of Christians have seen Jews through these dark lenses.”¹⁴

Apropos this position the words of Stendhal are central

“To me the climax of Romans is actually chapters 9-11. i.e., his reflections on the relation between church and synagogue, the church and the Jewish people- not “Christianity” and “Judaism,” not the attitudes of the gospel versus the attitudes of the law. The question is the relation between two communities and their coexistence in the mysterious plan of God. It should be noted that Paul does not say that when the time of God’s kingdom, the consummation, comes Israel will accept Jesus as the Messiah. He says only that the time will come when “all Israel will be saved” (11:26). It is stunning to note that Paul writes this whole section of Romans (10:18-11:36) without using the name of Jesus Christ. This includes the final doxology (11:33-36), the only such doxology in his writings without any christological element.”¹⁵

I am not claiming that such a revisionist view of Paul is conclusive. What I am saying is that its claims must be carefully weighed and dealt with. The text does mention Judaizers so that it is at least aware of its importance.

A second issue that needs clarification is the identification of the prophets condemnation of Israelites society with Jesus’s condemnation of the Jewish leadership. What is involved are the kind of controversies mentioned above not what is stated in the text. The Prophetic criticism in the Hebrew Bible evinces a concern for two issues, idolatry and social justice. Kaufmann points out that the classical prophets believe that it is not only idolatry but also injustice, the oppression of the poor and needy, the exploitation and social corruption of the ruling classes that would lead to exile.

Their condemnation is accompanied with a broken heart for the great tragedy that is befalling their people. Moses plea has a parallel in Paul in Romans chapter 9 but to claim that the leadership of the Jewish people were intent on killing Jesus and destroying Christianity is totally unwarranted as is evidenced by the compelling scholarship both Jewish and non Jewish for the last 100 years. It was the Roman government and Pontius Pilate who were doing the oppressing, not the Pharisaic leadership. We know that the high priest was the appointee of the Procurator and functioned as his henchman. The oppressive nature of the Roman government can be seen by the numerous revolts against Rome.

I do not want these criticisms in any way to take away from what I can only view as a most important step forward in Catholic Jewish relations. There is no question that the intent and in the main the execution of this document is motivated by a sincere desire for genuinely warm and loving relations between our two faiths. No more fitting conclusion can be the whole hearted agreement on my part with the hope expressed in the texts conclusion “that prejudice and misunderstanding be gradually eliminated” for both of us “in favor of a better understanding of the patrimony” we share so as to strengthen the links that bind us.

¹³ J.G. GAGER, *Reinventing Paul* ([NY]: Oxford University Press, 2000) 69.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁵ K. STENDHAL, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980) 4.



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Centro Conferences

The Observers at Vatican Two An Unique Experience of Dialogue¹

Thomas Stransky, Paulist
Tantur Ecumenical Institute, Jerusalem

(Conference held at the **Centro Pro Unione**, Thursday, 23 January 2003)

Vatican Two. Without taking account of its debates and resolutions, and of its interpreting “the signs of the times” of the early 1960s and the rest the century, it is impossible to understand modern Catholicism.

The Church’s current consensus and dissents, its confidences, hesitations and nervousness in theology and ethics, in pastoral and missionary activities, in social and political involvements, in ecumenical and inter-religious commitments, and in the interplay of universal, regional and local church structures — all are conditioned by Vatican II deliberations and resulting quarrels about what the 16 promulgated documents intended clearly to say or not to say, or deliberately to leave ambiguous. Mississippi novelist William Faulkner is right: “The past is never dead, it’s not even past.”

On the one hand, we are still *too close* to Vatican II. That proximity recalls Chairman Zhou Enlai’s answer in China when André Malraux, a self-acknowledged French intellectual, asked the communist premier what he thought of the 18th century French Revolution: “It’s too early to tell.” On the other hand, we, all children of the Council, are becoming *too distant* from that “convulsive alteration of the whole religious landscape” (Gary Wills). Most Catholics today have been born after Vatican II; for them the center of the gravity of history lies in the future, not the past.

The poet Robert Penn Warren reminds us: “History is not in the truth but in the telling.” Ruthless time is dispossessing us of council participants who in their tellings could still *re-present* the event.

Less than 60 of the over 2450 Council *Patres* (or Fathers) are still breathing, and in charity one dares not inquire about the viable alertness of each one’s memory. Of the 189 official Observers and Guests, I can count at least 130 who have left the earthly scene. Of us four original staff members of Pope John’s 1960 Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU), Cardinal Bea and Bishop Jean-François Arrighi have gone down to dust.

Still living is 93-year-old Cardinal Willebrands, who in a Dutch convent of caring nuns bears the cross of mental and physical disabilities. Only I remain active in ecumenical and interreligious pastoral ministries, my heart and mind kept alert by daily immersion in the Israeli/Palestinian war zone.

Thus, I am quite aware that this evening you have limping before you a 72-year-old museum piece. To quote the apologizing Irishman at a wedding: “It’s not me best hat, but it’s me only one.” Last May I gratefully accepted Fr. Jim Puglisi’s invitation to shorthand a few of my experiences and recollections of the Observers, their roles and influences at the Council. I willingly do this, before my own memory jogs into lax words for dim thoughts, or prompts those nostalgic fantasies which are a euphemism for lies.

Who were Vatican II participants?

The four-year event self-created a *genius loci* which conditioned a participating extended family. This unique family embraced Popes John XXIII and Paul VI and their fellow bishops; the official and private experts (*periti*); the Catholic female and male auditors; the journalists of the religious and the secular media; the delegated Observers and SPCU Guests; and those other Catholics, Orthodox, Anglicans and Protestants, and Jews, who came to Rome for short or longer periods.

Despite a plethora of available primary documents, published diaries, journals and books, the persistent question about this participating family remains partially unanswered: who influenced whom, in the spirit and thrust of the Council itself, and in specific themes and wordings of the drafts *schemata*? Indeed, influences were so porous that designating isolated conditioners and single agents, even the presiding popes, is the frustrating headache of the scrupulous historian. And an historian needs to be content also with the untraceables.

Far more difficult to delineate is the changing environment of the ecumenical movement between 1959 and 1965, and to trace

¹ Sections of this lecture condense my far longer, footnoted survey, “Paul VI and the Observers/Guests to Vatican Council II,” in *Paolo VI e l’Ecumenismo: colloquio internazionale di studio, Brescia, 25-26-27 settembre 1998*, Pubblicazioni dell’Istituto Paolo VI, 23 (Brescia/Rome: Istituto Paolo VI/Edizione Studium, 2001) 118-158. See also my “The Foundation of the SPCU,” in Alberic STACPOOLE, ed., *Vatican II by Those Who Were There* (London: Chapman, 1986) 62-87.

the influence of the movement on the variety of council participants, and vice versa, their influence on participants in the world-wide movement.

Who were the Observers? What, where and how did the Observers observe?

I include here SPCU-invited Guests.

Through complicated negotiations by the SPCU, the Observers were delegated by their *Churches*, such as the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox, the Anglican and the Old Catholic; or by seven *world confessional families*, for example, the Lutheran World Federation, World Methodist Council, and the World Committee of Friends (Quakers); or by a *national church*, such as the Church of South India and the United Church in Japan; or in its unique position, by the World Council of Churches (WCC). In another category the SPCU itself invited Guests, either *ad personam*, e.g. Lutheran Oscar Cullmann and French Reformed Max Boegner; or representing an *institution*, such as the Orthodox theological institute of St. Sergius in Paris, St. Vladimir seminary in New York, and Taizé; or a *church*, such as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the Baptists and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God.

Most were ordained clergy, all male, almost all professors of theology and social ethics, Scriptures and patristics, liturgy and church history. The WCC Observers were Swiss Reformed Lukas Vischer and Greek Orthodox lay philosopher-theologian Nikos Nissiotis, but over 30 had longer WCC experiences than these two; 17 had participated in the first WCC assembly (Amsterdam, 1948), and several more in WCC activities during the 1950s. Including their substitutes who came for shorter stretches, 167 Observers and 22 Guests over the four sessions – a *mélange* not only with different backgrounds and concerns, but also with “differing degrees of wariness” (A. Outler).

The Observers’ church traditions had widely different dealings with the Catholic Church. They carried in mental bags varied lists of wishes and desires (*vota et desideria*), as they arrived in Rome with differing expectations, not all positive. In fact, most initial expectations of Vatican II in the Orthodox and Protestant worlds were anything but positive.

For the Orthodox, unilaterally to convoke, in John XXIII’s words of January 25, 1959, “an Ecumenical Council for the Universal Church” displayed papal arrogance. An Ecumenical Council is of both the East and West, and the Universal Church requires its unanimity for doctrinal and disciplinary resolutions. Does the Catholic Church dare consider that a Synod, presided over by the bishop of Rome as patriarch of the West, can stamp dogmatic decisions with the seal of infallibility, and impose them on the Orthodox?

For Lutheran Observer George Lindbeck, Pope John’s unqualified prediction of a “new Pentecost” rather shocked Protestants. Their textbooks perceived Trent and Vatican I not to be privileged arenas of the Holy Spirit but decisive symbols of aberrations from biblical faith. Would not the upcoming Vatican II repeat those unbiblical definitions or canons of Trent and Vatican I, even if perhaps with more *politesse*?

“*Semper idem*” was the motto on the episcopal herald of Cardinal Ottaviani, president of the preparatory theological commission. How could Vatican II with integrity change the antimodernist encyclicals of Pius IX and Pius X, say, on religious liberty and ideal church-state relations, and on unnuanced home-is-Rome ecclesiology?

The principal reason why the Baptist World Alliance asked the Unity Secretariat *not* to invite it to delegate official Observers was the overt church and state harassments and even persecution of Baptist and other Protestant minority groups in dominant “Catholic” countries in Latin America, Spain, Portugal and Italy, and nervous expectations that Vatican II would solemnly sanction these. The anti-Protestant behaviors, justified by the principle that error has no rights, was also a reason why to the first session the World Presbyterian Alliance delegated the Waldensian doyen Vittorio Subilia and Princeton professor James Nichols; the Alliance respected these two for their articulate, strong opposition to Catholic church-state theories and practices enshrined in legal concordats.

In August 1960 Cardinal Montini of Milan worried that “a Council to re-establish the unity of Christians, after the vain endeavors history has seen, if it should fail in its sweep, would make worse the present state of affairs.” Even later papal clarifications that Vatican II would not be a reunion gathering but an internal, pastoral Catholic event for church *aggiornamento* did not lessen unease among ecumenical Protestants and Orthodox. Some asked: Is not the *aggiornamento* intent also proselytic, to beautify the old, lined and tired face, in order to lure separated brethren, susceptible to such new charms, to return home? Max Boegner recalled the private remark of a French Catholic theologian, then in Vatican-forced silence because of his ecumenical stances: “I pray that the Council not discuss, not say anything about church unity.”

Likewise my own pessimism before the first session. Already in December of 1960, one of my primary SPCU obediences was the perusal of the solicited *consilia et vota* from all bishops, male superior generals, pontifical universities, and the roman curia discasteries – eventually 9,520 pages which the Vatican Press published *sub secreto* in 15 thick volumes. I was to seek out and note whatever pertained to the ten ecumenically related subjects which the first meeting of the SPCU members and consultors (November 14-16) had listed, e.g. relations with other Christians and with Jews; the ecumenical movement; mixed marriages; religious freedom; the Word of God in the life of the Church; heresy and schism; the priesthood of all believers and the role of laity in the Church. My general impression was most disheartening. Here was a collection of such disparate views of what Vatican II should do to incarnate Pope John’s *aggiornamento*, that who and what would win out was unanswerable.

On the very eve of the Council, if I had been forced to predict, I would have given a more negative than positive conjecture, for by then I had carefully read also the 119 schemata of the preparatory commissions, including the critical duet from Ottaviani’s commission: *On the Church* and *On the Two Sources*

of Revelation.

The morning opening of the Council (October 11, 1962) witnessed 38 Observers and Guests sitting in the front row which faced the high altar and presiding Pope John XXIII. On the next afternoon arrived from Moscow the two Russian Orthodox, Vitali Borovoj and Vladimir Katliarov. (The other Eastern Orthodox delegations, around the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, came only to the third and fourth sessions.) Of these first Observers I then knew less than half: none of the Greek and Oriental Orthodox; of the Anglicans and Protestants, in person only five, the rest by my having read some of their writings.

Arriving too late for the morning opening was American Baptist Guest Stanley Stuber. In the Paulist seminary our apologetics professor had required us to read and refute Stuber's simple catechism, *Primer on Roman Catholicism for Protestants*.² So began his first ever visit to this city of saints and sinners. He met both. At my urging he went that first evening to that large outdoor living room which is the piazza of St. Peter. There with lit candles and torches gathered several thousand mostly Roman families, to greet Pope John at his study window. Among these jubilant Catholics the curious Baptist hid himself, but not invisible enough to elude a thief who deftly picked his pocketbook and newly acquired SPCU council passport. Four years later Stuber told me that his piazza posture had been his only mistake of Protestant naïveté in the Holy City.

Where did the Observers observe?

In the aula of St. Peter's they were joined by SPCU staff and translators/interpreters to enjoy ringside seats in an exclusive tribunal under Bernini's St. Longinus. The Observers called themselves "The Separated Brethren of St. Longinus," whom they elected Honorary Observer. Without discrimination they received all of the distributed sub secreto documents, and were never excluded from the closed morning sessions (*congregationes generales*).

During these sessions were open two large bars, quickly named Bar-Jonas and Bar-Abbas, highlighted by Oscar Cullmann for their "ecumenical role." Because of the Observers' easily recognizable non-Roman attire, the episcopal red sea would politely part to assure that the honored guests need not wait in line. Always a bishop or peritus approached an Observer for conversation. For a fast coffee and cornetto, I selfishly would accompany an Observer. I often sought out the most affable Archbishop Harold Henry of Kwang Ju, Korea. The Irish Columban missionary, I discovered, was the best informed on the moods in the aula. He understood few words of spoken Latin oratory, so immediately after the Eucharist, he headed for the bars, and used the morning conversing with I suspected eventually during the four sessions every English-speaking Pater and Observer who did know what the orators were proposing.

Besides the aula, the Observers had four other centers or

observatories of conciliar contact. The Orthodox and most of the Anglicans and Protestants were lodged at the nearby Pensione Castel Sant' Angelo, where they invited to their tables *Patres*, periti and lay auditors, visiting clergy and lay people. In the Methodist church at the eastern end of the Ponte Sant' Angelo, they and the SPCU translators/interpreters met twice weekly in the early morn for common prayer, followed by practical updatings.

