

## Durham E-Theses

---

*The church and the unbeliever: recent Roman Catholic theology with special reference to Vatican II*

Robin P. Greenwood

### How to cite:

---

Greenwood, Robin P. (1971) The church and the unbeliever: recent Roman Catholic theology with special reference to Vatican II. Masters thesis, Durham University.

### Use policy

---

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/10103/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

THE CHURCH AND THE UNBELIEVER

THE CHURCH AND THE UNBELIEVER

Recent Roman Catholic Theology with special  
reference to Vatican II.

A Thesis

in candidature for the Degree of Master of Arts  
in the University of Durham

presented by

The Reverend Robin P. Greenwood, B.A. Dip.Th., (Dunelm)

S. Chad's College,  
Durham.

Ascension Day,  
1971.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.  
No quotation from it should be published without  
his prior written consent and information derived  
from it should be acknowledged.

TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page No.
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	i
ABSTRACT . . . . .	iii
CHAPTER ONE . . . . .	
Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus . . . . .	1
The Evidence of Monographs . . . . .	3
The Evidence of Dictionaries . . . . .	7
The Evidence of Manuals . . . . .	13
The Church's Uniqueness and Unity . . . . .	18
The Evidence of Monographs . . . . .	18
The Evidence of Dictionaries . . . . .	23
The Evidence of Manuals . . . . .	32
The Boundaries of Exclusivism . . . . .	47
The Evidence of Monographs . . . . .	47
The Evidence of Dictionaries . . . . .	74
The Evidence of Manuals . . . . .	76
Conclusions . . . . .	81
CHAPTER TWO . . . . .	
Part One: The Catholic Church and the Non-Christian in the documents of Vatican II . . . . .	83
1. Mission . . . . .	83
2. The Special Contribution of "Ad Gentes" to our understanding of the Church's Mission to the Unbeliever . . . . .	86
3. A call for humility in the Church with regard to Non-Christians	91
4. The Council and Non-Christian Beliefs . . . . .	97
A. Hinduism . . . . .	98
B. Buddhism . . . . .	99
C. Islam . . . . .	100
D. Judaism . . . . .	102
5. The Documents of Vatican II and the Atheist . . . . .	107
A. The Moral Guilt of the Atheist . . . . .	108
B. The Possibility of Salvation for the Atheist . . . . .	109
C. The Council recognizes different types of Atheism . . . . .	110
6. Conclusion . . . . .	112

Part Two: The Catholic Church and Non-Catholic Christians in the Documents of Vatican II . . . . .	113
1. Introduction . . . . .	113
2. The Decree on Eastern Catholic Christians . . . . .	113
3. The Decree on Ecumenism . . . . .	117
4. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church . . . . .	133
5. The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity . . . . .	137
6. The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation . . . . .	137
7. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. . . . .	138
8. The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World . .	139
9. The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity . . . . .	139
10. Conclusion . . . . .	140
CHAPTER THREE . . . . .	
Part One: The Salvation of the Non-Christian . . . . .	142
1. Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus . . . . .	142
2. Humanity: Basis of Dialogue . . . . .	146
3. Dialogue with the Non-Believer . . . . .	149
4. Dialogue with Judaism . . . . .	154
5. Dialogue with the World Religions . . . . .	159
6. The Missions after Vatican II . . . . .	161
7. Conclusions . . . . .	166
Part Two: The Salvation of the Non-Roman Catholic Christian . . . .	168
1. Introduction . . . . .	168
2. The People of God . . . . .	169
3. Reflections on "Unitatis Redintegratio": . . . . .	169
4. Apostolic Succession and Ministry . . . . .	170
5. The Ecclesial Reality of the other Churches . . . . .	172
6. The Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commissions . . . . .	175
7. Reactions to Post-Vatican II Ecumenism . . . . .	176
8. Conclusions . . . . .	179

CONCLUSION . . . . . 181

An Index of References to Vatican II Texts made in Chapter Two . . . 182

Bibliography . . . . . 183

## ABBREVIATIONS.

The Documents of Vatican II:

- L.G. Lumen Gentium (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church).
- D.V. Dei Verbum (Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation).
- S.C. Sacrosanctum Concilium (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy).
- G.S. Gaudium et Spes (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World).
- U.R. Unitatis Redintegratio (Decree on Ecumenism).
- O.E. Orientalium Ecclesiarum (Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches).
- C.D. Christus Dominus (Decree on the Bishop's Pastoral Office in the Church).
- O.T. Optatam Totius (Decree on Priestly Formation).
- A.A. Apostolicam Actuositatem (Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity).
- P.O. Presbyterorum Ordinis (Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests).
- A.G. Ad Gentes (Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity).
- G.E. Gravissimum Educationis (Declaration on Christian Education).
- N.A. Nostra Aetate (Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions).
- D.H. Dignitatis Humanae (Declaration on Religious Freedom).

(Fuller details of these books are given in the Bibliography).

- A.A.S. Acta Apostolicae Sedis.
- A.R.I.C. Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission.
- C.D. A Catholic Dictionary: Addis and Arnold, revised Scannell.
- C.D.V. A Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II: Vorgrimler.
- C.E. The Catholic Encyclopedia: Herbermann and others.
- C.T.S. The Catholic Truth Society.
- D.A.F.C. Dictionnaire Apologétique de la foi catholique: ed. D'Alès.
- D-B Denzinger - Bannwart: Enchiridion Symbolorum.
- D.P.C.R. Dictionnaire pratique des connaissances religieuses.
- D-S Denzinger-Schönméttzer: Enchiridion Symbolorum.

- D.Th.C. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique: Vacant and others.
- Dv. The Documents of Vatican II, edited Abbott.
- E.C. De Ecclesia Christi: Zapelena.
- Eus. E.H. History of the Church: Eusebius.
- E.V. L'Eglise de Vatican II, edited Baraúna.
- Journ. Ecum.Stud. Journal of Ecumenical Studies.
- L.A. Leonis XIII Acta.
- M.C.T. A Manual of Catholic Theology: Wilhelm and Scannell (revised).
- N.C.E. The New Catholic Encyclopedia.
- N.R.T. Nouvelle Revue Théologie.
- P.G. Patrologia Graeca.
- P.L. Patrologia Latina.
- S.T.D.F. Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae Fundamentalis: Tanquerey.
- T.C.C. The Teaching of the Catholic Church, edited Smith.
- T.E.C. These de Ecclesia Christi: Franzelin.
- Tr.E.C. Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi: Billot.
- Vg. Vulgate.

## INTRODUCTION.

In the hope that the cause of Ecumenism may be fostered, this thesis, presented by an Anglican, sets out to study recent Roman Catholic writings regarding the Church and the Unbeliever, and in particular to find an answer to the question: Is salvation only to be found within the Roman Catholic Church?

It is all too easy to describe as authentic what is really only a caricature of the pre-Vatican II Roman Catholic position regarding Unbelievers by summarizing it simply in the often-used phrase: *Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus*. The first chapter of this thesis, therefore, examines in detail the monographs, dictionaries, and manuals which contain this teaching. This body of literature by eminent Catholic theologians was available for seminarians as they prepared for their ministries among the faithful laity; it was the accepted teaching of the Bishops and the firm belief of the majority of Catholics on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. In this way it was possible to approach the recent Catholic literature with an accurate knowledge of what had been the standard pre-Vatican teaching.

Biblical quotations are in English and taken from the Revised Standard version, unless it is stated otherwise. The Council documents are quoted from the Walter M. Abbott edition published in 1967 and (together with several other works) is quoted with American spelling. However, detailed reference to the Latin text, where appropriate, has been made. It has been the aim, as far as possible, to give representative samples of literature from European as well as Transatlantic Catholic writers and therefore source material is written in English, French, Latin and Greek. Quotations are given in the language of the edition or translation acknowledged.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Rev. Dr. R.J. Taylor for his constant guidance and advice. Also I am indebted to the Rev.

R.P. McDermott and Louis Allen for their help and suggestions. A great deal of material would never have been available to me without the careful and enthusiastic work of the Inter-Library Loan Department in the University Library. I am grateful to Alma Thrippleton for her patience in typing a difficult manuscript. Lastly I thank my Mother for her unfailing support and encouragement.

ABSTRACT.

This thesis is an attempt to state and document recent changes in attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to those who are not Roman Catholics. Pre-Vatican II Catholicism used "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" in an exclusive manner, denying that those not in communion with the Pope could be in Communion with Christ. It will be shown that the exact nature of this exclusivism needs careful study and statement. The middle section of the thesis provides detailed study of the Vatican II documents related to the problem of the Church and the Unbeliever. For the first time official Catholicism admits the ecclesial reality of other communions and allows that there are many possible ways of approach to God. The final section gives evidence of the implementation of the Vatican II decrees but notes that Official Catholicism is invariably cautious in its advance. The contrast with pre-Vatican II literature with its presuppositions of membership and a clearly-defined Church is remarkable testimony to the working-out of Pope John XXIII's "aggiornamento" in the life of the Church.

CHAPTER ONE

Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus

EXTRA ECCLESIAM NULLA SALUS.

Looking from the Anglican Communion with its greatly varying shades of theological opinion, towards Rome, it is reasonable to refer to "the official opinion" of the Catholic Church. In a way in which it could never be said of theologians in communion with the See of Canterbury, Roman Catholic scholars find themselves within a small compass of opinion on any one point of dogma. In the words of Theodore Westow<sup>1</sup>, a translator for and contributor to "Concilium", "there is such a thing as 'Official' Catholicism, something one might vulgarly call 'a party line' ". This first chapter is a collection of evidence, tracing an overall picture of the consensus of Roman Catholic theology "De Ecclesia" in the particular field of the Catholic and the Unbeliever, on the eve of Vatican II.