The third center was mobile. On Thursdays, *sine congregatione*, the Observers (and spouses), some SPCU staff and interpreters, took an all-day bus trip outside Rome, and we lunched too sumptuously with generous local hosts, such as the monasteries of Subiaco, Montecassino, Casamari, Assisi and Grottaferrata, or in the towns of Viterbo, Orvieto, Napoli and the Castelli Romani.

And the last but not least center was here in this room, a three-hour meeting every Tuesday afternoon. Chaired by Bishop Willebrands, they discussed the contents of specific schemata presented by key drafters. Old Catholic Werner Küppers called these uninhibited and provocative meetings the "ecumenical paracouncil of the SPCU and the Observers." At the end of the fourth session, Oscar Cullmann exclaimed: "In everything which concerns the Council, you have hidden absolutely nothing. There is no 'iron curtain' here."

For the first three weeks Cardinal Cushing of Boston looked enviously at the Observers' tribunal directly across the aisle. He lamented with some accuracy and a touch of anger: "The Observers are better understanding what is going on than most of us." He then left for Boston and never returned, except for a brief appearances at the third and fourth sessions when in the name of most U.S. bishops, he shouted out a defense of religious freedom, although few could understand his New England-accented, not too successful attempt to read the Latin text.

As did most *Patres*, especially the Greek and Oriental Orthodox paid careful attention to the remarks on each schema by the ecumenically sensitive Maximus IV, the Melchite patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. He spoke in the name of the Eastern Catholic Churches, but was also the voice of the Orthodox. He combined brilliant eloquence with blunt clarity. Already in November 1960 he had objected to John XXIII's *Veterum Sapientia* which declared Latin the official language of the *Universal Church*. To accommodate Latin church listeners, he compromised by speaking not in Arabic but in French – the only Pater allowed to do so.

The Danish Lutheran Observer Kristen Skydsgaard evoked the existence of a "secret Council," which he described as that interior, religious, experiential dimension of the participants which eludes verbal descriptions. Indeed being formed during the four sessions was a community-in-dialogue, an experienced *communio realis sed imperfecta*, also among the Observers.

This "secret Council" became also my experience. Some Observers became close companions in conciliar pilgrimage, Emmaus-like, not only at the centers, but also during quiet meals, walks through the hidden siesta streets of Rome, along the empty beach of Anzio/ Nettuno, or on the hill roads of Lago di Nemi. Serious, spontaneous, unfeigned talk about the Council; light chat

² S.I. STUBER, *Primer on Roman Catholicism for Protestants: An Appraisal of the Basic Differences between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism* (New York: Association Press, 1953).

about our families; humorous exchange of “horror stories” and student pranks-on-the-faculty during our seminary years; and the intuitive conversation of unawkward silences. Or to forget it all, occasional Sunday afternoon football (soccer) games at the riotous, deafening stadium with two of my closest friends – we youngsters were the same age: Zakka Iwas and Karekin Sarkissian, years later to become the patriarchs of the Syrian and the Armenian Orthodox Churches.

Yes, here in Rome was maturing over four years an unique, unrepeatable dialogue. The partners were the Catholic Church at its highest level of church authority in teaching and discipline – usually present around 2250 *Patres*, and a far, far smaller group of Observers who could not speak officially in the name of their churches.

For the first time, the *Patres* experienced a multicultural and international dialogue *among themselves*, and they could not avoid voting in conscience on final resolutions. Most *Patres* had never experienced *par cum pari* dialogue with “separated brethren” even on local or national levels, and now they were called to set the ecumenical agenda without the experience of dialogue.

And their partner, the group of Observers, had never experienced a multilateral dialogue among themselves with the Catholic Church as such and its wide-ranging agenda which the Council was determining unilaterally. In the light of their differing church traditions, of the historical contexts of relations with the Catholic Church, with ever-active “non-theological factors,” prejudices and caricatures, the Observers soon saw themselves differing *among themselves*, even in interpretations of the dynamics of *aggiornamento*.

In hindsight, those dynamics were inducing in the Church a Catholic reform of its own Counter-Reformation. It could not be a Reformation WCC-style, or a Reformation without a hierarchy, or without the papal primacy – sometimes these styles were implicit in some Observers’ expectations. Vatican II became a Reformation Roman-style, within the limits of the Catholic Church and without schism in the soul of the Church. Church historian Albert Outler called Vatican II “a very rare instance of historical change within a continuum of identity and consensus.”

Professor Outler represented the World Methodist Council at all four sessions. He did not miss any of the 168 general congregations — a boast no other Observer and few *Patres* could honestly claim. Outler was astute in predicting the various positive and negative reactions to Vatican II in the complex “Protestant world” during the four years and the aftermath.

At the end of the fourth session, this Methodist Observer had accurately observed the Observers: the *skeptics* who admitted outward signs of change which put non-Catholic Christians off-guard but, knowing Rome of old, they regarded these changes as illusions; the *cautious* who admired the proclaimed *aggiornamento* but soberly feared that once “the tumult and shouting are over the tide of reform will ebb away, leaving only noisemakers clamoring for what might have been”; the *visionaries* who “saw the ecumenical genie out of the bottle, and could not question the Council’s commitment to later bringing the Church’s

thought and practice up to the level of the Church’s vision and expectations.” In Outler’s confession, over the four years “my expanding comprehension converted me first from being an ecumenical tourist at a great ecclesiastical pageant into a participant observer in an epoch-making event, and then, into a partner in the ongoing ecumenical enterprise which had been generated by that event.”

What were the influences of the Observers?

Let me offer a few details of the Observers’ processes of influence. They not only observed, they also made observations. By the end of the first session, they had learned various ways to transmit their opinions and suggestions:

1) To the SPCU and drafters not only verbally at the Tuesday meetings in this room, but also in more careful and more usable writing. Some adopted the council voting method: agreement (*placet*), against (*non placet*), or conditional (*placet juxta modum*), here using “instead of this reading” (*stat*), read this way (*legitur*), for this reason (*ratio*).

2) Or to a SPCU Pater or another friendly bishop. The Pater would incorporate the suggestion as his own in a spoken or written intervention. I give four examples.

At a Tuesday meeting here in early November 1963, Kristen Skydsgaard criticized the new *De Ecclesia*. Offering Lutheran biblical understanding, he judged that the schema lacks a sense of human treachery and God’s wrath upon the Church; throughout the Bible the people of God is always in need of God’s forgiveness; this is also true of today’s Church. Lacking this biblical reality, *De Ecclesia* is “a pale document.” An American Observer walking to St. Peter’s with Anglican Bishop John Moorman said to him: “You remember Skydsgaard’s speech at our last Tuesday meeting. Well, today you are going to hear it again by a cardinal who was very impressed by it.” He was Cardinal Albert Meyer of Chicago, recognized by his American peers as their prime biblical scholar.

A second example. I well recall the *iter* of the expression “hierarchy of truths,” N. 11 in the *Decree on Ecumenism*. At the Pensione Castel Sant’ Angelo, Oscar Cullmann, a few other Observers, SPCU consultants Canadian Gregory Baum and Swiss Johannes Feiner, had been conversing about “the hierarchy of truths” in different church traditions as a subject for dialogue. Feiner then approached his friend Archbishop Andrea Pangrazio of Gorizia with an orderly text. Pater Pangrazio used it almost verbatim in his speech in aula (November 25, 1963)— in toto printed in English, German and French collections of selected notable interventions. SPCU introduced the paragraph “hierarchy of truths” in its new draft at the third session. When that new schema was discussed at the Tuesday meeting in this room, Cullmann announced (and later published) that he regarded the passage as “the most revolutionary to be found, not only in the ecumenism schema but in any of the schemata.”

Fifteen years later, the entertaining *pensionato* Pangrazio visited our Catholic Church/WCC Joint Working Group meeting in Venezia. He told us that *his* idea originated in an unforgettable comment which his dear mother had made to him as a young

priest— of course, in less technical language. A delightful example of a fading memory compensated by lively imagination.

A third example. At his request, an influential drafter of the schema on the laity, Bishop Emilio Guano of Livorno, received a long list of suggested changes or *modi* from Lukas Vischer and the WCC Laity Department. One can easily trace the incorporation of many of these suggestions in the promulgated *Apostolicam actuositatem*.

Likewise traceable in the *Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (Ad Gentes)* are the results of an unpublicized consultation which Bea/Willebrands had authorized me to co-organize with Bishop Lesslie Newbigin, director of the WCC Division on Mission and Evangelism, at Crêt-Bérard, Switzerland, April 5-10, 1965. The chief drafter, Johannes Schütte SVD, and other key drafters brought the fresh and approved draft— *sub secreto severo*, since only in June would the *Patres* receive the text. Newbigin's team included Vatican II Observers: V. Borovoj, V. Hayward, J. Miguez Bonino, J. Sadiq and L. Vischer.

The five-day consultation elicited direct input on the schema, in particular on the Trinitarian basis for the *Missio Dei*; mission both *in* and *to* the six continents; evangelism versus proselytism; and common witness. The drafters could not change the commission's schema, but one of them, Council member O. Degrijse, superior general of the Scheut Missionaries, first intervened in aula; then the mission commission used his detailed written *modi*. In his 1985 autobiography Newbigin "believes that the much more acceptable character of *Ad Gentes* as it was finally adopted, owed at least something to our meeting."³ I go further. Crêt-Bérard had almost as much influence on some sections of *Ad Gentes* as did the Observers on *Unitatis Redintegratio*.

More than any other schema Observers regarded *De Oecumenismo* as also *their* draft, and they strongly supported the positions of in aula interventions by some *Patres*. I give only four major points, raised also in this room.

1) In order to develop an ecclesiology which includes the historical abnormal divisions between the Churches, *De Ecclesia* and *De Oecumenismo* shifted from the dominant Pauline image of the Body of Christ and thus avoided Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis* body language— either *in* or *outside* the one Church of Christ, to another Pauline image of *koinonia*, and thus: *communio realis sed non plena* or *imperfecta* (N.3). And equally important, the emphasis is not on individual Christians but on their *Communities* as ecclesial realities (esp. Chapter III).

2) Every previous draft took for granted "Catholic ecumenism." The Observers supported the change to "Catholic principles of ecumenism" (Chapter I). The ecumenical movement is one and common to all, and the experience of the Catholic Church *in* the one movement is qualitatively different than the Catholic Church *and* the movement.

3) The inseparable bond between the unity and the mission of the Church, and the scandal of christian divisions which damages the proclamation of the one Gospel (Proemium and N.12).

³ J.E.L. NEWBIGIN, *Unfinished Agenda: An Autobiography* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1985) 208.

4) The Church as a whole is always in need of *renovatio, reformatio, purificatio*. The incorporation of this affirmation in *De Ecclesia* (N.8) and *De Oecumenismo* (N.6) led Presbyterian Observer Robert McAfee Brown to entitle his post-Council book, *The Second Reformation*— the ongoing vocation of *all* the churches, coining another name for the post-Vatican II one ecumenical movement.

Crucial though *De Oecumenismo* was for the Observers, for them *the* test to evaluate Vatican II's good faith in its total aggiornamento project and in particular its commitment to the one ecumenical movement, and *the* test to judge the ecumenical sincerity of Paul VI, was another schema, *De Libertate religiosa*— religious freedom in civic society. Would and could the Catholic Church state clearly and authoritatively that it respects the civic freedom of other believers (also of unbelievers), even if the Church has or will have the political power and occasion to do otherwise? Does the Catholic Church claim the exclusive right everywhere to "evangelize" among Protestant and Orthodox flocks, but condemns their public witness among Catholics always as unrightful "proselytism"?

Ever looking for the bottom-line answers in one of the most densely controversial of all council themes, the Observers would carefully be listening to every pertinent in aula remark, every shift in the worded arguments of the five successive drafts. They would be observing every tactic pro et contra behind the scenes, and every silence or act of the presider— Pope Paul VI.

Except for Lukas Vischer's and Max Boegner's records of their one-to-one conversations with Pope Paul— who was noted for his pointed questions, we know nothing of the pope's conversations with other Observers, e.g. U.S. Methodist Bishop Corson, Anglican Bishop Moorman, Armenian Orthodox Bishop Sarkissian, Oscar Cullmann (at all four sessions), Kristen Skydsgaard, and the Taizé Frères Roger Schutz and Max Thurian.

Untraceable is that mutual influence from informal conversations of the Observers with *Patres* and periti, whether in the Bar-Abbas and Bar-Jonah, or over dinner tables and at evening buffets hosted by journalists, or in invited talks to national or regional bishops' meetings.

Such were these influences by the Observers, also through press interviews and quotations used by bishops, that those minority *Patres*, mostly from Latin America, Italy and Spain, who had formed the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*, asked their rhetorical question to Paul VI already after the second session: Were not the Observers becoming "too influential on the Council in a negative way"? Perhaps confirming his own worries, the pope wrote Cardinal Bea (April 24, 1964) to consider if the presence and "mentalità" of the "the separated brethren" were "excessively dominating the Council, thus diminishing its psychological freedom." It seems, the pope concludes, that more important than pleasing the Observers is "to protect the coherence of the teaching of the Catholic Church." Cardinal Villot, of the Secretariat of State, claimed that the pope even considered "dis-inviting" the Observers.

We do not know Bea's response. All I recall is the private remark of Bishop Willebrands: "We did not invite them to

particular periods, but to the entire Council.” The pope’s concern never reached beyond our small *sub secreto* circle.

What were my personal experiences of dialogue?

I did first learn a few primary lessons in ecumenical dialogue from sharing the Observers’ experiences as Vatican II co-participants; lessons which forty years later I still find difficult always to practice, especially with the Eastern Christians and with the Jews and Muslims in the Holy but troubled Land.

For me, for most Christians, the most difficult step in dialogue is the first one: understand others as they understand themselves to be, enter the “insides” of other Churches, those “spiritual worlds other Christians inhabit” (Y. Congar), so that these others recognize themselves in my description of them. Only then do I have the right to the second step: evaluation according to the Catholic tradition. And to the third step: openness to those truths which the Church needs for its own reformation.

The hardest self-discipline of application is first kneeling before the personal and communal *pieties* of others, for piety and its symbolic expressions are far more deeply complex than doctrinal formulations. Thus the tests for the Protestant Observers were not just Catholic sacramental theology but sacramental and devotional *pieties*, already evidenced in above-average attention to the chapter on holiness in *De Ecclesia*. A Methodist asked: Do Catholics consider the universal call to holiness an obligation and an award for their liturgical and devotional efforts, or as John Wesley reminds us, is holiness always a free gift of invitation from God who first loves us? Douglas Steere of the Society of Friends quietly commented that the Quakers do not have sacraments, no baptism, no ordained leaders. Quaker piety and discipline only asks of all Christians, including popes: “Does this—or—that help lead you and others to holiness?”

The 16th century stances of the Lutheran and Calvinist magisterial Reformers were not forgotten. I give three examples.

The Reformers rejected praying *to* the God-saved saints, and à fortiori praying *for* those purgatorial dead who are not yet in the “cloud of witnesses.” The initial council discussions on the person and role of Mary and Marian *pieties* illuminated some Observers and soured others. One Pater claimed that Marian doctrine gave rise to the ecumenical movement, which gained strength after each infallible papal definition — the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. An unnamed Lutheran Observer remarked to John Moorman: “These are the darkest days of the Council. I never felt so far from Rome as I do now.” The somewhat acrimonious council debate over a separate document on Mary or her inclusion in *De Ecclesia*, caused Congregationist Elmer Arndt to ask: “Is Mary dividing the Council into two?”

A second example which touched Protestant nerves — *the piety over relics*, shared by the Orthodox and Catholics. At the second session, Paul VI (September 23) processed in aula the supposed head of St. Andrew for veneration by the *Patres*. The relic had been delivered to Pius II (1458-1464) for safe-keeping by the brother of the last christian emperor of Constantinople who had fled Patras in Peloponnesian Greece when Muslim troops

were about to conquer the city.

Cardinal Bea led a delegation to return the relic to the local Orthodox church of Patras. The Orthodox well understood and welcomed this generous papal gesture of restitution. “The whole Orthodox world rejoices,” wrote Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras to Paul VI. But Protestant reactions ranged from bewilderment to disgust. Observer Douglas Horton wondered over the reaction of the moderator of the International Congregational Council, if the pope were to send him the apostle’s head as a gift. Another reaction: “Now Rome has one less relic to explain, and Orthodoxy one more.”

Cardinal Bea returned from Patras the day before Paul VI’s first audience with the Observers (September 29); in Bea’s short discourse of four paragraphs, one was on the Patras event. The Orthodox beamed grateful approval. The Protestant faces were tactfully blank.

A last example of dismay was before the end of the fourth session. On December 6 Paul VI proclaimed, in *Magnificus Eventus*, an extraordinary jubilee after the Council, and it offers a series of partial and plenary indulgences. The list of special faculties for confessors uses the terms *heretics* and *schismatics* — never found in the council documents, and groups them together with atheists, apostates and Freemasons.

Lutheran Observer Wolfgang Dietzfelbinger told us of the Evangelicals’ dismay that the discussions on indulgences and their background, which Martin Luther wanted to bring about, had still not taken place in the Church of Rome. “This intolerable discrepancy,” he observed, “might with the greatest forbearance be interpreted as a thoughtless application of former jubilee regulations, but at the same time it goes to show how large the spheres are that are still closed to the ecumenical spirit.”

Another lesson in ecumenism I learned is taking to heart the others’ personal hurts and pains. No better example than that of *mixed marriages* of Catholic and Protestant spouses. Observers personally knew of several such couples; most had to pastor to their needs, and their consciences. A few told me that members of their own family — sister or brother, son or daughter, had married Catholics, either according to our then canon law regarding the witnessing minister, the ceremony and the raising of children, or all too often contrary to that law.

Almost all Observers, in recognition of their diversity in representation, already at the first session resisted the suggestion of Lukas Vischer and Lutheran Edmund Schlink for “common non-Catholic Christian statements” on the schemata, in the style of WCC consensus declarations. Many made an exception at the fourth session, after the council debate on *De Matrimonii sacramento*. A section dealt with mixed marriages. The *Patres* were divided over its recommendations for new legislation, either lauding them or considering them too strict or too lenient. They did not vote on the draft, but instead voted that because of pastoral urgency, they preferred that the pope receive their diverse comments and eventually promulgate new laws and guidelines.

Shortly after this vote, in a private audience with Pope Paul, Max Boegner — like Cardinal Tisserant, a member of the French Academy — raised the pastoral concern of the Observers to mixed

marriages. The pope urged that they convey to himself their written concerns. 23 Observers signed a joint-statement “on mixed marriages between baptized Christians” (September 21, 1965). Bishop Willebrands conveyed the document directly to the pope.

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Not to be regarded as marginal were the Eucharistic liturgies during the Council; the prayers of the Observers with Paul VI at the three private audiences; and above all, the common prayer service “for the promotion of unity among Christians” in the Basilica San Paolo four days before Vatican II concluded.

The grand Eucharists at the opening and closing of the four periods did not favorably impress the Protestants; for them, “more *spectacula* than participatory prayer.” More to their edification was the Liturgy which began each closed working session: the respectful enthronement of the Holy Bible and usually quiet Eucharists, in different rites. In their own ways, they could participate, and not only with liturgical curiosity.

The Observers’ first private audience with Paul VI (October 17, 1963) was in his private study – in his words, “a setting of symbolic value, that our desire to welcome you not only on the threshold of our house, but in the very intimacy of our home.” The pope invited all to pray together the Lord’s prayer, each in his own language. The third session audience (September 29, 1964) was in the Sistine Chapel, where together they sang *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, amidst Michelangelo’s splendor of salvation history in art.

Participating in the prayer service at San Paolo, the late afternoon of December 4, 1965, were at least 1500 laity and clergy, over 300 *Patres* and about 200 *periti*. Before the Altar of Confession, the pope sat on an unelevated chair; in a semi-circle around him: cardinals (*abito nero*) to his right, the Observers to his left.

Between hymns and prayers, reading the biblical texts were Methodist Albert Outler, SPCU consultor Pierre Michalon, successor to Paul Couturier; and Maximos Aghiorgoussis, the young pastor of the Greek Orthodox church in Rome, on Via Sardegna (today the Metropolitan of Philadelphia, USA). Old Catholic Johannes Maan led the litany for unity. After the pope’s sermon, the Magnificat was sung, the invocation given, and then Paul VI, Observers and Guests, Cardinal Bea, SPCU staff, members and consultors, the entire congregation sang together

Now Thank We all Our God, Nun Danken wir alle Gott – Lutheran Martin Rinkhart’s hymn so popular among Protestants that only a few needed to glance at the printed lyrics. On several faces I noticed quiet tears.

Oscar Cullmann regarded this pope’s initiative “one of the most important ecumenical acts of the Council. Certainly it will bear fruit which will be much more meaningful for the ecumenical cause than much theological dispute.”

Conclusions

That was 37 years ago. Shortly we too in this room, for four years a shared Vatican II Observatory, will celebrate a common prayer service during this Unity Octave. It will be my first in Rome since this same week in January 1970, when I was preparing to leave behind ten years of full-time SPCU curial ministry. I am privileged also to hear Waldensian Paolo Ricca break the word of God. He was registered as a journalist at Vatican II. Residing at the Collegio Valdese on the Piazza Cavour during the council sessions and sharing his insights with the faculty and students was Oscar Cullmann, with his sister Louise. Cullmann had been young Paolo Ricca’s teacher at the University of Basle.

I conclude, keeping in mind the 17th century English poet John Denham: “We may our ends by our beginning know.”

In his sermon at St. Paul’s, Paul VI became his best self when he directly addressed the Observers: “We are about to separate. The Council is ending... Each of you is about to take the road of return to your own home, and we shall be alone once more. Allow me to confide in you this intimate impression: your departure produces a solitude around us unknown to us before the Council, and which now saddens us. We should like to see you with us always.”

And so they did leave Rome – Observers and Guests, SPCU members and consultors, most bishops and *periti* and journalists; over the years I would meet several of them in a variety of ecumenical forums. They departed, but also leaving in solitude us of Cardinal Bea’s staff who remained at our Via dell’Erba offices, breathing the Vatican II spirit and graced with 16 promulgated documents. We live also under the judgement of God’s future. The day after the Council closing, the overarching image, I recall, was from P.G. Wodehouse: once you climb on a tiger’s back, you should carefully consider your next moves.



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Centro Conferences

Mass Without the Consecration? The Historic Agreement on the Eucharist Between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East Promulgated 26 October 2001¹

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Fifth Annual Conference in Honor of Father Paul Wattson and Mother Lurana White

(Conference held at the **Centro Pro Unione**, Thursday, 20 March 2003)

My deliberately provocative title, “Mass Without the Consecration?,” I owe to a high-ranking Catholic prelate who, upon hearing of the epoch-making decree of the Holy See recognizing the validity of the eucharistic sacrifice celebrated according to the original redaction of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari—i.e., without the Words of Institution—exclaimed in perplexity: “But how can there be Mass without the consecration?” The answer, of course, is that there cannot be. But that does not solve the problem; it just shifts the question to “What, then, is the consecration, if not the traditional Institution Narrative which all three Synoptic Gospels² and 1 Cor 11:23-26 attribute to Jesus?”

¹ Annual 2002 Paul Wattson-Lurana White Lecture at the Centro Pro Unione, Rome, originally scheduled for December 12, 2002, but postponed until March 20, 2003, because of illness. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Gabriele Winkler of Tübingen for reading a draft of this paper and suggesting numerous suggestions and corrections.

Abbreviations used in the notes:

- BELS 19** = B.D. SPINKS, ed., *The Sacrifice of Praise. Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies*. Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae, Subsidia, 19 (Rome: C.L.V.—Edizioni liturgiche, 1981).
- CPG** = M. GEERARD, F. GLORIE, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. & M. GEERARD, J. NORET, eds., *Supplementum*, (Corpus Christianorum, Turnhout: Brepols, 1974-1998).
- CPL** = *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, E. DEKKERS, E. GAAR, eds. (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Steenbrugge: Abbatia Santi Petri, 1995).
- CSEL** = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
- DOL** = INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ENGLISH IN THE LITURGY, *Documents on the Liturgy 1963-1979. Conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1982).
- Dz** = H. DENZINGER, A. SCHÖNMETZER, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 33rd ed. (Freiburg/B.: Herder, 1965).
- EDIL 1** = R. KACZYNSKI, ed., *Enchiridion documentorum instaurationis liturgicae*, Bd. I; 1963-1973 (Turin/Rome: Marietti/C.L.V.—Edizioni liturgiche, 1976).
- JTS** = *The Journal of Theological Studies*.
- OCA** = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*.
- OCP** = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
- OKS** = *Ostkirchliche Studien*.
- PE** = A. HÄNGGI, I. PAHL, *Prex eucharistica*, vol. I: *Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, 3rd ed. by A. GERHARDS and H. BRAKMANN, eds., Spicilegium Friburgense, 12 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Éditions Universitaires, 1998).
- SC** = *Sources chrétiennes*.
- SL** = *Studia liturgica*.

² Mt 26:26-29; Mk 14:22-25; Lk 22:19-21. The Johannine tradition paraphrases it in Jn 6:51.

The 26 October 2001 Agreement

One of the basic tasks of the Catholic theologian is to provide the theological underpinnings to explain and justify authentic decisions of the Supreme Magisterium. That is my aim here. For the historic agreement on the eucharist between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East is surely one such authentic decision, approved by the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, and Pope John Paul II himself. This decision tells Catholics who fulfill the stated conditions and receive Holy Communion at an Assyrian eucharist using the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, that they are receiving the one true Body and Blood of Christ, as at a Catholic eucharist.

Let us look at what this audacious agreement says, how it came about, and what made its approval possible. The text, entitled "Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist Between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East," was promulgated on October 26, 2001 but bears the date of its approval, July 20, 2001. I consider this the most remarkable Catholic magisterial document since Vatican II. The purpose of this mutual agreement is pastoral: to ensure that the faithful of two Sister Churches that spring from the same ancient apostolic tradition not be deprived of the Bread of Life through the unavailability of a minister of their own Church. But pastoral in the context of two Sister Churches means also common, i.e., mutual: what kind of an agreement can be called an agreement if it is one-sided?

The Problem

The Catholic side, however, was faced with a problem that could only be resolved by the Supreme Magisterium: in the light of Catholic teaching on the importance of the Words of Institution in the eucharistic consecration, how can the Catholic Church authorize its faithful to receive Holy Communion at a liturgy lacking these central words? The problem, of course, comes not just from the fact that Addai and Mari does not have these words. If Addai and Mari had been written yesterday, Rome would have said, "Let's use a traditional text containing the Words of Jesus." But that is the precise point: *Addai and Mari is traditional*. Scholars are unanimous that it is one of the most ancient anaphoras extant, a prayer believed to have been in continuous use in the age-old East-Syrian Christendom of Mesopotamia from time immemorial. As such, it merited the respect Rome has always had for Tradition with a capital "T."

With that context in mind, the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity subjected the question to the study of experts. A preparatory document dated May 23, 1998, entitled "Pastoral Disposition for Eucharistic Hospitality between the Assyrian Church and the Catholic Church," was prepared, proposing that the Catholic Church recognize the validity of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari and giving the reasons why. This extraordinarily well-formulated document was then circulated among Catholic scholars deemed expert in the field. It was sent to twenty-six, I was told, an unusually large number. This was only

prudent, considering the enormous significance and audacity of what was being proposed: a decision that would, in effect, overturn the centuries old *clichés* of Catholic manual theology concerning the eucharistic consecration. I received my copy of the working paper from the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, of which I am a consultor for liturgy, accompanied by a letter of May 28, 1998, signed by the then Prefect, His Eminence Achille Cardinal Silvestrini, and Subsecretary Msgr. Claudio Gugerotti.

The document discussed the pastoral and ecumenical context, as well as what it calls the *dogmatic question* concerning the validity of Addai and Mari, a question, the document reveals, that in three letters from 1994-1997, the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith had repeatedly insisted needed further investigation. This dogmatic question is the focus of my interest here.

The document takes a forthright and courageous stand in favor of recognizing the validity of Addai and Mari, arguing, *inter alia*, from the apostolicity of the East-Syrian tradition and from Addai and Mari itself, placing its lack of an Institution Narrative in the context of the history of the eucharistic prayer, as well as in relation to the Assyrian eucharistic tradition concerning the Institution Narrative as reflected in the other two East-Syrian anaphoras which do have the Institution.

The argumentation, fully *au courant* theologically and liturgically, can be summed up as follows:

1. The Catholic Magisterium teaches that the traditional practices of our Eastern Sister Churches are worthy of all veneration and respect.
2. Scholars are unanimous that Addai and Mari is one of the most ancient extant anaphoras still in use.
3. The consensus of the latest scholarship is that Addai and Mari in its original form never had the Institution Narrative. Contrary to earlier opinion, this is not a *hapax*: there are several other early eucharistic prayers that have no Words of Institution.³
4. Though Addai and Mari may lack the Institution *ad litteram*, it contains it virtually, in explicit, if oblique, references to the eucharistic Institution, to the Last Supper, to the Body and Blood and sacrifice of Christ, and to the oblation of the Church, thereby clearly demonstrating the intention of repeating what Jesus did, in obedience to His command: "Do this in memory of me."
5. This clear intention to express the links joining the Last Supper, the eucharistic Institution, the sacrifice of the Cross, and the oblation of the Church, is confirmed by the other Assyrian anaphoras, by all the East-Syrian liturgical commentators, as well as by the peculiar Assyrian tradition of the *malka* or Holy Leaven added to the eucharistic loaves as a sign of historical continuity with the Last Supper.