The following is a précis of the kind of statement of this doctrine that we should expect to find and to document in this chapter. Catholic theology stated that as Christ is One, so also his Church is one. The Church may be described as the One Body of Christ into which, through baptism a man is incorporated and so becomes a member of the Church, a participant in the Kingdom of God on earth. In plain words: the body of Christians is co-extensive with the baptized members of the Church of Christ. Christ wished Christians to live in visible unity under the sovereignty of the Pope, His earthly vice-regent. Catholics claim the Bishop of the Roman See was set by Christ to be the visible

1. Theodore Westow: "Introducing Contemporary Catholicism".  
London 1967. p.17

sign of unity among Christians, in that he succeeded Peter and therefore received power to be Christ's Vicar on earth. As the Catholic Church holds the belief that Christ gave to Peter authority to teach infallibly, it also believes that this authority was handed on to the succeeding Bishops of Rome. Christ gave the Church (the Body of Christians in communion with the Pope) a universal mission to preach Christ and bring all men into the Kingdom of Heaven. The same Church laments that not all who profess the name of Christ are members of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church and prays for the day when "the separated bretheren" will return <sup>2.</sup> to the one fold and the one shepherd <sup>3.</sup>

2. Henry St. John O.P in number One of "Essays in Christian Unity 1926-1954" (mostly reprints from "Blackfriars") expresses the Catholic idea of "Reunion". We shall find expressed succinctly here the prevailing pre-conciliar catholic idea of the Unity of the Church. He writes (p. 4) "Many Catholics look upon the word "Reunion" with considerable suspicion. To use it, they argue, is to call in question, at least by implication, the UNICITY of the Church, which according to Catholic teaching must necessarily be a visible organism, the backbone of which is the historic episcopate with the See of Peter as its head and guarantee of unity. The visible Church cannot be divided, and to speak of reunion might imply that it can, and that its sundered parts can be brought together again. To speak of reunion in this sense is of course impossible for a Catholic. We hold that the Church is always and necessarily one; that the Holy See is the Church's divinely constituted centre of unity, and that to be permanently separated from communion with the Holy See, whatever the cause of the separation might be, is to be in schism, which means to be cut off from full participation in the visible unity of the Church".
3. This summary relies, often verbally, on the Encyclical Letter of Pope John XXIII "Aeterna Dei Sapientia" part II, translated and published in English by the Catholic Truth Society, as "A call to unity", London 1961. The Encyclical "Mystici Corporis" of Pope Pius XII published in English by C.T.S. in 1952 is also vital to our understanding of the self-consciousness of Roman Catholicism before Vatican II.

We shall assemble documentary evidence to show that this was the general "official" statement of Doctrine regarding the Church and Salvation as Vatican II began. We shall note that there were individual theologians who had been moving away from this position but that their opinions had not so-far prevailed. We shall find that the Catholic Church believed that salvation came through no other body but her self. She was not, however, maintaining that beyond her borders there could be no grace. Indeed the Jansenist proposition, phrased by Pasquier Quesnel in 1713: *Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Conceditur Gratia* <sup>4°</sup>, was rejected by the Church. We shall find that the problem of the possibility of salvation for the individual non-Catholic received great attention throughout the period of time we are to discuss <sup>5°</sup>.

Firstly, we shall examine samples of the documentary evidence to be found in the pre-Vatican II dogmatics literature which maintained that salvation comes exclusively through the Roman Catholic Church.

#### THE EVIDENCE FROM MONOGRAPHS.

1. H. de Lubac.

Henri de Lubac examined Catholic teaching on this subject in "Catholicisme", where he devoted a chapter to "Le Salut par l'Eglise" in which he allows space to a discussion of "le dogme de la nécessité

4. D-S. 2429.

5. This chapter has source books of modern doctrine written over the period from the turn of the century until the end of the 1950's, but all of them were standard works to be found on Library shelves on the eve of Vatican II.

de l'Eglise pour ce même salut" <sup>6</sup>. De Lubac states that Christian history has turned up many different explanations of the fate of non-believers. The basic belief is that Christ founded his Church for the salvation of all mankind: "Le Christ .....a prêché une Loi, fonde une Société. Il a ordonné a ses disciples de répandre l'une et l'autre. Il a déclaré que la foi en sa personne et l'agregation à Son Eglise étaient la condition du Salut" <sup>7</sup>. This was the self-consciousness of the Roman Church as de Lubac presented it: "Elle est de par les intentions divines et l'institution du Christ, la seule voie normale de salut" <sup>8</sup>. While de Lubac is regarding the Roman Catholic Church as absolutely necessary to salvation - it is only through the Catholic Church that a man may receive the "form of Christ" - he does not specifically equate "L'Eglise" with the Roman Catholic Church. De Lubac describes the position of the Catholic as 'normal' in the quest for salvation. The central tenet of his hopes for non-believers is that by 'mysterious bonds' they are united to Catholic believers. Indeed by their very humanity they are already on the way to salvation, in that all humanity is in a relationship to the Church and therefore salvation.

6. Henri de Lubac: "Catholicisme, Les aspects sociaux du dogme". Unam Sanctam 3. Paris 1947. (4th edition) p. 179 Chapter seven.
7. *ibid.* p. 182.
8. *ibid.* p. 183, quoting "Bulletin des Missions" mars-juin 1934, p.60 de Lubac does not make it clear from "Catholicisme" whether in fact he wrote this article himself or not.

2. L. Capéran.

Louis Capéran, in his "Essai Historique" of the problem of the salvation of the Unbeliever, admits that Catholic dogma requires a man who would achieve salvation to be baptized into the Roman Catholic Church ("la véritable Eglise"). Later we shall discuss Capéran's theories about the salvation of the unbeliever, and in particular his thesis that "le salut, en raison de la Rédemption Universelle, est accessible à tous, même aux païens, si ceux - la même qui ne connaissent pas Jésus-Christ, peuvent se sauver par Jésus-Christ" <sup>9</sup>.

3. R. Lombardi.

Another monograph in this field, "The Salvation of the Unbeliever" by Riccardo Lombardi, begins with a discussion of the various types of non-catholic and non-Christian, describing the "Necessity of faith" in the Roman Catholic Church as an unavoidable certainty but equally as a "painful and perplexing problem". Lombardi is anxious to demonstrate that the maxim "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" is not synonymous with the wholesale condemnation of unbelievers" <sup>10</sup>.

9. L. Capéran, "Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles. Essai Historique" 1947. Avant-Propos de la première édition p. vii.

10. Riccardo Lombardi: "The Salvation of the Unbeliever" p. 15.

4. G. Baum.

Gregory Baum can also be cited as one who pivots his discussion of the problem on the key phrase "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" <sup>11</sup>. Writing in 1960, S. Tromp <sup>12</sup> shows how it has been traditional Catholic teaching to say "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus". To do this he quotes Greek and Latin Fathers of the early Church and especially St. Augustine. Later references include the Bull "Unam Sanctum" (1302) of Boniface VIII, "Super quibusdam" of Clement VI (1351), the "Decretum pro Jacobitis" of the Council of Florence (1442), Gregory XVI's "Mirari vos arbitramur" (1832), Pius IX's "Quanto conficiamur moerore" (1863), Pius XII's "Humani generis" (1950) and the Holy Office Letter of 1949. On all these occasions, states Tromp, the Church has officially described herself as the one and only means of salvation. The title of the chapter is plain enough: "Anima partes abscissas non sequitur nec extra corpus vivificat", it ended with the statement "Unum Corpus et unus Spiritus".

Yves M-J Congar in "Sainte Eglise" (1963) wrote a chapter entitled "Hors de l'Eglise, pas de salut" <sup>13</sup>. It will be more

11. Gregory Baum, O.S.A. "That they may be one. A study of Papal doctrine (Leo XIII - Pius XII)", London 1958. On p. 27 he says: "...it is Catholic doctrine that outside the Church no salvation can be found".
12. Sebastino Tromp S.J. (a Professor in theology at the Gregorian University) "Corpus Christi quod est ecclesia" III "De Spiritu Christi Anima" pp. 184-215. (Rome 1960).
13. Yves Congar "Sainte Eglise" (Unam Sanctam 41) Paris 1963, pp. 417-431.

important to examine this when we come to a deeper discussion of what this phrase means, but it is sufficient to note here that by detailed references he illustrates the Church's use of "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus".

#### 5. Conclusion.

These authors have all found that the Church has traditionally held this maxim against all opposition, indifferentism, and the separated brethren. The basic presupposition is of the Church as an Institution demanding a formal Membership. We hope to confirm that "Membership" could be given as the watchword of pre-conciliar Roman Catholicism in the following examination of standard works of reference.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE DICTIONARIES.

In this connection we may concern ourselves with three dictionaries. The "Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique", "The Catholic Encyclopedia", and "A Catholic Dictionary", published over a period of fifty years, were in regular use in the years immediately before Vatican II.