The final document sums up the doctrinal decision as follows:

In the first place, the Anaphora of Addai and Mari is one of the most ancient Anaphoras, dating back to the time of

³ See below at notes 10-20.

the very early Church; it was composed and used with the clear intention of celebrating the Eucharist in full continuity with the Last Supper and according to the intention of the Church; its validity was never officially contested, neither in the Christian East nor in the Christian West.

Secondly, the Catholic Church recognises the Assyrian Church of the East as a true particular Church, built upon orthodox faith and apostolic succession. The Assyrian Church of the East has also preserved full Eucharistic faith in the presence of our Lord under the species of bread and wine and in the sacrificial character of the Eucharist. In the Assyrian Church of the East, though not in full communion with the Catholic Church, are thus to be found “*true sacraments, and above all, by apostolic succession, the priesthood and the Eucharist*” (Vatican II, Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio* §15).

Finally, the words of Eucharistic Institution are indeed present in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, not in a coherent narrative way and *ad litteram*, but rather in a dispersed eucharological way, that is, integrated in successive prayers of thanksgiving, praise and intercession.

These three paragraphs reflect the progress in Catholic liturgical scholarship and ecumenical thinking that provided the historical and theological basis for such an agreement.

Ecumenical Scholarship

Let us begin with ecumenical scholarship.⁴ All scholarship worthy of the name is historico-critical, objective, fair, and representatively comprehensive. But *ecumenical* scholarship is not content with these purely natural virtues of honesty and fairness that one should be able to expect from any true scholar. Ecumenical scholarship takes things a long step further. I consider ecumenical scholarship a new and specifically Christian way of studying Christian tradition in order to reconcile and unite, rather than to confute and dominate. Its deliberate intention is to emphasize the common tradition underlying differences which, though real, may be the accidental product of history, culture, language, rather than essential differences in the doctrine of the apostolic faith. Of course to remain scholarly, this effort must be carried out realistically, without in any way glossing over real

differences. But even in recognizing differences, ecumenical scholarship seeks to describe the beliefs, traditions, and usages of other confessions in ways their own objective spokespersons would recognize as reliable and fair.

So ecumenical scholarship seeks not confrontation but agreement and understanding. It strives to enter into the other's point of view, to understand it insofar as possible with sympathy and agreement. It is a contest in reverse, a contest of love, one in which the parties seek to understand and justify not their own point of view, but that of their interlocutor. Such an effort and method, far from being baseless romanticism, is rooted in generally accepted evangelical and Catholic theological principles:

1. The theological foundation for this method is our faith that the Holy Spirit is with God's Church, protecting the integrity of its witness, above all in the centuries of its undivided unity. Since some of the issues that divide us go right back to those centuries, one must ineluctably conclude that these differences do not affect the substance of the apostolic faith. For if they did, then contrary to Jesus' promise (Mt 16:18), the “gates of hell” would indeed have prevailed against the Church.
2. Secondly, the Catholic Church recognizes the Eastern Churches to be the historic apostolic Christianity of the East, and Sister Churches of the Catholic Church. Consequently, no view of Christian tradition can be considered anything but partial that does not take full account of the age-old, traditional teaching of these Sister Churches. Any theology must be measured not only against the common tradition of the undivided Church, but also against the ongoing witness of the Spirit-guided apostolic christendom of the East. That does not mean that East or West has never been wrong. It does mean that neither can be ignored.
3. An authentic magisterium cannot contradict itself. Therefore, without denying the legitimate development of doctrine, in the case of apparently conflicting traditions of East and West, preferential consideration must be given to the witness of the undivided Church. This is especially true with respect to later polemics resulting from unilateral departures from or developments out of the common tradition during the period of divided christendom.
4. Those who have unilaterally modified a commonly accepted tradition of the undivided Church bear the principle responsibility for any divisions caused thereby. So it is incumbent first of all on them to seek an acceptable solution to that problem. This is especially true when those developments, albeit legitimate, may be perceived by others as a narrowing of the tradition, or have been forged in the crucible of polemics, never a reliable pedagogue.
5. Within a single Church, any legitimate view of its own particular tradition must encompass the complete spectrum of its witnesses throughout the whole continuum of its history, and not just its most recent or currently popular expression.
6. Finally, doctrinal formulations produced in the heat of polemics must be construed narrowly, within the strict compass of the errors they were meant to confute. In 1551

⁴ Here and elsewhere below in this paper I resume some ideas expressed earlier in R.F. TAFT, “Ecumenical Scholarship and the Catholic-Orthodox Epiclesis Dispute,” *OKS* 45 (1996) 201-226, here 202-204; *id.*, “Understanding the Byzantine Anaphoral Oblation,” in N. MITCHELL, J. BALDOVIN, eds., *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith. Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.*, A Pueblo Book (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996) 32-55; *id.*, “The Epiclesis Question in the Light of the Orthodox and Catholic *Lex orandi Traditions*,” in B. NASSIF, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Theology. Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1996) 210-237. For an essay on the “ecumenical method” *ante factum* as well as *ante vocabulum*, see C. LIALINE, “De la méthode irénique,” *Irénikon* 15 (1938) 1-28, 131-153, 236-255, 450-459.

when Session 13, chapter 3-4 and canon 4 of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) defined that “immediately after the consecration (*statim post consecrationem*),” and “by the consecration (*per consecrationem*),” and “once the consecration is accomplished (*peracta consecratione*),” the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ (Dz §§1640, 1642, 1654), it was combating those who denied that transformation, not making a statement about its “moment” or “formula.”⁵

If we bear all these principles in mind, it should be immediately obvious that the Catholic Church could not but seek a positive solution to the perceived problem of the validity of Addai and Mari. From an historical and ecumenical point of view, on what legitimate theological and ecclesiological basis could Rome argue that an Apostolic Church whose Urancient principal anaphora had been in continuous use since time immemorial without ever being condemned by anyone, not by any Father of the Church, nor by any local or provincial synod, nor by Ecumenical Council nor catholicos nor patriarch nor pope—on what basis would one dare to infer, even implicitly, that such an ancient Apostolic Church did not and had never had a valid eucharistic sacrifice? This is not mere rhetoric—it is ecclesiology: the implications of such a negative verdict would be staggering.

A Missing Institution Narrative?

In addition to the ecumenical principles just enumerated, the elements which rendered such a positive solution feasible result from the consensus of the best in contemporary Catholic scholarship on the eucharist and its theology. Earlier Catholic scholarship on Addai and Mari tended to argue *a priori* that since there could be no eucharist without the Words of Institution, the original text of Addai and Mari must perforce have once had those words. The prominent 17th century the French Catholic scholar of eastern liturgies, Eusèbe Renaudot (1613-1679), wrote that an anaphora without the Words of institution was “...totally unheard of in antiquity and contrary to the discipline...of all Churches.”⁶ In such a climate of opinion, scholarly research and debate concerned just where these Words of Institution must have been, and how they got removed.

But already half a century ago in Catholic scholarship, rumblings began to be heard against such arguments, which Alphonse Res. S.J. (1896-1983) labeled an “apriorisme” and “insuffisantes.”⁷ Contemporary scholarship also completely rejects such an approach, and has no patience with theories based on suppositions of what must or must not have been. Today’s scholar starts with what is, and attempts to explain it—not explain

it away. So scholarly opinion tends to respect a text as it is, and presumes that to be its pristine form until the contrary is proven.⁸ This prejudice in favor of the text is reinforced, in the case of Addai and Mari, by the unanimity of the manuscript tradition: not a single witness to this anaphora contains the Institution Account. Had the Institution Narrative once been part of the text only to be excised at a later date, it is unlikely that there would be not one single manuscript witness to the earlier redaction, nor any other reminiscence of the matter in the literature of the tradition. That silence would hardly have been possible in the light of the importance the classical East-Syrian liturgical commentators give to the Institution Narrative in their eucharistic theology.⁹

Furthermore, although theories on the origins and evolution of the pristine anaphora remain in flux, one point of growing agreement among representative scholars, Catholic and non, is that the Institution Narrative is a later embolism—i.e., interpolation—into the earliest eucharistic prayers. For *pace* Renaudot’s mistaken assertion, not only Addai and Mari but several other early eucharistic prayers do, in fact, lack these words.¹⁰ Those generally listed include: the 1/2nd century *Didache* 9-10¹¹ and the dependent *Apostolic Constitutions* (ca. 380) VII, 25:1-4;¹² the 2/3rd century apocryphal *Acts of John* 85-86, 109-110 and *Acts of Thomas* 27, 49-50, 133, 158,¹³ the

⁸ For an extensive bibliography of scholarship on Addai and Mari until 1992, see A. GELSTON, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford/NY: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1992) 126-30, as well as his discussion, 5-28; to which add the more recent collected studies of B.D. SPINKS, *Worship. Prayers from the East* (Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1993), hereafter cited *Prayers from the East*.

⁹ The relevant texts are cited and commented by S.Y.H. JAMMO, “Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne,” *OCP* 32 (1966) 39-52; cf. B.D. SPINKS, “Addai and Mari and the Institution Narrative: The Tantalising Evidence of Gabriel Qatraya,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 98 (1984) 60-67 = *id.*, *Prayers from the East* 37-45.

¹⁰ Among innumerable modern studies on this issue, in addition to those cited below apropos of Addai and Mari, see, for example, G.J. CUMING, “The Shape of the Anaphora,” *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989) 333-345; G. DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945) 197-98; J.R.K. FENWICK, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques*, Grove Liturgical Studies, 45 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1986); C. GIRAUDO, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa. Prospettive teologiche sull'eucaristia a partire dalla “lex orandi”*, Aloisiana, 22 (Roma/Brescia: Gregorian University Press/Morcelliana, 1989) 345ff; E.J. KILMARTIN, “*Sacrificium laudis*: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” *Theological Studies* 35 (1974) 268-287, here 277-278, 280; L. LIGIER, “The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to the Eucharist,” *SL* 9 (1973) 161-185, esp. 179; and, for a contrary opinion, E. YARNOLD, “Anaphoras without Institution Narratives?” *Studia Patristica* 30 (1997) 395-410.

¹¹ *SC* 248:180= *PE* 66.

¹² *SC* 336:52-55.

¹³ *PE* 74-79.

⁵ N.P. TANNER, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London/Washington, DC: Sheed & Ward/Georgetown University Press, 1990) 2: 695-697.

⁶ “...inauditum prorsus antiquitus, & contra omnium Ecclesiarum ... disciplinam”: *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 2 vols. (Paris 1716) 2:579; (Frankfurt/London: J. Baer, 1847) 2:573.

⁷ “Le récit de l’institution eucharistique dans l’anaphore chaldéenne et malabare des Apôtres,” *OCP* 10 (1944) 216-226, here 220, 225.

Martyrdom of Polycarp (†167) 14;¹⁴ the 4/5th century *Papyrus Strasbourg Gr. 254*;¹⁵ the eucharistic prayer on two 7/8th century Coptic Ostraca, *British Library Nr. 32 799* and *Nr. 33 050*;¹⁶ and the Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles, as Gabriele Winkler has recently demonstrated.¹⁷ Furthermore, it seems probable that ca. 150, Justin Martyr's eucharistic prayer did not have them either.¹⁸ In addition, Cyrille Vogel lists six eucharistic prayers in the apocrypha without any trace of an Institution Narrative,¹⁹ and at least twenty-one later Syriac anaphoras either lack the Words of Institution completely (8 anaphoras) or partly (4), or give them in a form considered defective (9)—e.g., in indirect discourse.²⁰

Already in 1928, Anglican liturgical scholar Edward C. Ratcliff challenged the notion that Addai and Mari once had the Institution Narrative,²¹ and later (1950) argued that the *Sanctus*

was the conclusion to the primitive anaphoras,²² a possibility raised earlier (1938) by the great German Benedictine orientalist and comparative liturgiologist Hieronymus Engberding, who had proposed that the presanctus of the Urtext behind the Greek Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom and the related Syriac Anaphora of the Apostles was once a complete eucharistic prayer.²³ Other authors like the French Jesuit Louis Ligier, Professor of liturgy at the Pontifical Oriental Institute and Gregorian University in Rome, resumed and developed this idea. In Ligier's hypothesis, the Institution/Anamnesis block in the anaphora would be a later embolism framed by the general thanksgiving and its common concluding acclamation "In all and for all we hymn you, we bless you, we thank you, and we pray to you, Our God."²⁴ The *Sanctus*, in turn, would be a still later enrichment of this structure.²⁵ Gabriele Winkler of Tübingen has carried this research further, proposing that the *Sanctus* was

¹⁴ F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed., Subsidia hagiographica, 8a (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957) §1556; H. MUSURILLO, ed., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 12-15.

¹⁵ *PE* 116-119.

¹⁶ H. QUECKE, "Das anaphorische Dankgebet auf den koptischen Ostraka, B.M Nr. 32 799 und 33 050 neu herausgegeben," *OCP* 37, 9 (1971) 391-405; cf. K. GAMBER, "Das koptische Ostraka London B.M Nr. 32 799 und 33 050 und seine liturgiegeschichtliche Bedeutung," *OKS* 21 (1972) 298-308.

¹⁷ G. WINKLER, *Das Sanctus. Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken*, *OCA* 267 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2002) 162-68, 171-72; cf. also 85-86, 92-93, 96, 128, 143; *eadem*, "A New Witness to the Missing Institution Narrative," to appear in M.E. JOHNSON, L.E. PHILLIPS, eds., *The Study of Early Liturgy: Essays in Honor of Paul F. Bradshaw* (Portland: The Oregon Catholic Press) in press.

¹⁸ *Apology* I, 65, 67, *PE* 70.

¹⁹ C. VOGEL, "Anaphores eucharistiques préconstantiniennes. Formes non traditionnelles," *Augustinianum* 20 (1980) 401-410.

²⁰ A. RAES, "Les paroles de la consécration dans les anaphores syriens," *OCP* 3 (1937) 486-504; C. GIRAUDO, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa* 350-359.