#### 1. Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.

The "Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique" under the heading "Eglise" <sup>14</sup>, discusses "Le dogme catholique sur la nécessité

14. D.Th.C. edited by A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, published over the period 1903 to 1950, Tome IV, Pt. 2, Cols. 2155 - 2175, article by E. Dublanchy.

d'appartenir à l'Eglise Catholique pour obtenir le salut". After a mention of the famous New Testament proof text, Mk. 16:16, Dublanchy makes the point that the straightforward condemnation on non-Catholics must be avoided, although positive opponents of the Church deserved condemnation. In Column 2155 he says, "Puisqu'une telle condamnation implique la perte éternelle du salut, d'après l'antithèse certainement existante entre les deux membres de phrase, on doit nécessairement conclure que l'appartenance à l'Eglise catholique, par la soumission toujours constante à son enseignement infaillible, est nécessaire du salut. On doit en même temps noter que la condamnation de Jésus, d'après l'antithèse précitée, étant portée uniquement contre ceux qui refusent positivement de se soumettre à l'Eglise, n'atteint pas ceux qui, ignorant en toute bonne foi la divine autorité de cette Eglise, ne sont point de fait soumis à son enseignement".

To indicate how the Church has always condemned schismatics, Dublanchy provides quotations from the Fathers in which non-Catholics are severely criticized <sup>15</sup>. This by the way of example, is what he says of "Saint Ephrem" (Col. 2157): "il conclut qu nous

15. Quotations from: St. Clement, St. Ignatius, St. Irenaeus, Tertullian, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, Origen, St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Jerome, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Ephraim.

ne devons pas les aimer, ni rester avec eux, ni prier ni prendre de la nourriture avec eux, ni les recevoir dans nos demeures, ni les saluer, ni communiquer aucunement avec leurs oeuvres mauvaises"<sup>16</sup>. However, Dublanchy admits that not even a rigorous exclusivist like St. Augustine would condemn all non-Catholics out of hand. He comments: "D'où l'on est en droit de conclure que, dans la pensée de saint Augustin, ces hérétiques de bonne foi ne sont pas exclus de toute chance de salut" (Col.2158). Congar<sup>17</sup> makes exactly the same point: in the days of the Fathers it was unusual to be a non-believer except for one of the specific reasons that a man was a Jew, belonged to a Pagan society, was a heretic, a schismatic or an excommunicate. To be in none of these categories, and yet to be outside the Church, was therefore a very serious position; indeed such a man was said to be without the possibility of salvation.

From Dublanchy's historical survey of the Church's pronouncements in this field it becomes clear that the phrase "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus", or an equivalent, has been provoked by a particular set of circumstances. For instance, Lateran (IV) in 1215 makes a stand against the "Albigenses and Cathari"<sup>18</sup>; and in 1442 the Council of Florence issued the Bull "Cantate Domino" with a section

16. "Opera omnia", Rome 1746, Tome III, pp. 112,113.

17. Yves Congar, *ibid.* article "Au sujet des Non-Catholiques".

18. "Definito contra Albigenses et Catharos...Una vero est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur". D-S 802.

opposing the Jacobites<sup>19</sup>. Identical teaching is to be found in the writings and statements of Clement IV<sup>20</sup>, St. Thomas<sup>21</sup>, and Cardinal Turrecremata<sup>22</sup>, all of whom deny that schismatical groups of men can hope for salvation. Bellarmine's three points against Protestant Sects are also mentioned by Dublanchy<sup>23</sup>. He mentions that Bellarmine remains an important model for some time in the demonstration of the necessity of belonging to the visible unity of the Church. Dublanchy continues by describing the various uses of the phrase "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" in the writings of Melchior Cano<sup>24</sup>,

19. "nullos extra catholicam Ecclesiam existentes" D-S 1351. (D.Th.C. ibid. col. 2159).
20. Clement IV's profession of faith, eventually to be presented to Gregory X at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274:  
"Credimus sanctam catholicam et apostolicam unam esse veram Ecclesiam, in qua unum datur sanctum baptisma et vera omnium remission peccatorum" D-S 854.
21. "Saint Thomas, dans son "Expositio in decretalem primam ad archidiaconumtridentinum" expliquant l'enseignement du IVe concile de Latran, "una fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus salvator omnino", en donne cette raison qu'en dehors de l'Eglise on ne peut avoir la véritable foi, qui est essentiellement une et qui est en meme temps absolument nécessaire au salut". D.Th.C. Tome IV, Pt.2.
22. Cardinal Turrecremata: "Summa de Ecclesia" Book I, ch. 21 (the pages are unnumbered Rome 1489).
23. St. Robert Bellarmine: "Disputationes de Controversiis Christiane Fidei adversus huius temporis Haereticos" (3 vols., Ingolstadt 1586-93).
24. Melchior Cano: "De locis theologicis" Bk. IV, ch. 2 "Relectio de Sacram" p.11. "Opera" Venice 1759.

Cardinal de Perron <sup>25</sup>, Sylvius <sup>26</sup>, the Franciscan Henno <sup>27</sup>, Libère de Jésus <sup>28</sup>, Tournely <sup>29</sup>, and Billuart <sup>30</sup>. From this long and detailed article one conclusion stands out prominently, namely that there is no salvation in any other Christian body but the Catholic Church.

2. The Catholic Encyclopedia.

"The Catholic Encyclopedia", produced over the years 1907 to 1912 described itself as "an International work of Reference on the Constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church" <sup>31</sup>. Its teaching on the Church <sup>32</sup> may be regarded as standard in the pre-Vatican II period. This article on the Church points out that in scripture "it is laid down that only by entering the Church can we participate in the Redemption wrought for us by Christ". The particular proof texts offered are Mt. 16:18; 18:17; and Titus 3:10f. The phrase "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" is regarded as a perfect expression of the Catholic doctrine of the Church and the unbeliever. The article shows that this teaching

25. Le Cardinal de Perron: "Replique à la response du serenissime roi de la Grande-Bretagne", Bk. 1, chapter 68, Paris 1620, p. 572ff.
26. Sylvius: "Controverses" Bk. III, Q.1, A.3, "Opera", Anvers 1968, T. 4, p.238.
27. Henno: "Theologia, tractus de virtute," Disputes II, A.1, con cl. 2 (Venice 1719) T.1, p.304.
28. Libère de Jésus: "Controverses" part I, disp. I, cont VI (Milan 1757) T. VIII, col. 81.
29. Tournely: "Parelectiones theologicae de Ecclesia Christi" Q. VII, A.7 (Paris 1739), p.654.
30. Billuart: "Tractus de regulis fidei" diss. III, A2, p.iii, Summa sancti Thomae (Paris 1886). T.V, p.96.
31. C.E. (1907 to 1912) edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Edward A. Pace, Conde D. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan, John J. Whnne, and others (in 15 volumes. London).
32. ibid. Vol. III, pp.752, 753.

has various explanations but, concludes that it is quite rightly a "stern" doctrine. Here, more than in any document studied in this section, salvation is expressly excluded in non-Catholic communions. The Catholic Church does not say this from enmity, but rather from love of the unbeliever, knowing that salvation is only to be found within the Church <sup>33</sup>.

### 3. The Catholic Dictionary.

The "Catholic Dictionary" <sup>34</sup> provides, in the words of the Preface to the First Edition, "a single trustworthy source of information on points of Catholic doctrine, ritual and discipline". The article on "The Church of Christ" contains a large amount of polemic against Protestant "Schisms" and dismisses, with reference to St. Cyprian <sup>35</sup>, any Protestant claims to offer salvation within their sects. It is stressed that, on the contrary, the Roman Catholic Church is "One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic" and the corollary is that "heresy is a stain which even blood shed for the truth of Christ cannot wash away" <sup>36</sup>.

### 4. Conclusion.

So far we have discussed monographs and dictionaries, or at least a representative sample of each. The mainpoint has been that

33. The article maintains that this has been the Church's constant teaching, mentioning by name: St. Ignatius, Origen, St. Cyprian, Pius IX as well as the Fourth Lateran Council. In all these instances we find that the Church is excluding groups of schismatics from salvation, rather than the individual non-Catholic.
34. "A Catholic Dictionary": William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, Revised T.B. Scannell. 9th Edition, London 1917.
35. St. Cyprian: Ep. 73 (P.L. III. 1123).
36. C.D. p.181.

the Catholic Church, using the tools of history and theology, denied that salvation exists except through the Roman Catholic Church.

We shall find this picture of the situation completely verified in the following analysis of relevant parts of the dogmatics Manuals.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE MANUALS.

We shall consider the evidence of three manuals. Their reliability as guides to norms of Catholic teaching in this period is guaranteed by the stature of those theologians responsible for their publication: Ioannes B. Franzelin, Adolf Tanqueray, and the Jesuit Timotheus Zapelena, all of whom were very influential - Franzelin and Zapelena were teachers of dogmatics in Rome.

##### 1. J.B. Franzelin.

Published in 1907, Franzelin's "Theses de Ecclesia Christi" devotes Thesis 24 to this theme "De Unione cum Ecclesia ut medio necessario ad iustificationem et salutem". He stresses that the Church cannot be regarded as an optional extra for the pious: "Ecclesia ergo societas est non optioni hominum aequaliter liberae permissa, sed necessaria." <sup>37</sup> With reference to Rom. 8:14,17, Franzelin points out that only by making ourselves available to the Spirit can we be heirs of Christ. Salvation is to be found only in visible membership of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church. The "Firmiter Credimus" of Lateran IV against the Albigenses seems to be Franzelin's idea of the Church's proper attitude for all time towards

37. T.E.C. p.413.

unbelievers. "Una est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur".<sup>38</sup>

2. A. Tanqueray.

Tanqueray, likewise, in "Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae Fundamentalibus" (1937)<sup>39</sup> taught that salvation is only possible through the Church. To indicate that this has been the constant mind of the Church, he provides an imposing list of proof texts. He begins with the Apostles' Creed which includes the phrase: ΠΙΣΤΕΥΩ . . . εἰς ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, this is followed by a reference to St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, who in "Ancoratus" speaks of the Church anathematizing heretics. He next turns to the Athanasian Creed (D-S 75-76) which ends with "Haec est fides catholica: quam nisi quisque (quis) fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit". Pelagius II in "Quod ad dilectionem" (D-B, only, 246) to the schismatical bishop of Istria c.585 states, "considerate (ergo), quia quicumque in pace et unitate Ecclesiae non fuerit, Deum habere non poterit". Innocent III's letter "Eius exemplo" to Archbishop Terracon in 1208 (D-S 792) has "Corde credimus et ore confitemur, unam Ecclesiam non haereticorum, sed sanctam, catholicam, (sanctam) apostolicam (et immaculatam), extra quam neminem salvari credimus". Tanqueray follows this by Boniface VIII's "Unam Sanctam" of 1302

38. D-S 802.

39. S.T.D.F. Tome I, paras 816-827, pp.550-557, "Epilogus De Necessitate Catholicae Ecclesiae, seu de necessaria ad eam Aggregatione".