²¹ E.C. RATCLIFF, "The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion," *JTL* 30 (1928) 23-32 = *id.*, *Liturgical Studies*, A.H. COURATIN, D.H. TRIPP, eds., (London: SPCK, 1976) 80-90 (cf. also other relevant studies in the same anthology of his works). On Addai and Mari see also S.Y.H. JAMMO, "The Quddasha of the Apostles Addai and Mari and the Narrative of the Eucharistic Institution", in *Syriac Dialogue* (Vienna: Pro Oriente, 1994) 167-181; P. HOFRIKHTER, "The Anaphora of Addai and Mari in the Church of the East—Eucharist without Institution Narrative", *ibid.*, 182-191; most recently S.Y.H. JAMMO, "The Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari: A Study of Structure and Historical Background," *OCP* 68 (2002) 5-35.

²² E.C. RATCLIFF, "The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora," I: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* I (1950) 29-36; II: *ibid.* 125-134 = *id.*, *Liturgical Studies* 18-40. Ratcliff repeats his ideas in a letter of Oct. 23, 1961, to A. Couratin, published in "The Thanksgiving: An Essay by Arthur Couratin," ed. by D.H. TRIPP in *BELS* 19:23-24. On Ratcliff's views, see also B.D. SPINKS, "The Cleansed Leper's Thankoffering before the Lord: Edward Craddock Ratcliff and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora," *BELS* 19:161-178; *id.*, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 4-7. See also the more recent summary of views and discussion in R.F. TAFT, "The Interpolation of the Sanctus into the Anaphora: When and Where? A Review of the Dossier" Part I, *OCP* 57 (1991) 281-308; Part II, *OCP* 58 (1992) 82-121, here I:291-298; *id.*, *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS493, (Aldershot/Brookfield: Variorum, 1995) ch. IX; *id.*, *Il Sanctus nell'anafora. Un riesame della questione* (Rome: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana, 1999); on the latter, see the critical review of G. WINKLER in *Oriens Christianus* 85 (2001) 283-284; and her seminal new study, *Das Sanctus*.

²³ H. ENGBERDING, "Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexte einander gegenüberstellt und mit neuen Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomosliturgie begleitet," *Oriens Christianus* 34 = ser. 3, vol. 12 (1938) 213-247, here 239, 241.

²⁴ For the text referred to, see F.E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) 88.10-16, 178.18-19, 329.9-10, 438.12-14; G.J. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, edited from the manuscripts with a commentary, *OCA* 234 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990) 43.9; A. GERHARDS, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Eucharistischen Hochgebets*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 65 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1984) 34.193-194; *PE* 226, 236, 267, 271, 287, 290, 296, 305, 307, 312, 317, 322, 329, 335, 339, 352, 364, 377, 384, 393; cf. J.-M. HANSENS, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, vols. II-III (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1930, 1932) 3:451-452 § 1321.

²⁵ L. LIGIER, "The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to the Eucharist," *SL* 9 (1973) 161-185, esp. 167, 171ff, 177-180, 183.

present from the beginning in such ancient anaphoras as UrBasil²⁶ and the Syriac (Addai and Mari) and Ethiopic Anaphoras. Neither of the latter two, however, originally had an Institution Narrative.²⁷ Finally, present expert opinion on the *Apostolic Tradition* holds that the Institution and Anamnesis/Oblation may have been added to its Anaphora later, not earlier than the 4th century.²⁸ *So there is not a single extant pre-Nicene eucharistic prayer that one can prove contained the Words of Institution*, and today many scholars maintain that the most primitive, original eucharistic prayers were short, self-contained benedictions without Institution Narrative or Epiclesis, comparable to the *Didache* 10 and the papyrus *Strasbourg 254*.²⁹

²⁶ G. WINKLER, *Die Basilien-Anaphora. Kritische Edition der beiden armenischen Rezensionen mit ausführlichem liturgiewissenschaftlichem Kommentar unter Einbezug aller relevanten syrischen und äthiopischen Anaphoren*, Anaphorae Orientales, 2 = Anaphorae Armeniacae, 2 (Rome) in preparation.

²⁷ G. WINKLER, *Das Sanctus* 130-133, 167-168, 171-172; and these articles in press: *eadem*, “Beobachtungen zu den im ante Sanctus angeführten Engeln,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* (2003) note 6; *eadem*, “Über die Bedeutung des Sanctus-Benedictus und seine Wurzeln in der Qedušša,” *Quaestiones Disputatae* (2003); and, most recently, *eadem*, “A New Witness to the Missing Institution Narrative.”

²⁸ P.F. BRADSHAW, “A Paschal Root to the Anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition? A Response to Enrico Mazza,” *Studia Patristica* 35 (2001) 257-265; *id.* and M.E. JOHNSON, L.E. PHILLIPS, *The Apostolic Tradition. A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002) 45-48; J.F. BALDOVIN, “The Apostolic Tradition? Of Hippolytus? Of Rome?” The Sir Daniel & Countess Bernardine Murphy Donohue Chair in Eastern Catholic Theology at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, Annual Lecture, March 13, 2003 (in press *Theological Studies*).

²⁹ Cf. S.Y.H. JAMMO, “The Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari,” 11-18; M. ARRANZ, “L’esegesi dei testi liturgici: un’apertura metodologica per orizzonti nuovi,” *Rassegna di teologia* 32 (1991) 86-92, here esp. 89-90; W.H. BATES, “Thanksgiving and Intercession in the Liturgy of St. Mark,” *BELS* 19:112-119; G.J. CUMING, “The Anaphora of St. Mark. A Study in Development,” *Le Muséon* 95 (1982) 115-129 122-123, 128; KILMARTIN, “*Sacrificium laudis*,” 268-287; G. KRETSCHMAR, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 21 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1956) 148; E.C. RATCLIFF, “The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion,” *JTS* 30 (1929) 23-32 = *id.*, *Liturgical Studies* 80-90. 23-32; H. WEGMAN, “Une anaphore incomplète? Les fragments sur Papyrus Strasbourg Gr. 254,” in: R. van den BROEK, M.J. VERMASEREN, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981) 432-450; *id.*, “Généalogie hypothétique de la prière eucharistique,” *Questions liturgiques* 61 (1980) 263-278. For a summary of research on the origins of the anaphora up to the dates of the respective publications, see T.J. TALLEY, “The Eucharistic Prayer of the Ancient Church according to Recent Research: Results and Reflections,” *SL* 11 (1976) 138-158; G.J. CUMING, “The Early Eucharistic Liturgies in Recent Research,” *BELS* 19:65-69; to which must be added the recent works of C. GIRAUDO, *La struttura letteraria della preghiera eucaristica. Saggio sulla genesi letteraria di una forma. Toda*

All this shows that scholarship on the eucharistic prayer has been rich and intensive for a generation, and even if some remain skeptical of one or another hypothesis or conclusions,³⁰ there is consensus on at least one point: I know of not one single reputable contemporary scholar on the topic, Catholic or non, who would hold it as certain that the Words of Institution were an integral part of the earliest eucharistic prayers over the gifts. Jesuit Cesare Giraudo, one of the major figures in the area by anyone’s criteria, calls it “*una questione aperta*” whether the original eucharist included Jesus’ Words.³¹ Anthony Gelston, summing up the contemporary consensus, notes

the not inconsiderable evidence that the wording of the Christian Eucharistic prayer remained far from fixed until at least the beginning of the third century. There is no hint of a tradition that the actual content of Jesus’ thanksgiving at the Last Supper was remembered, transmitted, and repeated at the celebration of the Eucharist. What was done in remembrance of Jesus was the offering of thanks, but not according to a fixed formula.³²

Interpreting the Tradition: *Theologia prima*—*Theologia secunda*

How, then, are we to interpret liturgical texts? What do our anaphoras mean? They mean what they say. It is axiomatic in contemporary liturgical theology to distinguish between *theologia prima* and *theologia secunda*. *Theologia prima*, or first-level theology, is the faith expressed in the liturgical life of the Church antecedent to speculative questioning of its theoretical implications, prior to its systematization in the dogmatic propositions of *theologia secunda* or systematic reflection on the lived mystery of the Church. Liturgical language, the language of *theologia prima*, is typological, metaphorical, more redolent of Bible and prayer than of school and thesis, more patristic than

veterotestamentaria, b'raka giudaica, anafora cristiana, Analecta Biblica, 92 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981); *id.*, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa*; *id.*, “Le récit de l’institution dans la prière eucharistique a-t-il des antécédents? Quelques aperçus sur la prière liturgique et la dynamique de son embolisme,” *Nouvelle revue théologique* 106 (1984) 513-536; *id.*, “Vers un traité de l’Eucharistie à la fois ancien et nouveau. La théologie de l’Eucharistie à travers l’école de la «*lex orandi*»,” *Nouvelle revue théologique* 112 (1990) 870-887.

³⁰ E.g., B.D. SPINKS, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 104, 108; *id.*, “A Complete Anaphora? A Note on Strasbourg Gr. 254,” *The Heythrop Journal* 25 (1984) 51-59; J. MAGNE, “L’anaphore nestorienne dite d’Addée et Mari et l’anaphore maronite dite de Pierre III. Étude comparative,” *OCP* 53 (1987) 144-145. Most recently, Winkler concurred with Spinks’ assessment in his study, *The Sanctus*. See her analysis of the Syriac and Ethiopic evidence in *Das Sanctus*; in her forthcoming study on the Basil Anaphora (note 26 above); and in *eadem*, “A New Witness to the Missing Institution Narrative.”

³¹ GIRAUDO, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa* 329. See the whole discussion there, 329-360.

³² GELSTON, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* 5.

scholastic, more impressionistic than systematic, more suggestive than probative. In a word, it is symbolic and evocative, not philosophical and ontological.

Now although it is perfectly obvious, indeed necessary, that doctrine will acquire theological refinements, especially in the heat of dogmatic controversy, it should be equally obvious that such refinements cannot be read back into texts composed long before the problems arose which led to those precisions. To pounce upon ancient anaphoral texts and exploit them tendentiously in today's theological controversies is an anachronistic procedure devoid of any legitimacy.

If we turn now to the pristine Latin *theologia prima* as expressed in the ancient Roman *Canon Missae*, we find a movement which, far from justifying a hylomorphic scholastic *theologia secunda*, fits better with the pre-scholastic theology of the Latin Fathers. Less smooth and unified in its redactional structure than the Antiochene anaphoral type, the Roman Canon does not first recite the Institution Narrative, then elucidate its meaning. Rather, it imbeds Jesus' words in a series of discrete prayers for the sanctification and acceptance of the oblation (which, theologically, are of course the same thing). Now some of these prayers even before the Words of Institution speak of the species in terms that can only refer to the Body and Blood of Christ as if the gifts were already consecrated; and, conversely, after the Words of Institution speak in a way that could seem to imply the gifts are not yet consecrated.

Only the wooden-headed literalist totally innocent of the proleptic and reflexive nature of liturgical discourse could find anything surprising about this. Such seeming contradictions—and similar apparent contradictions can be found in the Fathers of the Church who comment on the eucharistic prayer—result from the fact that before the Middle Ages no one tried to identify a “moment of consecration” apart from the anaphoral prayer over the gifts in its entirety.

In his *De officiis ecclesiae* I, 15, St. Isidore (ca. 560-†636), bishop of Seville from 600-636, says that the consecration occurs in the canon, which he calls the “sixth prayer” of the “ordo of the mass and prayers by which the sacrifices offered to God are consecrated.”³³ From the context it is clear that he is referring to the entire section of the anaphora following the preface that extends from the Sanctus to the Our Father inclusive—the entire text in Appendix I below:

Then [comes] *the sixth prayer* [of the eucharist], from which results the formation of the sacrament as an oblation that is offered to God, sanctified through the Holy Spirit, formed into the body and blood of Christ. The last of these is the prayer by which our Lord instructed his disciples to

pray, saying: “*Our Father who art in heaven.*”³⁴

St. Isidore is usually considered the “last of the Latin Fathers,” so right through to the end of the patristic period the view was current in Latin theology, [1] that the eucharistic consecration was the work of the Holy Spirit, [2] and that the prayer which effected it was the canon or anaphora without further specifying one of its component parts as the “form” of the sacrament or the “moment of consecration.” St. Fulgentius of Ruspe (ca. 468-†533)³⁵ and numerous other pre-scholastic Latin authors teach the same doctrine.³⁶

Nor is this view substantially different from that of the early medieval Latin commentators. Peter Lombard (ca. 1095-†1160), speaking of the *Supplices* (Roman Canon §6 in Appendix I below), says in his *Sentences* IV, 13: “It is called ‘Missa’ that the heavenly messenger might come to consecrate the life-giving body, according to the expression of the priest: ‘Almighty God, bid that this be borne by the hand of your holy angel to your altar on high...’”³⁷

Even more explicitly, shortly after AD 1215, John Teutonicus’ comment on the same prayer says: “‘Bid,’ that is: *make*. ‘Be borne,’ that is: *be transubstantiated*. Or: ‘be borne,’ that is, be assumed, that is: *be changed*...” The inclusion of this text in the *Glossa ordinaria ad Decretum Gratiani*, shows how common and acceptable such a view must have been. Note, please, that these authoritative medieval Latin commentators are speaking about a consecratory prayer said *after the Words of Institution* in the Roman Canon (Appendix I below, §6).³⁸

In modern times no less an authority on the Roman eucharist than the great Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J., sums up the original tradition of the undivided Church as follows: “In general Christian antiquity, even until way into the Middle Ages, manifested no particular interest regarding the determination of the precise moment of the consecration. Often reference was made merely to

³⁴ I, 15.2, PL 83:753AB: “Porro *sexta [oratio]* ex hinc succedit conformatio sacramenti, ut oblatio, quae Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum sanctum, Christi corpori ac sanguini conformetur. Harum ultima est oratio, qua Dominus noster discipulos suos orare instituit, dicens: *Pater noster, qui es in caelis*”.

³⁵ *Ad Monimum* II, 6 & 9-10 (=CPL § 814), PL 65:184-185, 187-188.

³⁶ J.R. GEISELMANN, *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende des christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter. Isidor von Sevilla und das Sakrament der Eucharistie* (München: M. Hüber, 1933) 198-224; Y. CONGAR, *Je crois en l'Esprit Saint*, 3 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1979-1980) 3:320-330.

³⁷ PL 192:868: “*Missa enim dicitur, eo quod coelestis nuntius ad consecrandum vivificum corpus adveniat, juxta dictum sacerdotis: Omnipotens Deus, jube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, etc.*”.

³⁸ “Jube, id est: *fac*. Perferri, id est: *transsubstantiari*. Vel: perferri, id est sursum efferri, id est *converti*...” *Decretum de consecratione* 2, 72, in *Glossa ordinaria* (Rome, 1582) 2:1813, cited by S. Salaville, SC4bis:322.

³³ I, 15.1; PL 83:752A (=CPL § 11207): “Ordo ...missae et orationum quibus oblata Deo sacrificia consecrantur”.

the entire Eucharistic prayer.”³⁹

Already in the 17th century, the famous Bossuet (1627-1704) raised his voice in favor of a similar sanity. He says:

The intent of liturgies, and, in general, of consecratory prayers, is not to focus our attention on precise moments, but to have us attend to the action in its entirety and to its complete effect... It is to render more vivid what is being done that the Church speaks at each moment as though it were accomplishing the entire action then and there, without asking whether the action has already been accomplished or is perhaps still to be accomplished.⁴⁰

Dom Charles Chardon, O.S.B., in his *Histoire des sacrements* (Paris 1745), expressed a similarly balanced view:

Despite this diversity [over the form or moment of consecration] there was formerly no dispute over this subject. The Greeks and Latins were convinced that the species [of bread and wine] were changed into the body and blood of our Savior in virtue of the words of the Canon of the Mass, without examining the precise moment at which this change occurred, nor just which of the words [of the anaphora] effected it as over against other [words]. One side said the change was effected by the prayer and invocation of the priest; the others said that it was the result of the words of Our Lord when he instituted this August sacrament. And they in no way believed that these different ways of expressing themselves were opposed to each other (and indeed they are not, as would be easy to show). But we shall leave that to the theologians to treat...⁴¹

Later Scholasticism vs. the Earlier Tradition

The later western narrowing of the perspective, ultimately doctrinalized in the scholastic hylomorphic materia/forma theory of the eucharistic consecration, contrasts sharply with the *theologia prima* of the Roman Canon and its earlier Latin interpreters, which views, in turn, were fully consonant with traditional eastern doctrine. The new Latin theology was sanctioned doctrinally by Benedict XII's (1334-1342) *Libellus*

³⁹ J.A. JUNGSMANN, *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Missarum sollemnia*, 2 vols. (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1951, 1955) 2:203-204 note 9. He goes on to say, “It is Florus Diaconus [of Lyons, †860], *De actione miss.*, c. 60 (PL 119:52f.), in the Carolingian period, who with particular stress brought out the significance of the words of consecration; *ille in suis sacerdotibus quotidie loquitur.*”

⁴⁰ J.-B. BOSSUET, *Explication de quelques difficultés sur les prières de la messe à un nouveau catholique*, F. LACHAT, ed., *Œuvres* 17 (Paris: L. Vivès, 1864) 74-75, trans. in R. CABIÉ, *The Eucharist* = A.G. MARTIMORT, ed., *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 2 (new edition, Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986) 147.

⁴¹ I translate it from the re-edition of J.-P. MIGNE, *Theologiae cursus completus*, 28 vols. (Paris 1839-1843) 20:249.

“*Cum dudum*” *ad Armenos* 66 in AD 1341 (Dz §1017), and by the AD 1439 *Decretum pro Armeniis* (Dz §1321, cf. §1017) and the AD 1442 *Decretum pro Iacobitis* (Dz §1352) in the aftermath of the Council of Florence.⁴²

Even more restrictive was the teaching formulated by Pius VII (1800-1823) in his Brief *Adorabile Eucharistiae* of May 9, 1822 (Dz §2718), addressed to the Melkite Catholic patriarch and hierarchy, condemning

... *that new opinion* proposed by schismatic men which teaches that the form by which this lifegiving... sacrament is accomplished consists not in the words of Jesus Christ alone which both Latin and Greek priests use in the consecration, but that for the perfect and complete consecration, there should be added that formula of prayers which among us [Latins] precede the above-mentioned words [of Jesus], but in your [Byzantine] liturgy follow them...⁴³

I will leave to the dogmaticians what “theological note” they wish to assign this exclusively Latin teaching, construed in its narrowest popular understanding that the *Verba Domini*, they alone, and nothing else, are the so-called “words of consecration” of the mass. Suffice it to say that what His Holiness is pleased to call a “new opinion” was taught explicitly from the 4th century by saints and Fathers of the undivided Church like St. Cyril/John II of Jerusalem (*post* 380),⁴⁴ St. John Chrysostom (ca. 340/50-

⁴² N.P. TANNER, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* 1:546-7, 581. On the council and its aftermath, see J. GILL, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) 116, 265-267, 272-278, 280-281, 284-286, 292.

⁴³ “... *novam illam opinionem* a schismaticis hominibus propugnata qua docetur formam, qua vivificum hoc ... sacramentum perficitur, non in solis Iesu Christi verbis consistere, quibus sacerdotes tam Latini quam Graeci in consecratione utuntur, sed ad perfectam consummatamque consecrationem addi oportere eam precum formulam, quae memorata verba apud Nos praecurrit, in vestra autem liturgia subsequitur” (emphasis added).

⁴⁴ *Mystagogic Catechesis* 5, 7, cf. 1, 7; 3, 3, SC 126bis:94, 124, 154; regarding date and authorship, 177-187. See also THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Homily* 16, 12: R. TONNEAU, R. DEVRESSE, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, Studi e testi, 145 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949) 553.

†407),⁴⁵ and St. John Damascene (ca. 650/75-†753/4)⁴⁶ in the East, along with St. Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-†636) in the West.⁴⁷ Since all these sainted gentlemen are venerated in the Liturgical Calendar of the Catholic Church, to be consistent we must apply here the old adage “let the rule of prayer determine the rule of faith (*lex orandi legem statuat credendi*).”

As for the *Decretum pro Armeniis*, it certainly does not recommend itself by the fact that it also proclaims the *traditio instrumentorum* to be the sacramental matter of holy orders (Dz §1326), a teaching not only no longer held today (Dz §§3858-3860), but one that *even in its own day* was flatly false, contradicting the clear facts of liturgical history. More important, it also departed from and contradicted age-old Catholic teaching, which had never impugned the validity of ordination rites of Churches with no *traditio instrumentorum* like that of the Latins. So one must either reject that decree, or, if your theory of magisterium obliges you to squirm to salvage it by arguing that it envisaged only the medieval Latin ordination rite in which the *traditio* had assumed a significant place, then intellectual honesty would require saying the same for its teaching on the Words of Institution. For the decree assigns them an exclusive importance they had assumed only in the Latin West. More significant for me is the fact that the decree sanctions a culturally and temporally conditioned medieval scholastic theology of the sacraments that can in no wise claim to be traditional to the teaching of the undivided Church. Here we are talking not about magisterial teaching but the undeniable facts of history available to anyone able to read Latin and Greek.

The Entire Eucharistic Prayer as Formula of Consecration

So these doctrinal statements of the past must be understood not only in their historical context, but also in the light of contemporary Catholic teaching, which of late has come to take a considerably broader view of what comprises the eucharistic consecration. A steady stream of Catholic theologians have moved toward the view that the formula of eucharistic consecration comprises the prayer over the gifts in its entirety.⁴⁸ I do not have space to list these theologians here—those interested

⁴⁵ See below at notes 65-67.

⁴⁶ *Expositio fidei* 86:163-166, B. KOTTER, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 5 vols., Patristische Texte und Studien 7, 12, 17, 22, 29 (Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1969-1988) 2:197 = *De fide orthodoxa* IV, 13, PG 94:1152C-53B; English translation from Saint John of Damascus, *Writings*, trans. by F. H. CHASE, Jr. “The Fathers of the Church, 37 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University Press, 1981) 360-361. See also the texts cited below at notes 56-57, and the excellent study of N. ARMITAGE, “The Eucharistic Theology of the *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith (De Fide Orthodoxa)* of St. John Damascene,” *OKS* 44 (1995) 292-308; R. TAFT, “Ecumenical Scholarship and the Catholic-Orthodox Eucharistic Dispute,” 210; *id.*, “Understanding the Byzantine Anaphoral Oblation,” 47-55; *id.*, “The Eucharistic Question in the Light of the Orthodox and Catholic *Lex orandi* Traditions,” 225-237.

⁴⁷ See above at notes 33-34.

⁴⁸ See esp. Y. CONGAR, *Je crois en l'Esprit Saint* 3:309ff.

can find their teaching in Vincentian Father John H. McKenna's thorough review of the question.⁴⁹

The most recent study by Dom Burkhard Neunheuser, O.S.B., monk of Maria Laach and professor emeritus of the Pontifical Liturgical Institute Sant' Anselmo in Rome, furnishes not only the most explicit and emphatic justification of this return to the original tradition of the undivided Church, but does so with full respect for traditional Catholic teaching on the centrality of the Words of Institution within the anaphoral context.⁵⁰ As Neunheuser is careful to point out, this renewal is already found reflected in official Catholic texts in the aftermath of Vatican II. The November 18, 1969 *Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani* §54, concerning the reformed Roman Missal, says of the eucharistic prayer: “Now begins the summit and center of the whole celebration, namely the Eucharistic Prayer itself, *that is, the prayer of thanksgiving and sanctification...*”⁵¹ “Sanctification” of course means in this context “eucharistic consecration.” And although Paul VI continues to use the outdated scholastic terminology of matter and form of the sacrament in his June 18, 1968 Apostolic Constitution *Pontificalis Romani recognitio*, he does so in a broad, non-scholastic context: the “matter” of the sacrament is the imposition of hands;⁵² “the form consists in the words of the very prayer of consecration,”⁵³ and not some isolated formula within it. This broader vision is also reflected in how the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* refers to the anaphora: “with the eucharistic prayer, the prayer, namely, *of thanksgiving and consecration*, we come to the heart and culmination of the celebration.”⁵⁴

This renewal found ecumenical agreement in Part I no. 6 of the July 1982 Munich Statement of the Orthodox-Catholic Joint Commission for Theological Dialogue: “...the eucharistic mystery is accomplished in the prayer which joins together the words by which the word made flesh instituted the sacrament and the epiclesis in which the church, moved by faith, entreats the Father,

⁴⁹ J.H. McKENNA, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit. The Eucharistic Epiclesis in 20th Century Theology*, Alcuin Club Collections, 57 (Great Woking: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1975); also *id.*, “Eucharistic Prayer: Epiclesis,” in A. HEINZ, H. RENNINGS, eds., *Gratias agamus. Studien zum eucharistischen Hochgebet. Für Balthasar Fischer*, Pastoralliturgische Reihe in Verbindung mit der Zeitschrift “Gottesdienst” (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder, 1992).

⁵⁰ B. NEUNHEUSER, “Das Eucharistische Hochgebet als Konsekrationsgebet,” in A. HEINZ, H. RENNINGS, *Gratias agamus* 315-326.

⁵¹ “*Prex eucharistica. Nunc centrum et culmen totius celebrationis habet, ipsa nempe Prex eucharistica, prex scilicet gratiarum actionis et sanctificationis*”: *EDIL* § 1449 (emphasis added), *cf.* § 1450; *DOL* § 1444, *cf.* § 1445; B. NEUNHEUSER 3 2 1.

⁵² *EDIL* § 1084-1085 = *DOL* § 2608-2609.

⁵³ *EDIL* §§ 1085-1087 = *DOL* §§ 2609-2611: “*forma constat verbis eiusdem precatationis consecratoriae*”.

⁵⁴ *Catechismus Catholicae Ecclesiae, Typica Latina editio* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997) §1352, emphasis added.

through the Son, to send the Spirit...⁵⁵ It is also reflected in what the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* has to say about the eucharistic consecration: “In the Institution Narrative, by the words and action of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit, His Body and Blood are made sacramentally present under the species of bread and wine...”⁵⁶

This view that the prayer of consecration is the entire core of the anaphora, not just some segment of it set apart as an isolated “formula,” is, I think, more faithful to the earlier common tradition of the undivided Church. Several patristic texts lend themselves to this interpretation, using the term “epiclesis” for the whole prayer over the gifts. Among the earliest 2nd century witnesses to the eucharist in the period following the New Testament, Justin’s, *Apology* I, 65-67, written ca. AD 150, testifies to a prayer over the gifts. After that prayer, the gifts were no longer “ordinary food or ordinary drink but...flesh and blood of that same Jesus who was made flesh” (I, 66).⁵⁷ From the same period (ca. 185), Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* IV, 18.5, calls this consecration prayer “the invocation (*ten epiklesin*) of God.”⁵⁸ And although Cyril/John II of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis* (post 380) 3, 3 and 5, 7, also uses the term epiclesis in its present, restricted sense,⁵⁹ in another passage, *Mystagogic Catechesis* I, 7, the word is usually interpreted as referring to the entire anaphora: “Before the holy

epiclesis of the adorable Trinity the bread and wine of the eucharist was ordinary bread and wine, whereas after the epiclesis the bread becomes the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ.”⁶⁰ That, in my view, should suffice for a common profession of our faith in the eucharistic consecration. The rest can be left to theology.

The Words of Institution as Consecratory

As we have seen, both before and after the scholastic interval and the dispute between East and West over the epiclesis,⁶¹ reputable Catholic theologians rejected theologies that would isolate the Institution Narrative from its essential setting within the anaphora. Does that mean that the Words of Institution are not consecratory? Not at all. For the Fathers of the Church they are indeed consecratory, for they are words eternally efficacious in the mouth of Jesus. The classic Latin doctrine on the Words of Institution as “words of consecration” can be traced back to St. Ambrose (339-397), who states the teaching unambiguously (though not restrictively—i.e., *sensu aiente*, not *sensu negante*) in his *De sacramentis* IV, 4.14-17,⁶² 5.21-23, and *De mysteriis* IX, 52-54.⁶³ But Ambrose is not speaking of the words as a “formula.” Not until the 12th century do the scholastics formulate the thesis that the Words of Institution are the essential “form of the sacrament” which *alone* effect the consecration of the bread and wine.⁶⁴

That more narrow view is not the authentic tradition of the Fathers of the Church. St. John Chrysostom (ca. 340/50-†407), for instance, attributes consecratory efficacy both to the Words of Institution and to the epiclesis. Chrysostom states in at least seven different homilies that what happens in the eucharist happens by

⁵⁵ JOINT COMMISSION FOR THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH, “The Mystery of the Church and the Eucharist in the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity,” *Information Service* 49 (1982/II-III) 108; *Origins* 12 (April 12, 1982) 158; French text in *La documentation catholique* 79 (1982 = No. 1838, 17 oct.) 942; *Episkops* no. 277 (juillet-août 1982) 13.

⁵⁶ *Catechismus Catholicae Ecclesiae* § 1375.

⁵⁷ *PE* 68-72.