(D-S 870-872) against Philip IV of France: "Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam et ipsam apostolicam urgente fide credere cogimur et tenere, nosque hanc firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur extra quam nec salus est nec remissio peccatorum". After this, he refers to the Council of Florence's "Pro Jacobitis" of 1442 (D-S 1351): ".....nullos extra catholicam Ecclesiam existentes". Pius IV's "Iniunctum nobis" (1564), D-S 1870, states "Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest...." and Gregory XIII is shown to support this by quoting the Tridentine profession of faith in his Decree to the Greek and Russian Church in 1575 (D-S 1987). Continuing, Tanquerey quotes Benedict XIV's "Nuper ad nos" (D-S 2540) in which that Pope said "...Cetera item omnia suscipio et profiteor, quae recepit et profitetur sancta Romana Ecclesia, simulque contraria omnia, et schismata et haereses ab eadem Ecclesia damnatas, reiectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, reicio et anathematizo...". In the stand against indifferentism and rationalism, Gregory XVI's encyclical "Mirari vos arbitramur" (D-S 2867) of 1832 says, "...qualibet fidei professione aeternam posse animae salutem comparari, si mores ad recti honestique normam exigantur", and similarly in the same cause Pius IX's "Quanto conficiamur moerore" to the Italian bishops in 1863 (D-S 2867) has "...Sed notissimum quoque est catholicum dogma, neminem scilicet extra catholicam Ecclesiam posse salvari, et contumaces adversus eiusdem Ecclesiae, definitiones, et ab ipsius Ecclesiae unitate atque a Petri successore Romano Pontifice, cui vineae custodia a salvatore est commissa, pertinaciter divisos aeternam non posse obtinere salutem..." Tanquerey has given us a reliable summary of the historical evidence used in the Catholic Church before the Council to show the Catholic Church's unique position with regard to salvation.

He further supports the maxim "No salvation outside the Church" by New Testament passages. He refers to Mk. 16:15, 16<sup>40</sup> "...He who believes and is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned..."; Jn. 3:5 "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the spirit he cannot enter the Kingdom of God"; Mt. 18:17 "... if he refuses even to hear the Church, let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector"; and Acts 4:11-12 "...there is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved". Acts 2:41 and 8:36-38 are used to show that the right and natural step for the convert to Christ is baptism into the Catholic Church. The writings of Paul (1 Cor. 12:12-13; Eph. 1:22) are quoted to show that those who seek God in Christ are the same who are baptized into his Church. The necessity of belonging to the Catholic Church is further demonstrated by quotations from the Fathers<sup>41</sup> and the Popes<sup>42</sup>. In conclusion, Tanquerey states "Omni igitur argumentorum genere constat Ecclesiam Romanam, eamque solam, vere esse Ecclesiam a Christo institutam, quam omnes ingredi debeant, qui aeternam salutem consequi volunt"<sup>43</sup>.

### 3. T. Zapelena.

The third example in this section is "De Ecclesia Christi" of T. Zapelena, published in 1940<sup>44</sup>. He refers to New Testament

40. cf. D.Th.C. Tome IV Pt. 2, Col. 2155.

41. St. Irenaeus, Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine (SIDF T.1, para 822, p.533).

42. Innocent III, Boniface VIII, Pius IV, Benedict XIV, Gregory XVI, and Pius IX. Tanquerey points out that the Easterns (e.g. M. Jugie "Theol. dogm. christian. oriental". Paris 1931, T.1, p.316ff.) and Protestants (e.g. d'Herbigny "Theol. de Eccl." 1920) have admitted the same.

43. S.T.D.F., T.1, para 827, p.557.

44. "De Ecclesia Christi" by Timotheus Zapelena S.J., Rome 1940.

texts,<sup>45</sup> official statements of the Catholic Church<sup>46</sup>, and to the early Fathers<sup>47</sup>. In his explanation of the maxim "neminem posse salvari extra Ecclesiam Romanam"<sup>48</sup>, like Tanquerey (see note 42), Zapelena finds significance in the Protestants' own exclusion from salvation of those "outside the Church". He lists the following instances: "Catechismus ecclesiae genevensis", "confessio Peregrinorum Francofordiae", "Confessio helvetica posterior", "Confessio Belgica" and "Confessio Scotica".

### Conclusion.

This has been a brief survey of the literature but the choice of Franzelin, Tanquerey and Zapelena is to take a representative sample of the best Manual literature of the period under discussion. We have shown throughout the whole section - from the Manuals, the Dictionaries and the Monographs - that "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus", whether used explicitly or implicitly, was regarded as a self-explanatory fact. We have seen how schismatical Christians have been warned time and again that salvation is to be found only in the Roman Catholic Church, the

45. e.g. to show that baptism into the Church is the only proper response to the Gospel: Acts 2:41 "So those who received this word were baptized..."; 1 Cor. 12:13 "For by one spirit we were all baptized into one Body - Jews or Greeks, slaves of free - and all were made to drink of one Spirit"; Mt. 28:19 "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them..."; and Rom. 6:3-5 "...We were buried with him, therefore, by baptism into death..."
46. Zapelena includes: "Professio fidei Waldensibus" of Innocent III (D-S 792); "Definitio contra Albigenses et Catharos", Lateran IV (D-S 802); "Unam Sanctam", Boniface VIII (D-S 870-872); "Decretum pro Jacobitis" of the Council of Florence (D-S 1351); "Professio fidei Orientalibus praescripta", Benedict XIV (D-S 2540); and "Singulari quadam" of Pius IX (D-B 1647).
47. St. Ignatius: "...si quis schisma facientem sectatur, regni divini haereditatem non consequetur" (Ad Phil. 3:2-3). St. Irenaeus: "Spiritus S. non sunt participes omnes qui non current ad Ecclesiam" (Adv. Haer. 3:24). St. Cyprian: "...Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem" ("De Cath. eccl. unitate" Ch.6). Origen: "...extra ecclesiam nemo salvatur" (Iosue, In lib. Homily 3. Lactantius: "...hoc domicilium fidei..." (Divinae Instit. Bk. 4, Ch.30). St. Augustine: "...extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus S." (Letter 185); St. Fulgentius: "Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites omnem extra catholicam baptizatum participem fieri non posse vitae aeternae..." (De fide ad Petrum, 37:78).
48. E.C. p.157.

true Church of Christ. We move on now to a deeper consideration of what membership of the Church was taken to mean.

### THE CHURCH'S UNIQUENESS AND UNITY.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF MONOGRAPHS.

##### 1. H. St. John.

"Essays in Christian Unity" by H. St. John <sup>49</sup> vary in their date of writing over a period of twenty-eight years. As the writer admits, there is overall "a gradual change of emphasis in thought". Essay One (1926) on the need for Christian unity, speaks freely, though not without embarrassment, of the "divisions of Christendom" and calls for "reunion", reporting that in 1926 "Many Catholics look upon the word "reunion" with considerable suspicion". <sup>50</sup>

##### 2. H. de Lubac.

"Christ's Bride is unique" says de Lubac <sup>51</sup>, "and it is one Church which we see, which we hear, which we believe, which teaches, which gives judgement and which baptizes" <sup>52</sup>. As there was One, Incarnate Lord, so there is One Church - this is de Lubac's contention, despite the "evident signs of the condition of our human weakness (that)..."

49. For details cf. note two above.

50. Henry St. John *ibid.* p.4.

51. de Lubac "The Splendour of the Church", translated by Michael Mason from the second edition of "Meditation sur l'Eglise, (London 1956), pp.57, 58.

52. *ibid.* quoting Fénelon "Lettres sur l'Autorité de l'Eglise" i and v, 3.

the Church shows in her visible aspect. These divisions are the result, not of her "juridical constitution" as a Body politic, but rather to "the tragic leaning towards evil" on the part of individuals<sup>53</sup>. In a short space de Lubac discusses the image of the Church as Christ's Mystical Body, alluding to several theologians and Controversialists who have developed the same theme<sup>54</sup>.