⁵⁸ *SC* 264:611; cf. also *Adv. haer.* 1, 13.2, *SC* 264:190-91. Indeed, “epiclesis” is commonly used for the entire prayer over the gifts even in sources as late as the 4th century: Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium (Philosophoumena)* VI, 39:2, PG 16.3:3258 (= *CPG* §1899; on its disputed authenticity cf. *CPG* §1870); Firmilian of Caesarea, cited in Cyprian, Ep. 75, 10, *CSEL* 3.2:818—translation and discussion of this text with relevant literature in A. BOULEY, *From Freedom to Formula. The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts*, Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, 21 (Washington, DC The Catholic University of America Press, 1981) 143-145; G. A. MICHELL, “Firmilian and Eucharistic Consecration,” *JTS* 5 (1954) 215-220; *Didaskalia* VI, 22:2: *Didascalia apostolorum*. The Syriac Version translated and accompanied by the Verona fragments, with an introduction and notes, by R.H. CONNOLLY (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929) 252-253. Cf. J.W. TYRER, “The Meaning of *epiklesis*,” *JTS* 25 (1923-1924) 139-150; esp. 142-145, 148; O. CASEL, “Neuere Beiträge zur Epiklesenfrage,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 4 (1924) 169-178, esp. 170-171. Some authors would also include in this list BASIL, *De Spiritu sancto* 27, *SC* 17bis:480 = PG 32:188 (= *CPG* §2839). But I agree with GELSTON (*The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* 15-17) that Basil is probably referring to the epiclesis in the narrow sense of the term.

⁵⁹ *SC* 126bis:124, 154.

⁶⁰ *SC* 126bis:94.

⁶¹ On East-West issues in eucharistic theology from two of the major recent Catholic theologians writing on the issue, in addition to my studies above in note 4 and others cited in this present essay, see E.J. KILMARTIN, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Sanctification of the Eucharistic Elements,” *Theological Studies* 45 (1984) 225-253, esp. 235ff; C. GIRAUDO, “L’epiclesi eucaristica. Proposta per una soluzione «ortodossa» della controversia fra Oriente e Occidente,” *Rassegna di teologia* 41 (2000) 5-24. On Kilmartin’s liturgical theology, see most recently the excellent study of J.M. HALL, *We Have the Mind of Christ. The Holy Spirit and Liturgical Memory in the Thought of Edward J. Kilmartin*, A Pueblo Book (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2001).

⁶² Cited below at note 71.

⁶³ *SC* 25bis:110, 114, 186-188 = *CSEL* 73:51-53, 55-56, 112-113 (= *CPL* §§154-155).

⁶⁴ J.R. GEISELMANN, *Abendmahlslehre* 192-194, 144-147; J.J. HUGHES, “Eucharistic Sacrifice. Transcending the Reformation Deadlock,” *Worship* 13 (1969) 540; J.A. JUNGSMANN, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, cited above at note 39.

the power of the Holy Spirit,⁶⁵ a teaching common to both the Greek and Latin Churches. In at least one instance it is clear Chrysostom is talking about the epiclesis. But in his *Homily on the Betrayal of Judas* (*De proditiōne Judae hom. 1/2, 6*), he attributes the consecration to Christ in the Words of Institution:

It is not man who causes what is present to become the body and blood of Christ, but Christ himself, who was crucified for us. The priest is the representative when he pronounces those words, but the power and the grace are those of the Lord. "This is my body," he says. This word changes the things that lie before us; and just as that sentence, "increase and multiply," once spoken, extends through all time and gives to our nature the power to reproduce itself; likewise that saying, "This is my body," once uttered, from that time to the present day, and even until Christ's coming, makes the sacrifice complete at every table in the churches.⁶⁶

Note that Chrysostom assigns consecratory power *not to the priest's liturgical repetition* of Jesus' words now, but to the *historical institution itself*, i.e., to the original utterance of Jesus whose force extends to all subsequent eucharistic celebrations.⁶⁷

In the 8th century St. John Damascene, "last of the Greek Fathers" (ca. 675-753/4), teaches the exact same doctrine in his *De fide orthodoxa* 86 (IV, 13): "God said 'This is my body' and 'This is my blood,' and 'do this in memory of me.' *And by his all-powerful command it is done until he comes.* For that is what he said, until he should come, and the overshadowing power of the Holy Spirit becomes, through the invocation [i.e., epiclesis], the rain to this new tillage."⁶⁸ This is the classic Eastern Orthodox teaching: the power of consecration comes from the words of Christ, the divine mandate that guarantees the eucharistic conversion for all time.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *De sacerdotio* III, 4:40-50; VI, 4:34-44, *SC* 272:142-146, 316 = *PG* 48:642-645, 681 *CPG* §4316); *Oratio de beato Philogonio* 3, *PG* 48:753 (= *CPG* §4319); *De resurr. mortuorum* 8, *PG* 50:432 (= *CPG* §4340); *In pentec. hom.* 1, 4, *PG* 50:458-459 (= *CPG* §4343); *In Ioh. hom.* 45, 2, *PG* 59:253 (= *CPG* §4425); *In I Cor hom.* 24, 5, *PG* 61:204 (= *CPG* §4428). But in *In De coemet. et de cruce* 3, Chrysostom is clearly speaking of the epiclesis: *PG* 49:397-398 (= *CPG* §4337).

⁶⁶ *PG* 49:380, 389-390 (= *CPG* §4336).

⁶⁷ *Ch. 29, SC* 4bis:178-190; cf. the commentary of S. SALAVILLE, *ibid* 314-315, and J.H. MCKENNA, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit* 59.

⁶⁸ Ed. B. KOTTER 2:194.71-76; cf. N. ARMITAGE, "The Eucharistic Theology of the Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" (English trans. from *ibid* 293).

⁶⁹ But the epiclesis of the Holy Spirit is the decisive liturgical moment, for the Damascene continues: "...the bread of the prothesis, the wine, and the water, are converted supernaturally into the body of Christ and the blood, through the invocation (epiclesis) and intervention of the Holy Spirit." Ed. B. KOTTER 2:195; trans. ARMITAGE 294.

But this is no different from the position of Ambrose (339-397), who obviously attributes the efficacy of Jesus' words not to the prayer of the priest,⁷⁰ but to the indefectible effectiveness of the Word of God, as is perfectly clear in his *De sacramentis* IV, 4.14-17:

14. ...to produce the venerable sacrament, the priest does not use his own words but the words of Christ. So it is the word of Christ which produces this sacrament.

15. Which word of Christ? The one by which all things were made. The Lord commanded and the heavens were made, the Lord commanded and the earth was made, the Lord commanded and the seas were made, the Lord commanded and all creatures were brought into being. You see, then, how effective the word of Christ is. If then there is such power in the word of the Lord Jesus that things which were not began to be, how much more effective must they be in changing what already exists into something else!... 17. Hear, then, how the word of Christ is accustomed to change all creatures and to change, when it will, the laws of nature...⁷¹

This is exactly what Chrysostom says on other occasions: in the liturgy the same Jesus accomplishes the same eucharist, the same marvels, in the liturgy as at the Last Supper.⁷² For instance, his *Homily 2 on II Timothy*, affirms:

The gifts which God bestows are not such as to be the effects of the virtue of the priest. All is from grace. His [the priest] part is but to open his mouth, while God works all. He [the priest] only completes the sign (*symbolon*). The offering is the same whoever offers it, Paul or Peter. It is the same one Christ gave to his disciples, and which priests now accomplish. The latter is in no way inferior to the former, because the same one who sanctified the one,

⁷⁰ As Nicholas CABASILAS accuses them in his commentary on the liturgy, chap. 29.10, *SC* 4bis:184-86.

⁷¹ "14. ...ut conficiatur uenerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. 15. Quis est sermo Christi? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. iussit dominus factum est caelum, iussit dominus facta est terra, iussit dominus facta sunt maria, iussit dominus omnis creatura generatus est. Vides ergo quam operatorius sermo sit Christi. Si ergo tanta uis est in sermone domini Iesu ut inciperent esse quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est ut sint quae erant et in aliud commutentur... 17. Accipe ergo quemadmodum sermo Christi creaturam omnem mutare consueuerit et mutet quando uult instituta naturae...": *SC* 25bis:110 = *CSEL* 73:52-53 (= *CPL* §154); English trans. adapted in part from E. MAZZA, *Mystagogy* (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1989) 183; Cf. AMBROSE, *De mysteriis* IX, 52: "The sacrament you receive is produced by the word of Christ," *SC* 25bis:186 = *CSEL* 73:112 (= *CPL* § 155).

⁷² *In Mt hom.* 50 (51), 3 and *hom.* 82 (83), 5, *PG* 58:507, 744 (= *CPG* §4424).

sanctifies the other too. For just as the words which God spoke are the same as the ones the priest pronounces now, so is the offering the same, just like the baptism which he gave.⁷³

In this same sense, therefore, *the Words of Institution are always consecratory, even when they are not recited, as in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari*. For they are consecratory not because they are a formula the priest repeats in the eucharistic prayer, but because Jesus' pronouncing of them at the Last Supper remains efficaciously consecratory for every eucharist until the end of time.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, then, I believe one can say there *are* irreducible local differences in the *liturgical expression* of what I would take to be the fully reconcilable *teaching* of both East and West on the eucharist: that the gifts of bread and wine are sanctified via a prayer, the anaphora, which applies to the present gifts of bread and wine what Jesus handed on. *How* the individual anaphoras make this application has varied widely depending on local tradition, particular history, and the doctrinal concerns of time and place. In my view these differences *cannot* with any historical legitimacy be seen in dogmatic conflict with parallel but divergent expressions of the same basic realities in a different historico-ecclesial milieu.

That is the approach I have taken here with regard to Church, magisterium, and dogma, reasoning as follows:

1. The whole undivided Church of East and West held that the eucharistic gifts were consecrated in the eucharistic prayer.
2. The *theologia prima* in the eucharistic prayers of East and West expressed this differently.

3. The *theologia secunda* or theological reflection on these prayers in East and West also was different. The West stressed the *Verba Domini*. The East stressed the Spirit epiclesis, while not denying the efficacy of the Words of Institution.

4. Problems arose only in the Late Middle Ages when the Latin West *unilaterally* shifted the perspective by dogmatizing its hylomorphic theology.

The above four points are not theory but demonstrable historical facts. From them, I would argue further:

1. Since this western innovation narrows the earlier teaching of the undivided Church, the East rejected it—and in my opinion should have rejected it.
2. Since the post-Florentine Latin *Decreta* canonizing this view are highly questionable, I offered some elements for their reinterpretation.
3. Finally, I showed how Catholic teaching has for over a century been moving towards recovery of the view that what an earlier theology was pleased to call the “form” of a sacrament is the central prayer of the ritual, and not some single isolated formula within that prayer. This prayer can be understood and interpreted only within its liturgical context. The Words of Institution are not some magical formula, but part of a prayer of the Church operative only within its worship context. In East and West this context was and is and will remain diverse within the parameters of our common faith that Jesus, through the ministers of his Church, nourishes us with the mystery of his Body and Blood.
4. None of this denies the teaching that the Words of Jesus are consecratory. For the Fathers, they are *always* consecratory because he once said them, not just because someone else repeats them. And so they are also consecratory in Addai and Mari, even though that ancient prayer does not have the priest repeat these words *verbatim* in direct discourse, but adverts to them more obliquely.

⁷³ PG 62:612 (= CPG §4437). On this point see Y. CONGAR, *Je crois en l'Esprit Saint* 3:303-304.

APPENDIX

I. *THE ROMAN CANON MISSAE (mid-4th c.)*

1. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, ut placates accipias...

2. Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

3. Qui pridie quam pateretur...
(= INSTITUTION NARRATIVE)

4. Unde et memores...ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri tam beatae passionis, nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis, offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae, de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et Calicem salutis perpetuae.

5. Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu repicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui Abel...

6. Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae majestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictioni caelesti et gratia repleamur.

1. Therefore, Lord, we ask that you be pleased to accept this oblation of our ministry and also of your whole family...

2. Which oblation we ask you, God, deign to make in all things blessed, and acceptable, that it might become for us the Body and Blood of your beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. Who on the day before he suffered...
(= INSTITUTION NARRATIVE)

4. Remembering, therefore...the blessed passion of this same Christ your Son our Lord, as well as his resurrection from the dead and glorious ascension into heaven, we offer to your glorious majesty, from your own given gifts, a pure offering, a holy offering, an immaculate offering, the holy Bread of eternal life and the Chalice of eternal salvation.

5. Deign to look on them with a propitious and kindly regard, and accept them as you accepted the gifts of your child Abel...

6. Humbly we implore you, almighty God, bid these offerings be carried by the hands of your holy angel to your altar on high in the presence of your divine majesty, so that those of us who, sharing in the sacrifice at this altar, shall have received the sacred body and blood of your Son, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace.

II. *FROM THE POSTSANCTUS OF ADDAI AND MARI (3rd c.)*⁷⁴

1. Do you, O my Lord, in your manifold mercies make a good remembrance for all the upright and just fathers, the prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors, 2. **in the commemoration of the Body and Blood of your Christ, which we offer to you on the pure and holy altar, as you have taught us in his life-giving Gospel...**

3. And we also, O my Lord, your servants who are gathered and stand before you, 4. **and have received by tradition the example which is from you, rejoicing and glorifying and exalting** 5. **and commemorating this mystery of the passion and death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.**

6. **And let your Holy Spirit come, O my Lord, and rest upon** 7. **this offering of your servants,** 8. **that it may be to us for the pardon of sins and for the forgiveness of shortcomings, and for the resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven.**

9. **And for your dispensation which is towards us we give you thanks and glorify you** 10. **in your Church redeemed by the precious Blood of your Christ,** 11. with open mouths and unveiled faces offering glory and honor and thanksgiving and adoration to your holy name, now and at all times, and for ever and ever. Amen!