### 3. M.J. Congar.

In "The Oneness of the Church", M.J. Congar describes the Church's "Oneness" as "a communication and extension of the Oneness of God himself"<sup>55</sup>. He makes reference to the Covenant which Yahweh made with Abraham - Christians who participate in the Kingdom of God are inheritors of the same Covenant. Congar says, "The Church is the community of those who are called to share the inheritance of the Fathers and the

53. de Lubac is referring to the encyclical "Mystici Corporis", in which the One Church is described as "the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church". (Catholic Truth Society Text, art.13). The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Vatican I (D-S 3050-3075) bears out the same teaching concerning the position of the Roman See.
54. His list includes the following who were advanced thinkers of their time:-  
 St. Robert Bellarmine: "Controversies".  
 Claude Regnier: "De Ecclesia", 2 vols 1789.  
 Bailly: "Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi", 2 vols 1783.  
 Johann Adam Möhler: "Die Einheit in der Kirche" and "Symbolik" and these may be said to be part of the beginning of the new theological thinking:-  
 Carlo Passaglia "De Ecclesia Christi" (1853-1854).  
 Clement Schrader: "Theses Theologicae" (1869).  
 Jean-Baptiste Franzelin: "De Ecclesia Christi" (1887 posthumous and incomplete).  
 Matthias Joseph Scheeben: "Die Mysterien de Christentums". (1885).  
 According to Jean François Six, the century between the "Syllabus" of Pius IX (1864) and Vatican II has been a time of continual theological change with regard to Catholic attitudes towards non-believers. (Jean François Six: "Du Syllabus au Dialogue" Paris 1970.)
55. M.J. Congar, O.P. "The Oneness of the Church" London 1939, A translation by M.A. Bousfield of "Chrétiens Désunis". Chapter two, p.48.

benefits of the covenant"<sup>56</sup>. As de Lubac, Congar spends some time describing the church's unity in terms of the Mystical Body of Christ. He then gives the Holy Spirit as the example, par excellence, of the unity of the Church, quoting Jn. 17:11 and 21-23 "that they may be one, even as we are one...that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee...that they may also be in us. That they may be one, even as we are one, I in them and thou in me". He comments further <sup>57</sup>: "The Church is, in solid truth, one, as God is one". The unity of the Church is indestructible, "Because the unity of the Church is from above, from God, it cannot be broken by the secession of this or that member of it;...Either one is, or one is not in the unity of the Church; it remains intact, for all that individuals depart from it". This was Congar's position in 1939. His great work on the Church "Sainte Eglise" published in 1963, reinforces the idea of "membership" in the only possible Institution of Salvation by reference to the encyclical "Mystici Corporis" of 1943. He particularly refers to the sentence: "In Ecclesiae membris ii soli annumerandi sunt, qui regenerationis lavacrum receperunt veramque fidem profitentur, neque a Corporis compage semetipsos misere separaverunt, vel ob gravissima admissa a legitima auctoritate seiuncta sunt"<sup>58</sup>. Commenting on this,

56. Congar, *ibid.* p.50.

57. *ibid.* p.59.

58. Congar: "Sainte Eglise", p.431, quoting AAS, 35 (1943), p.202 (the equivalent in English translation in Catholic Truth Society text n.21).

he points out that the Pope's teaching equates the Mystical Body of Christ with the Roman Catholic Church, and also that membership of the one implies membership of the other. It is essential Catholic teaching, Congar continues, that there is one visible Church outside of which there is no salvation. "L'eglise catholique reste la seule institution (sacramentum) divinement instituée et mandatée de salut, et ce qui existe de grâce dans le monde lui est rapporté par la finalité, sinon par l'efficience".

4. G. Baum.

Now let us refer to the work of Gregory Baum<sup>59</sup>. It is "a certainty of faith", he says, (that) "The Roman Catholic Church is united to Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World, as his Mystical Body"<sup>60</sup>. Catholic faith states this as a tenet of belief: "Credo unam Ecclesiam". He mentions New Testament texts in his demonstration of the unity of "God's own people", including 1 Peter 2:9-10 "...you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation..."; Gal. 6:16 "...the Israel of God"; Phil. 3:3 "...the true circumcision..."; and James 1:1 "...the Twelve Tribes in the Dispersion...". This people is one: "in the sense that there is and can only be a single Church, and...in the sense that the faithful constitute a united human family, of which God is the Father". This oneness of being must express itself in unity of mission and pilgrimage, says Baum, using three Official texts by way of illustration:

59. See note 11, above.

60. Baum, *ibid.* p.1.

Pius XI's "Mortalium Animos" (1928); Leo XIII's "Satis Cognitum" (1896); and Pius XII's "Mystici Corporis" (1943) <sup>61</sup>.

5. J.C. Fenton.

J.C. Fenton's "The Catholic Church and Salvation" <sup>62</sup> relies largely for its framework on the exposition of Papal and Conciliar texts. In his first chapter, Fenton discusses the declarations of Lateran IV <sup>63</sup> and the profession of faith prescribed for the Waldensians by Innocent III <sup>64</sup>. He concludes that it is a "divinely revealed truth that there is only one true Ecclesia or Church of God", and further, that "this one true Ecclesia is the Roman Catholic Church, the Social unity properly called "the universal church of the faithful" <sup>65</sup>. Fenton describes God's Ecclesia as the "only one, true, supernatural Kingdom of God in the world...the Roman Catholic Church". In this way he equates the Roman Catholic Church with the Kingdom of God on earth <sup>66</sup> as also in his discussion of the "Concept of Salvation" in part two of his book <sup>67</sup>. He offers a short exegesis of Acts 2:37-42 (conversions on the day of Pentecost), remarking that "the clear implication of Peter's statement is that the Church, the Kingdom of God, is the only institution or social unit of salvation". Catholicism took from the Jews the privilege

61. D-S 3683, 3300-3310, and 3800-3822 respectively.

62. J.C. Fenton "The Catholic Church and Salvation, in the light of recent pronouncements by the Holy See" London 1958.

63. D-S 802 "Una verè est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur..."

64. D-S 792 "Corde credimus et ore confitemur unam Ecclesiam non haereticorum, sed sanctam Romanam catholicam, (sanctam) apostolicam (et immaculatam), extra quam neminem salvari credimus".

65. Fenton, *ibid.* p.6. The emphasis is his.

66. L.G. 5 does not make this affirmation: "The Church, consequently, equipped with the gifts of her founder and faithfully guarding his precepts of charity, humility, and self-sacrifice, received the mission to proclaim and to establish among all peoples the Kingdom of Christ and of God. She becomes on earth the initial budding forth of that Kingdom."

67. Fenton, *ibid.* pp.133-144. Page 135 bears a quotation from Leo XIII's "Humanum genus", against Freemasonry: "The one is the Kingdom of God on earth, the true Church of Jesus Christ..." (from Fr. Wynne's edition of "The great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII", New York 1903., p.83.)

of being the Kingdom of God because the People of the Old Covenant forfeited their rights, becoming instead the Kingdom of Satan. Fenton implies here that salvation is chosen or rejected - he who does not support Jesus, opposes him <sup>68</sup>. He concludes that Peter taught that salvation was to be found in no other way than by baptism into the Catholic Church.

No Summary is necessary here and we move on to the evidence of the Dictionaries.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE DICTIONARIES.

Here we shall consult five of the standard dictionaries written during the first half of this century that were all respected on the eve of the Council as reliable guides to what was Catholic teaching.

##### 1. The Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.

The "Dictionnaire de theologie catholique" in the sub-section devoted to "Notes caractéristiques de la véritable Eglise" <sup>69</sup>, discusses the Unity of the Church on a historical basis. Briefly, the article mentions writers of the first three centuries: Justin Martyr, Tertullian, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Cyprian and St. Irenaeus. Then he passes to a consideration of the period from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries. The "Symbolorum Constantinopolitanum" is mentioned as the Church's first official statement

68. N.A. 4 directly opposes any such suggestion that the Jews as a collective body in all times have been rejected by God, stressing instead the common Christian-Jewish patrimony.

69. D.Th.C. Tome 4, pt. 2, Cols. 2128-2132.

(381) of her oneness and uniqueness<sup>70</sup>. SS. Optatus and Augustine are regarded as defenders of the Church's Unity, in that they opposed the Donatistschism. After mentioning the unifying influence of St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, the article mentions Wycliffe, Huss and Cardinal Turrecremata as supporting that the Church is one and true: "Quia est una, quia est sancta, quia est catholica id est universalis"<sup>71</sup>. In the sixteenth century there is similar evidence from the work of Bellarmine, in defining the unity of the Church against Reformers, together with Melchior Cano, Stapleton, Suarez, and Bañez, theologians who regarded the unity of the Church as an essential characteristic of her structure. The article considered that the following century, the seventeenth, stressed more than ever the need to recognize one true Church, in whose authority all Christians must acquiesce. The writer speaks with dismay of the nineteenth century Protestant claims against the Catholic Church: "Contre ces divers adversaires (les sectes protestantes), les théologiens catholiques, après avoir démontré l'existence divine révélation surnaturelle et la divine institution d'une autorité chargée d'enseigner et d'interpréter cette révélation, insistent surtout sur le concept de l'unité de l'Eglise, tel qu'il nous est manifesté par l'Ecriture et par la tradition chrétienne constante. Cette unité, résultant nécessairement de la primauté du pape, telle que Jésus-Christ l'a instituée, consiste non dans une croyance imprécise à quelques articles réputés fondamentaux dans le

70. D-S 150.

71. St. Thomas Aquinas: "De Symbolorum apostolorum" quoted by Dublanchy in D.Th.C. T.4, pt. 2, col. 2129.

christianisme où à quelque autorité vaguement définie dans l'Eglise ni même à une primauté incomplète et ineffective du pape, mais dans une soumission intégrale au magistère infallible de l'Eglise particulièrement à l'infaillible autorité du pontife romain en tout ce qu'il définit comme enseignement révélé ou comme intimement connexe avec cet enseignement"<sup>72</sup>.

## 2. Dictionnaire Catholique.

A great quantity of evidence for centuries of Catholic teaching on the subject is brought forward by A. Michel in the "Unité" article in "Dictionnaire Catholique"<sup>73</sup>. Alcuin and Raterius of Verona are singled out by Michel on account of their work for the unity of the Church. St. Thomas and Boniface VIII are also given detailed mention. More attention is given to the Reformation period when the question of the unity of the Church came in for a significant increase in theological discussion. By name, the article makes reference to the following Roman Catholic theologians who opposed Protestant heresy: Thomas de Vio Cajetan, Melchior Cano, Domingo Bañez, John de Lugo, St. Peter Canisius, John of St. Thomas, the Carmelites of Salamanca, Gonet, Noel Alexander, Billuart, and S. Suarez. Catholic apologists says Michel, often listed the marks of the Church to be found in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, following with a systematic treatment<sup>74</sup>. Du Perron is given mention for opposing

72. D.Th.C. Tome 4, pt. 2, col. 2132.

73. D.Th.C. Tome 15, pt. 2, cols. 2172-2230.

74. Michel has noted (D.Th.C. T.15, pt. 2 col. 2202) that Robert Bellarmine enumerated, not four, but five marks of the Church, varying slightly from the traditional: "on y retrouve l'unité dans le temps comme dans l'espace: unité de foi dans l'accord doctrinal de l'église; unité de gouvernement et de communion dans l'union que les membres de l'Eglise ont entre eux et avec leurs chefs. Finalement à l'unité de foi dont les catholiques donnent l'exemple, il oppose les divisions qui séparent les réformés."

King James' statement that the Church was a confederation of societies with unity provided by a minimum of belief. The Cardinals "Replique à la response du serenissime roy de la Grande Bretagne" (Paris 1622) insisted that no Church that is separated from the Roman See even merits the name of "Church". It is the Church of Rome only that holds the true faith and is the one true Church of Christ. "Le corps du droit controversé" by François Véron (Paris 1638) is noted for its attack upon indifferentism. In this attempt to preserve the unity of the Church, Bellarmine's marks of the Church are expounded with full weight given to the idea of the visible unity of the Church. Michel praises the brothers Adrian and Peter Wallenbourg for their "Controverses" especially Tract IX, "De Unitate Ecclesiae". They stressed the damage done by heresy to the unity of the faith and how schism breaks the unity of communion. As a united force, heresy and schism militate against submission to the juridical Church authority and therefore, against unity. It is a fact that only Catholics possess the true faith of Christ and the Apostles. The attack on the Calvinist Jurieu by Peter Nicol is next given attention. In "De l'unité de l'Eglise ou Réfutation du nouveau système de M. Jurieu", Nicol shows how the Fathers always stressed that the Church is one and that this is the Catholic Church and includes no heretical sects. This catholicity is expressed, said Nicol, only by communion with the Chair of St. Peter. The Church could never be described as a confederation of different Churches, for there is one Church. It is interesting that, despite his part in drawing up the Gallican articles, the evidence of J.B. Bossuet is brought forward here. Michel notes that Boussuet did not hold the belief that Jesus founded the Church on the confession of St. Peter. Rather, after the Resurrection, Jesus established his Church, putting Peter effectively at its head while its unity was both a mystery and unshakable. Unity was intended to rest on submission to the visible and legitimately appointed rulers of the Church, on baptism into the one Church, on the profession of the same faith, and on receipt of the same

sacraments. Bossuet uses the imagery of the Trinity to support the oneness of the Church. As the three persons are "une dans le même être, dans la même intelligence, dans le même amour", the members of the Church are "un dans le même être par leur nouvelle nativité, un dans l'intelligence par la doctrine de la vérité, un dans le même amour par le lien de la charité" <sup>75</sup>.

The article brings us into the nineteenth century with a mention of Möhler's "L'unité dans l'Eglise ou le principe du catholicisme d'après l'esprit des Pères des trois premiers siècles", translated into French in 1938. Again, this is Catholic apologetic for the unity of the Church against the Reformation groups. Möhler stresses that it is through the Holy Spirit that the Church finds communion with Christ. For this reason Holy Scripture alone is not enough but requires to be taught in conjunction with the Tradition of the Church, which is the living word of the Holy Spirit in later times, passed down amongst the faithful. In this way there is only Christian truth within the unity of the Church, which is the perfect society. The list is concluded with two other nineteenth century theological writers, Hettinger and Dechamps. Hettinger stresses in "Apologie du christianisme" that the interior and exterior "elements" of the Church must not be regarded as separate, for followers of Christ must commit themselves, soul and body, to the appointed pastors of the Mystical Body of Christ. Dechamps enlarges the same theme in his "Entretiens sur la démonstration catholique" (Malines 1861).

Michel brings his article to a conclusion with a description of the main explanations of the Theological Manuals about the unity of the Church. As a "perfect society", the Church ought to be at one with

75. Michel (ibid.) gives the reference simply to "Sur le mystère de la sainte Trinité".

itself, as Christ intended <sup>76</sup>. The Church's unity can be maintained visibly by the unity of legitimate government, also by unity of belief, communion and liturgy. Michel completes this sketch with the conclusion that the manuals regard the Roman Catholic Church as the sole possessor of unity, which is denied to all other Christian bodies.

3. Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique.

The third example in this section is the "Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique" published in Paris in 1911.<sup>77</sup> The article, "Eglise", by de la Briere considers Church Unity to subsist in the "subordination de tous les fideles a une meme jurisdiction spirituelle et a un meme magistere enseignant". Jesus expressly desired Church unity and to this end he established a permanent hierarchy. This is the supreme test of whether men belong to Christ - are they subordinate to his appointed Church authority?

4. The Catholic Dictionary.

A fourth example, the "Catholic Dictionary", 1917, adds to our impression of normative pre-conciliar Catholic teaching on Church Unity. There is one Church <sup>78</sup> which is the "Church founded by Christ and attested

76. cf. L.G. 48 "The Church, to which we are called in Christ Jesus, and in which we acquire sanctity through the grace of God, will attain her full perfection only in the glory of heaven". The emphasis in the Council on the eschatological nature of the Church shows that while the promised restoration in Christ has already begun, it is not yet complete. Hence the constant reference to the "Pilgrim Church". The pre-conciliar description of the Church as "perfect" is the product of an age with a thoroughly static view of the Body of Christ and in which firm and permanent descriptions could be given of the People of God.

77. "Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique, contenant les Preuve de la Verite de la Religion et les Responses aux Objections tirees des Sciences humaines". 4th edition, edited by A.D'Alès, Paris 1911. (Tome I. cols. 1219-1300 by Yves de la Briere, "Eglise").

78. C.D. p.180.

by Scripture and Tradition; she and she alone, is the heir to the promises of Christ and the Ark of Salvation". This one Church, the Roman Catholic, unlike all the sects, is one in doctrine, visible communion, and government. Other sects may be described as "special forms of Christianity", but they are not the One true Church of Christ. Christ's Church is under the visible leadership of the Bishop of the Roman See; the Pope has supreme authority over the Church and rules the Church of God on earth. Acts 20:28 is noted for its use in the Papal teaching: "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you guardians to feed the Church of the Lord which he obtained with his own blood". There is no denying, continues the article, that while theologians have the right to discuss matters of faith, the final word of the Pope is infallible. Valid sacraments belong only to the Catholic Church, which possesses the true doctrine of Christ as handed down by the Apostles and Saints. The clergy of this one true Church show, by the heroic character of their lives, their superiority over the self-motivated zeal of Protestant Ministers. As in St. Augustine's day, so today, no one would point out this own sectarian conventicle and describe it as "the Catholic Church"<sup>79</sup>. To stress the central place of Rome in the Catholic Church, the article refers to J.H. Newman's "Development of Christian Doctrine" where historical evidence is offered for the description of the Catholic Church as "Roman"<sup>80</sup>.

79. Augustine: Ep. Fundam. 4.

80. John Henry Newman: "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" 6th edition (London 1890) Vol.I. pp.280ff. "...the Emperor Theodosius ...during the controversy raised by that heresy (Nestorianism) exhorts him (Acacius of Beroea) and others to show themselves "approved priests of the Roman religion". (Annales Ecclesiastici: Cesare Baronius 432, 47). "Further on, Newman mentions the Vandal Hunneric's persecution of the African Catholics, during which Bishop Eugenius of Carthage at one point was led to say, "that the orthodox faith was "the only true faith": that the king ought to write to his allies abroad, if he wished to know it, and that he himself would write to his brethren for foreign bishops, "who", he says. "may assist us in setting before you the true faith, common to them and to us, and especially the Roman Church, which is the head of all the Churches". By these and other examples thus brought to our notice by the article in C.D. we can see the deep-rooted Roman Catholic faith in one Church, one faith, Catholic and Roman.

Rome's superiority is partly guaranteed by her Apostolic foundation, but while "other sees of Apostolic foundation have fallen away into heresy" at different times, "the See of St. Peter remains that unfailing centre of unity"<sup>81</sup>. We conclude from this source that the Church is "the society of the faithful who are baptized, and united to each other by the profession of the same faith, participation in the same sacraments and the same worship, and who are under one head in heaven, viz. the Pope, His Vicar".