⁷⁴ A. GELSTON, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* 121-123.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INTERCHURCH AND INTERCONFESSIONAL THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUES

Eighteenth Supplement - 2003

ABBREVIATIONS FOR CONFESSIONAL FAMILIES CHURCHES AND COUNCILS

A	Methodist
AC	MECC
AIC	Mn
B	Mo
CC	O
CEC	OC
CCEE	OO
CP	Pe
D	R
DOMBES	RC
E	SDA
FC	U
FO	W
L	WCC

LIST OF DIALOGUES

- A-B:** Anglican-Baptist International Forum
- A-D / aus:** Anglican Church of Australia-Churches of Christ Conversations
- A-L:** Anglican-Lutheran International Commission
- A-L / africa:** All Africa Anglican-Lutheran Commission
- A-L / aus:** Anglican-Lutheran Conversations in Australia
- A-L / can:** Canadian Lutheran Anglican Dialogue
- A-L / eng-g:** Representatives of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) and of the Church of England
- A-L / eng-nordic regions:** Representatives of the Nordic countries and of the Church of England
- A-L / eur:** Anglican-Lutheran European Regional Commission
- A-L / usa:** Episcopal-Lutheran Dialogue in the USA
- A-L-R / eng-f:** Official Dialogue between the Church of England and the Lutheran-Reformed Permanent Council in France
- A-M:** Anglican-Methodist International Commission
- A-M / eng:** Anglican-Methodist Conversation in Great Britain
- A-Mo:** Anglican-Moravian Conversations
- A-Mo / usa:** Moravian-Episcopal Dialogue in the USA
- A-O:** Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission
- A-O / usa:** Anglican-Orthodox Theological Consultation in the USA
- A-OC:** Anglican-Old Catholic Theological Conversations
- A-OC / na:** Anglican-Old Catholic North American Working Group
- A-OO:** Anglican-Oriental Orthodox Dialogue
- A-OO / copt:** Anglican-Coptic Relations
- A-R:** Anglican-Reformed International Commission
- A-RC:** Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC)
- A-RC / aus:** Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission of Australia
- A-RC / b:** Belgian Anglican-Roman Catholic Committee
- A-RC / br:** Brazilian Anglican-Roman Catholic National Commission
- A-RC / can:** Canadian Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue Commission
- A-RC / eng:** English Anglican-Roman Catholic Committee
- A-RC / eur:** Anglican-Roman Catholic Working Group in Western Europe
- A-RC / f:** Anglican-Catholic Joint Working Group in France
- A-RC / usa:** Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue in the USA
- A-U / aus:** Conversations between the Anglican Church of Australia and the Uniting Church in Australia
- AC-CC:** Joint Commission for Unity between the Assyrian Church of the East and the Chaldean Catholic Church
- AC-OO / copt:** Theological Dialogue between the Assyrian Church of the East and the Coptic Orthodox Church
- AC-OO / syr:** Bilateral Commission between the Assyrian Church of the East and the Syrian Orthodox Church
- AC-RC:** Mixed Committee for Theological Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East
- AIC-R:** Dialogue between the African Instituted Churches and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches
- B-L:** Baptist-Lutheran Dialogue
- B-L / g:** Baptist-Lutheran Dialogue in Germany
- B-L / n:** Baptist-Lutheran Dialogue in Norway
- B-L / sf:** Baptist-Lutheran Conversation in Finland
- B-L / usa:** Baptist-Lutheran Dialogue in the USA
- B-M-W / italy:** Baptist-Methodist-Waldensian Relations in Italy
- B-Mn:** Baptist-Mennonite Theological Conversations
- B-O:** Baptist-Orthodox Preparatory Dialogue
- B-R:** Baptist-Reformed Dialogue
- B-RC:** Baptist-Roman Catholic International Conversations

B-RC / f: Baptist-Catholic Joint Committee in France
B-RC / usa (ab): American Baptist-Roman Catholic Dialogue
B-RC / usa (sb): Southern Baptist-Roman Catholic Dialogue
CEC-CCFE: Joint Committee of Conference of European Churches and Council of European Episcopal Conferences
D-O / rus: Disciples of Christ-Russian Orthodox Dialogue
D-R: Disciples of Christ-Reformed Dialogue
D-RC: Disciples of Christ-Roman Catholic International Commission for Dialogue
D-U / aus: Conversations between the Churches of Christ in Australia and the Uniting Church in Australia
D-U / usa: Disciples of Christ-United Church of Christ Dialogue in the USA
DOMBES: Dialogues des Dombes
E-RC: Evangelical-Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission
E-SDA: Evangelical-Seventh-day Adventist Theological Dialogue
FC-O / g: Free Churches-Orthodox Dialogue in Germany
FO: Faith and Order conferences, consultations, studies
L-M: International Lutheran-Methodist Joint Commission
L-M / n: Conversation between the Church of Norway and the United Methodist Church in Norway
L-M / s: Dialogue between the United Methodist Church in Sweden and Church of Sweden
L-M / usa: US Lutheran-United Methodist Dialogue
L-Mn / f: Lutheran-Mennonite Dialogue in France
L-Mn / g: Theological Dialogue between the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany (VELKD) and the Association of Mennonite Assemblies in Germany (AMG)
L-Mn / usa: Lutheran-Mennonite Dialogue in the USA
L-Mo / usa: Lutheran-Moravian Dialogue in the USA
L-O: Lutheran-Orthodox Joint Commission
L-O / g-ep: Theological Dialogue between the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) and the Ecumenical Patriarchate
L-O / g-rom: Theological Dialogue between the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) and the Romanian Orthodox Church
L-O / g-rus: Theological Dialogue between the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) and the Russian Orthodox Church
L-O / sf: Theological Discussions between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Finnish Orthodox Church
L-O / sf-rus: Theological Discussions between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Russian Orthodox Church
L-O / usa: Lutheran-Orthodox Dialogue in the USA
L-O-R / f: Dialogue between Representatives of the Inter-Orthodox Bishops' Committee in France and the Protestant Federation of France
L-O-R / na: Lutheran-Orthodox-Reformed Theological Conversations in North America
L-OC / g: Dialogue between the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany (VELKD) and the Old Catholic Church in Germany
L-OO/copt: Theological Dialogue between the Coptic Evangelical Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church
L-OO / copt-s: Coptic Orthodox-Lutheran Dialogue in Sweden
L-OO / india: Dialogue between the Orthodox Syrian Church of the East and the Lutheran Churches in India
L-Pe / sf: Lutheran-Pentecostal Dialogue in Finland
L-Pe-R / f: Pentecostal-Protestant Dialogue in France
L-R: Lutheran-Reformed Joint Commission
L-R / arg: Dialogue between the Evangelical Church of the Rio de la Plata and the Evangelical Congregational Church of Argentina
L-R / aus: Dialogue between the Lutheran Church of Australia and the Reformed Churches of Australia
L-R / can: Canadian Lutheran-Reformed Conversations
L-R / f: Fédération Protestante de France
L-R / usa: Lutheran-Reformed Committee for Theological Conversations in the USA
L-R-RC: Lutheran-Reformed-Roman Catholic Dialogue

L-R-RC / f: Catholic-Protestant Joint Working Group in France
L-R-SDA / f: Protestant-Seventh-day Adventist Dialogue in France
L-R-U / eur: Leuenberg Church Fellowship
L-RC: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Commission on Unity
L-RC / arg: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue Commission in Argentina
L-RC / aus: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Australia
L-RC / br: National Roman Catholic-Lutheran Commission in Brazil
L-RC / can: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Canada
L-RC / g: Joint Commission of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) and the German Episcopal Conference (DB)
L-RC / india: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue in India
L-RC / jap: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Joint Commission in Japan
L-RC / n: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Discussion Group in Norway
L-RC / s: Official Working Group of Dialogue between the Church of Sweden and the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm
L-RC / sf: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Relations in Finland
L-RC / usa: Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue in the USA
L-SDA: Lutheran-Seventh-Day Adventist Consultations
L-U / aus: Theological Dialogue between the Lutheran Church of Australia and the Uniting Church in Australia
M-O: Methodist-Orthodox Commission
M-R: Methodist-Reformed Dialogue
M-RC: Joint Commission between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Methodist Council
M-RC / eng: English Roman Catholic-Methodist Committee
M-RC / usa: Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the United Methodist Church in the USA
Mn-R: Mennonite World Conference and World Alliance of Reformed Churches
Mn-RC: Mennonite-Catholic International Dialogue
O-OC: Joint (Mixed) Orthodox-Old Catholic Theological Commission
O-OO: Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches
O-OO / rus: Theological Dialogue between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches
O-R: Orthodox-Reformed International Dialogue
O-R / ch: Protestant-Orthodox Dialogue Commission in Switzerland
O-R / na: Orthodox-Reformed Conversations in North America
O-R / rus: Dialogue between the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Russian Orthodox Church
O-RC: Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church
O-RC / ch: Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Switzerland
O-RC / f: Joint Catholic-Orthodox Committee in France
O-RC / g: Greek Orthodox-Roman Catholic Joint Commission in Germany
O-RC / rom: Joint Commission for Dialogue between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Church United with Rome (Greek-Catholic)
O-RC / rus: Theological Conversations between Representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church
O-RC / rus-g: Theological Dialogue between the Russian Orthodox Church and the German Episcopal Conference
O-RC / usa: North American Catholic-Orthodox Theological Consultation
O-U / aus: Theological Dialogue between the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and the Uniting Church in Australia
OC-R-RC / ch: Old Catholic-Reformed-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Switzerland
OC-RC: Old Catholic-Roman Catholic Conversations
OC-RC / ch: Dialogue Commission of the Old Catholic and the Roman Catholic Churches in Switzerland
OC-RC / g: Dialogue between the Old Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Germany
OC-RC / na: Joint Commission of the Polish National Catholic Church and

the National Conference of Catholic Bishops
OO-R: Oriental Orthodox-Reformed Theological Dialogue
OO-RC: Oriental Orthodox-Roman Catholic Relations
OO-RC / armenia: Armenian Apostolic Church-Catholic Church Joint Commission
OO-RC / copt: International Joint Commission between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church
OO-RC/eritrea: Eritrean Orthodox Church and Catholic Church Relations
OO-RC / ethiop: Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Catholic Church Relations
OO-RC/india: Joint International Commission for Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church
OO-RC/syr-india: Joint International Commission for Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church
OO-RC / usa: Official Oriental Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation
Pe-R: Pentecostal-Reformed Dialogue
Pe-RC: Pentecostal-Roman Catholic International Dialogue
R-RC: Reformed-Roman Catholic Joint Study Commission
R-RC / a: Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Reformed Church in Austria

PERIODICALS SURVEYED

ACK aktuell; Acta Apostolicae Sedis; Actualité des religions; AFER-African Ecclesial Review; American Baptist Quarterly; Amicizia ebraico-cristiana; Amitié; Angelicum; The Anglican; Anglican Theological Review; Anglican World; Annales theologici; Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia; The Asia Journal of Theology; Associated Christian Press Bulletin.

Bausteine für die Einheit der Christen; Briefing; Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études; Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology.

Calvin Theological Journal; Carthaginensia; Catholic International; Catholica; CCA News-Christian Conference of Asia; CEC-KEK Monitor; Centro - News from the Anglican Centre in Rome; Centro Pro Unione Bulletin; Chrétiens en Marche; Christian Orient; Der Christliche Osten; Città nuova; Una città per il dialogo; La Civiltà cattolica; Commonweal; Communio; Concilium; Confronti; Contacts; Convivium Assisiense; Courier; Courrier œcuménique du Moyen Orient; Cultures and Faith; Current Dialogue; Currents in Theology and Mission.

Il Diaconato in Italia; Diakonia; DIAKONIA News; Diálogo ecuménico; Distinctive Diaconate News; Doctrine and Life; La Documentation catholique; Eastern Churches Journal; ECC News; Ecclesia Mater; Echoes; Ecumenical Letter on Evangelism; The Ecumenical Review; Ecumenical Trends; Ecumenism; EEF-NET; Ekklesia; Ekumenismo; Encounter; ENI-Ecumenical News International & Nouvelles œcuméniques internationales; Episkopsis; ESBVM Newsletter; Études; Exchange.

First Things; Forum Focus; Forum Letter; Foyers mixtes; The Greek Orthodox Theological Review; Gregorianum; Herder Korrespondenz; Heythrop Journal; Information Service & Service d'Information; Interchurch Families; International Bulletin of Missionary Research; International Centre of Newman Friends Newsletter; International Review of Mission; Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift; Irénikon; Irish Theological Quarterly; Istina; Italia ortodossa.

Jeevadhara; Journal of Ecumenical Studies; Kerygma und Dogma.

Lettera da Taizé; LibreSens; Lutheran Forum; Lutheran Quarterly; LWF/LWB Documentation; LWI-Lutheran World Information.

R-RC / b: Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Reformed Church in Belgium
R-RC / ch: Protestant/Roman Catholic Dialogue Commission in Switzerland
R-RC / nl: Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformed Church in the Netherlands
R-RC/scot: Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland
R-RC / usa: Roman Catholic-Presbyterian Reformed Consultation in the USA
R-SDA: International Theological Dialogue between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches
RC-SDA: Conversations between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Roman Catholic Church
RC-U/aus: Working Group of the Roman Catholic Church and the Uniting Church in Australia
RC-U / can: Roman Catholic-United Church Dialogue Group in Canada
RC-W / italy: Roman Catholic-Waldensian Relations in Italy
RC-WCC: Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches
WCC: World Council of Churches - assemblies, convocations, relations

MD-Materialdienst des Konfessionskundlichen Instituts Bensheim; MECC News Report; Melita theologica; Mid-Stream; Ministerial Formation; Missionalia; Le Monde copte; NADEO Newsletter; Näköala utsikt; NEO-Nordisk Ekumenisk Orientering; Nicolaus; Nouvelle revue théologique; Nuevo siglo.

O Odigos; Oecumenica Civitas; Ökumenische Rundschau; Ökumenisches Forum; Oikumene; One in Christ; Oriente cristiano; Origins; The Orthodox Church; Orthodoxes Forum; L'Osservatore Romano (weekly English); Ostkirchliche Studien.

Pastoral Ecuménica; Pneuma; Positions luthériennes; Presencia Ecuménica; Priests and People; Proche-Orient Chrétien; Pro Dialogo; Pro Ecclesia; Protestantismo; Quaderni della Segreteria Generale CEI; Qiqajôn di Bose.

Reformed World; Il Regno; Relaciones Interconfesionales; Religioni per la pace; Renovación Ecuménica; Reseptio; Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques; Revue des sciences religieuses; Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo; The Romanian Patriarchate News Bulletin.

SAE Notizie; Scottish Journal of Theology; SEDOS Bulletin; SICO-Servizio informazione per le chiese orientali; SIDIC-Service International de Documentation Judéo-Chrétien; SMT-Svensk Missions Tidskrift; Sobornost; Society for Pentecostal Studies Newsletter; SOP-Service orthodoxe de presse mensuel & supplément; St. Ansgar's Bulletin, St. Nersess Theological Review; St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly; Stimme der Orthodoxie; Studi Ecumenici; Studia i dokumenty ecumeniczne; Studia Liturgica; Studies in Interreligious Dialogue.

The Tablet; Tam-Tam AACC-All Africa Conference of Churches; Tempo e Presença; Texte aus der VELKD; Theoforum; Theological Studies; Theologische Revue; Theology Digest.

Una Sancta; Unitas; Unité chrétienne; Unité des Chrétiens; Unity Digest; V Edinosti; La Vita in Cristo e nella Chiesa; WARC Up-Date; Wereld en Zending; The Window; Worship; Zeitzeichen.

Key to sub-headings:

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-compiled by Dr. Loredana Nepi