#### 5. Summary of Catholic Doctrine.

Lastly, among our selection of the dictionaries available in the 1950's, we examine G.D. Smith's "Summary of Catholic Doctrine"<sup>82</sup>. According to Smith, the Church is the "appointed teacher of revealed truth" and "the way of approach to God's truth which Christ himself has ordained". He uses the image of the Mystical Body of Christ: "the members of Christ are one with Christ and with each other - in the sense that each lives the same supernatural life of grace which he receives from the head of the Body, the living Christ"<sup>83</sup>. The writer makes it clear that this is not mere theological speculation but the very teaching of Jesus and St. Paul<sup>84</sup>. After this description of the Mystical Body, Smith devotes a section to "The Church on earth"<sup>85</sup>. He stresses that the Church is One: "that the

81. C.D. p. 183. This identification of the Church which has kept herself free from heresy, with the Church of Christ, implying that heretic churches are of Satan, has to Gustave Thils a thoroughly sixteenth century background. Referring to sixteenth century Apologists, Thils says, "à leurs yeux, les protestants ne sont qu'un chaînon de la longue série d'hérétiques et de schismatiques que le Christ avait annoncés et vaincus d'avance". (*L'Eglise et les Eglises*", p.106 1967, De Brouwer).

82. George D. Smith: *The Teaching of the Catholic Church*, London 1952. pp.27, 28.

83. *ibid.* p.65.

84. referring to Jn. 15:5 and Rom. 11:23.

85. T.C.C., *ibid.* pp.70-75.

Church is one none can doubt who has understood the organic nature of the Body of Christ. But since she is visible, that unity is not only a unity of life - which is invisible - but a visible unity consisting in subjection to the same visible authority, in a common faith in the teaching of the visible Church, in a common worship, manifested in the use of the same external rites instituted by Christ."

Smith commends the juridical structure of the Church to the potential convert to Catholicism. The Church's oneness stems from the Incarnation - the Church is the "Mystical Body of Jesus Christ"<sup>86</sup>, an extension of the Incarnation. As in his humanity, Christ is one despite various aspects - so the Church is one, though also having "manifold orders and institutions"<sup>87</sup>. "The oneness of the Church does not consist in a universal sameness but, as we might have expected in a creation so beautiful as to merit the title of "Bride of Christ"<sup>88</sup>, in a manifestation of unity in variety"<sup>89</sup>. Doctrinally, Smith explains that the Church can be described in the threefold way of priest, prophet, and king - all equally important aspects, but not mutually exclusive. Each member of the Mystical Body has a different function, but all are one. He gives New Testament quotations in support of Church unity<sup>90</sup> before summarizing, "the unity of the human race, the whole of which is intended to be incorporated into the Mystical Body, demands a Church that is manifestly one and undivided"<sup>91</sup>.

86. T.C.C., quoting paragraph 13 of Smith's translation of "Mystici Corporis" for the C.T.S., published in London, 1952.

87. T.C.C., p.698.

88. Rev. 21:1-6 "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband;" 22:17.

89. T.C.C., p.699.

90. Rom. 12:5; Jn. 17:21; I Cor. 2:16; 10:17; Eph. 4:5,6; I Tim. 2:5; Jn. 10:17.

91. T.C.C. p.703 In G.S. we shall find the use of the idea of the unity of mankind, but not in the sense of a model for Church unity, but as the very fibre from which the People of God is created.

6. Conclusion.

The Dictionaries which we have taken as a fair selection of standard works of the period show a self-confident Church preoccupied with describing clearly defined limits and which already possesses unity based on a unique authority and a mysterious power. We shall complete this survey with an examination of theological manuals.

THE EVIDENCE OF MANUALS.

1. A. Tanqueray.

Tanqueray devotes a section to "de Vera Christi Ecclesia"<sup>92</sup>. The First Vatican Council is quoted as describing the Catholic Church as the divinely appointed guardian of the Christian Revelation<sup>93</sup>. The faith is only fully taught in the Roman Catholic Church and in this connection, Tanqueray refers to Isaiah 11:12: "He will raise an ensign for the nations, and will assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth". The Second Constitution of Vatican I is also used in this connection to show the primacy of Peter and the Church ruled by his successors. It begins forcefully; "Docemus itaque et declaramus, iuxta Evangelii testimonia primatum iurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam immediate et directe beato Petro Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse..."<sup>94</sup>. This constitution, points out Tanqueray, rests the unity of the Church on the fact that Christ gave the ultimate governing power of the Church to

92. S.T.D.F. Tract. III, Vol. I, pp.388-397.

93. C. Vaticanum: 1st Const. dogm. de fide cath. c.3. De fide. D-S 3012, 3013.

94. C. Vaticanum: 2nd Const. dogm. de fide cath., "De Apostolici Primatus in beato Petro institutione", D-S 3051-3064.

Peter and the successors to his office <sup>95</sup>. The final paragraph of chapter one speaks boldly of the authority of Peter: "Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum Petrum Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput; vel eundem honoris tantum non autem varae propriaeque iurisdictionis primarum ab eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo directe et immediate accepisse; anathema sit" <sup>96</sup>. The constitution continues to stress the continuity of the authority of the Popes as they each succeeded from the office of Peter, "princeps pastorum", so preserving the unity of the Church: "Si quis ergo dixerit, non esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione seu iure divino ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores: aut Romanum Pontificem non esse beati Petri in eodem primatu successorem: anathema sit" <sup>97</sup>. Chapter three takes up this theme in greater detail <sup>98</sup>. Tanqueray, having completed to his satisfaction a dogmatic explanation of the unity of the Church, gives negative illustration by listing certain heretical groups <sup>99</sup>. In the East, he mentions Nestorianism, the Eutychians and the Armenians, while in the West, the Jansenists, the Old Catholics and the Mariavites are singled out. He discusses the Eastern schismatics, the Protestants and Modernism. The Eastern Christians were separated from Rome through the schism of men like Photius (857), Sergius (1034), and Michael Cerularius

95. Three passages from the Gospels are added at this point: Jn. 1:42 "You shall be called Cephas (which means Peter)"; Mt. 16:18-19 "...you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatever you loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven", and Jn. 21:15-17 "...Feed my sheep".

96. D-S 3055.

97. D-S 3058 (Canon).

98. D-S 3064 (Canon).

99. S.T.D.F. Tome I, para 597, pp.398, 399. "Prolegomena de Coetibus Christianis A catholicis".

(1057). Tanquerey states some of what he considers to be the principal views of these bodies. The list includes: that these schismatic groups deny the supreme authority of Peter, preferring to distribute this power among all the Apostles; that the power of the Bishop of Rome was not divinely granted but the direct result of the secular power of the city of Rome; true spiritual authority rests not in one Bishop alone, but in the totality of Bishops; and in particular the Easterns recognize only seven Ecumenical Councils <sup>100</sup>. Among the Protestants are named: the Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans (plus the Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Salvation Army, and the Oxford Group), and the Liberal Protestants. All these bodies outside the Catholic Church are named as breaking the unity of Christ's Body in that they oppose the authority of the Supreme Pontiff.

For proof of the thesis: "Christus B. Petro contulit immediate primatum verae jurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam", Tanquerey refers to the Gospels. It is his opinion that we should follow the ancient tradition of the Church in regarding Mt. 16:17-19 as proof of the unique foundation of the Church <sup>101</sup>. This has been already done, says Tanquerey, in modern times by H. Dieckmann, A. Michiels, L. Fonck and P. Scheeben. After concluding, "soli Petro Christus...promittit directe supremam auctoritatem in tota Ecclesia". he moves on to discuss Jn. 21:15-17. The command "feed my sheep" is an explicit proof of the validity of Roman Catholic claims: "His verbis, Christus omnes fideles et pastores regendos B. Petro commisit". An interesting allusion is made to Loisy's "Lé

100. Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople II and III, and Nicaea II.

101. Among early writers, he alludes to Justin Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, St. Cyprian, and St. Firmilian. S.T.D.F. Tome I, 678-689, pp.455-463.

Quatrieme Evangile"<sup>102</sup> where he discusses this passage. Significance is found in the threefold repetition of the command to Peter, especially as each has slightly varying wording: "la variété des termes sert à montrer qu'il n'y a pas d'exception, et que tous les fidèles du Christ, quelle que soit leur place dans la communauté, sont confiés à la sollicitude de Simon-Pierre". Tanqueray notes that Christ's promise to Peter is written in the future tense which denotes the continuity of Peter's authority for ever. He admits that Protestants would rather consider Peter's faith, rather than his person to be the object of Christ's promise, but refuses the validity of such exegesis. For Tanqueray, the fact that Jesus gave Peter a new name is additional evidence of his adoption of him as a special friend, above the other disciples. He considers the similar instances of Abram and Jacob<sup>103</sup>, mentioning also that Jesus used Peter's boat for the miraculous catch of fish, that specifically he said to Peter, "Do not be afraid; henceforth you will be catching men"<sup>104</sup>, at the Resurrection the angels say, "Go and tell his disciples and Peter"<sup>105</sup>, while also the early Church believed that Jesus appeared first to Peter alone and then to the Twelve<sup>106</sup>. It was Peter who organised the election of a successor to Judas Iscariot<sup>107</sup>; it was Peter who first preached to the Jews and performed a miracle<sup>108</sup>; it was Peter who acted as spokesman at the trial of a group of Apostles<sup>109</sup>; Peter

102. Loisy: *Le Quatrieme Evangile* (1903), p.942, quoted S.T.D.F. Tome I, p.460.

103. Gen. 17:5, 15; 22:28.

104. Lk. 5:3-10.

105. Mk. 16:7.

106. I Cor. 15:5.

107. Acts 1:15ff.

108. Acts 2:14; 3:6.

109. Acts 4:8; 5:29.

baptized Cornelius, the first gentile convert.<sup>110</sup>, judged Ananias and Saphira<sup>111</sup>, visited various Churches<sup>112</sup>, and at the Council of Jerusalem had the final judgement<sup>113</sup>. Loisy's conclusion is quoted<sup>114</sup>: "Pierre est devenu en toute vérité le prince des apôtres, le fondateur de la tradition chrétienne, le fondement de l'Eglise". Tanqueray is therefore confident that the New Testament evidence comes to the only conclusion: that Peter was appointed head of the Church and was therefore regarded as such in the life of the early Church. He pursues the theme in detail in the writings of the Fathers, providing proof-texts to show that Peter was regarded as the one head of the Church on earth, and as such, appointed by Christ<sup>115</sup>. Indeed, says Tanqueray, so important was the unity of the Church to the Fathers, that their maxim was "Ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia".

The authority of Peter is then distinguished from that of Christ and it is denied that all the Apostles were given equal authority. Also, just as Peter was "totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput"<sup>116</sup>, the Popes who have succeeded have exercised the same power: "Ex Christi institutione, primatus B. Petri transit ad successores in perpetuum"<sup>117</sup>. This is the way the Church's unity has been preserved and it is an

110. Acts 10:46-48

111. Acts 5:3-5.

112. Acts 9:32.

113. Acts 15:7, 12.

114. Loisy: "Actes des Apôtres" p.580

115. Eg. "Latuit aliquid Petrum, aedificandae Ecclesiae petram dictum, claves regni caelorum consecutum" (Tertullian, De Praescriptione, 22); "Deus unus est, et Chritus unus et una Ecclesia et Cathedra una supra Petrum Domini voce fundata (St. Cyprian, Ep. 40 ad pleb.); "Simoni discipulorum principi...suscepit eum Dominus, posuit eum in fundamentum, vocavitque eum petram, Ecclesiae aedificationem" (Aphraates, Demonstr., VII, 15).

116. D-S 3055.

117. S.T.D.F. Tome I, 699, p.469.

essential belief for all catholics. Just as Christ gave to Peter the charge of all his flocks, so Peter continues in this authority while there are flocks on the earth - not in his own flesh, but through his successors. He reminds us that Vatican I taught that the papacy has preserved the unity of the bishops and the faith <sup>118</sup>. The arguments and lack of authority among Protestant and Greek churches is visible proof of the need for the unifying power of the Pope. It is one of the greatest strengths of the Catholic Church that she has the "regula fidei", a complete system of doctrine by which the faithful know Catholic truth <sup>119</sup>. Tanqueray adds that the Catholic Church alone is infallible in her teaching ("in doctrina fidei et morum") as Christ promised <sup>120</sup>. The Apostles believed this <sup>121</sup> and the Fathers <sup>122</sup> also subscribed to the fact that it is a fundamental principle of the Church, outside which there is no salvation, that it should speak the truth about faith and morals, unerringly.

In this way, Tanqueray completes his case for the Unity of the Church. The Roman Catholic Church is the only true Church of Christ where alone salvation is to be found. This is the visible society of those who have accepted the faith from Jesus through the Apostles and their successors and who are therefore in communion with the Pope. None of the schismatical groups belong to this true Church, and "national" Churches do not offer salvation.

118. S.T.D.F. Tome I, 701, p.470 n., quoting D-S 3050-3052.

119. S.T.D.F. Tome I, 746-748, pp.502-504.

120. Mt. 28:20; Jn. 14:16,17,26; 16:13; Acts 1:8.

121. St. Paul: Eph. 4:11-15; I Tim. 3:15.  
The Apostles: Acts 5:32; 15:28; I Thess. 2:13; Gal. 1, 9, 11 and 12.

122. The Fathers: St. Ignatius, St. Irenaeus, Tertullian, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen and St. Cyprian.

2. J. Wilhelm and T. Scannell.

Next, in this section of our investigation, we examine the teaching of Wilhelm and Scannell's "Manual of Catholic Theology"<sup>123</sup> on the oneness of the Church. After a brief examination of the etymology of "church", the word is defined as "the society or union of all who cleave to God by true supernatural worship". As "the organ of revelation", the Church is the means of applying "the fruits of Redemption". The Old Testament prophets foretold the founding of a Kingdom; that Kingdom is the Church of Christ ruled by its one Lord<sup>124</sup>. Christ, in his ministry, made it clear that he was the One foretold by the prophets sent by the Father with supreme authority. Christ instituted his Church, of which he was, during his earthly life, the visible head. However, when he ascended to heaven, he appointed a vice-regent, St. Peter. The role of St. Peter is given great emphasis in this manual. It is particularly pointed out, against criticism of the papacy that leadership by both Our Lord and Peter is not self-contradictory. St. Thomas is quoted: "Should anyone say that Christ is the one head and the one shepherd, the one spouse of the one Church, he does not give an adequate reply. It is clear, indeed, that Christ is the author of grace in the sacraments of the Church; it is Christ himself who baptizes; it is he who forgives sins; it is he who is the true Priest, who offered himself upon the altar of the Cross; and it is by his power that his body is daily consecrated upon the altar; and still, because he was not visibly present to all the faithful, he made choice of ministers through whom the aforesaid sacraments should be

123. "A manual of Catholic Theology" based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik" by J. Wilhelm and T. Scannell. London 1935, Vol. II, Bk. 7, pp.284-357.

124. The manualists give these examples: Ps. 21:28,29; 71:7,8; Dan. 2:44; Is. 60:10; Zach. 14:8, *ibid.* p.286.

dispensed to the faithful...For the same reason, therefore, because he was about to withdraw his visible presence from the Church, it was necessary that he should appoint someone in his place to have the charge of the Universal Church. Hence before his ascension, he said to Peter, "Feed my sheep" <sup>125</sup>.

The pre-eminence of Peter is illustrated from the New Testament <sup>126</sup> and the various images are discussed, for example, Peter the Rock, the holder of the Keys, and the Shepherd. There follows a description of how the early Church saw Peter as leader of the visible Christian community <sup>127</sup>. The examination of patristic writings that follows finds many references to Peter's authority, though not usually written with that main purpose. From the imposing list, we may select at random just a few examples. To show that Peter was regarded as Prince and head of the Apostles, Wilhelm and Scannell refer to St. Clement of Alexandria: "The blessed Peter, the chosen, the Pre-eminent of the Disciples" <sup>128</sup>. St. Gregory of Nyssa also is quoted: "The leader and Coryphaeus of the Apostolic Choir...the head of the Apostles" <sup>129</sup>, and St. Chrysostom: "The Chief of the Apostles, and First of the Church" <sup>130</sup>. The proof texts continue, now giving evidence for Peter as the Rock of the Church. Origen said: "That great foundation of the Church, and most solid rock upon which Christ founded the

125. M.C.T. Vol. II, p.303, quoting Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles* IV, 74, 76.
126. Jn. 1:42, Lk. 6:13,14; Mt. 10:2; Mk. 3:16; 5:37; Lk. 8:51; Acts 2:14; Mk. 16:7; Lk. 9:28-33; Mt. 17:1ff; Mk. 9:1ff; Mk. 14:33-38; Mt. 26:37-40; Lk. 5:2-10; Mt. 14:22-33; Mt. 17:23-26; 16:13-19.
127. Acts 1:15ff; 3:4-6; 12-26; 4:1-22; 5:1-10; 12-15, 29; 7:14-25; 9:31,32; 10; 12:1-5; Gal. 1:18,19; I Cor. 1:12; 3:22,23; 9:5; 15:5; Rom. 15:8; Gal. 2:11-14.
128. St. Clement of Alexandria, "Quis Dives Salvetur", Op. ed. Migne ii. p.625.
129. St. Gregory of Nyssa: "Alt. orat. de S. Steph." tom. iii, pp.730-733.
130. St. Chrysostom: "hom. iii. de Poenit"., n.4.

Church" <sup>131</sup>, St. Cyprian has: "Peter, whom the Lord chose as first, and upon whom he built his Church" <sup>132</sup>, and St. Augustine said: "Number the Bishops from the See of St. Peter itself, and in that order of Fathers see who succeeded to whom; that is the Rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not" <sup>133</sup>. From these quotations and many more, the manual establishes that the early Church accepted the supremacy of Peter, the divinely appointed basis of the Church's unity for all time. The solidarity of the faith has been preserved, runs the argument, by the continuing succession of Popes to the Petrine office. Vatican I is mentioned <sup>134</sup> as giving a modern official statement of this belief: "That which the Prince of Shepherds and great Shepherd of the sheep, Christ Jesus our Lord, established in the person of the Blessed Apostle Peter, to secure the perpetual welfare and lasting good of the Church, must, by the same institution, necessarily abide unceasingly in the Church, which, being founded on the rock, will stand firm to the end of the world. For none can doubt - and it is known to all ages that the Holy and Blessed Peter, the Prince and Chief of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith and foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, and lives, presides, and judges to this day and always in his successors the Bishops of the Holy See of Rome, which was founded by him, and consecrated by his blood". This is followed up by yet another list of quotations from the Fathers, this time to illustrate that Peter was believed to speak through the successive Bishops

131. Origen: In Exod. Com. mv. n. 4, OP. tom. ii, p.145, Migne.

132. St. Cyprian: Ep. lxx. Ad Januar.

133. St. Augustine: Ps. in part. Donat. tom. ix. p.30.

134. Vatican I, session 4, chapter two.

of Rome <sup>135</sup>. Historically, it is pointed out further, Rome was accepted as the ground of Catholic unity - St. Cyprian uses the phrase: "ecclesiae catholicae radicem et matricem" <sup>136</sup>. The Council of Florence provides a convenient statement which at the time of its original use was part of the attempt to restore unity between East and West; "We define", it says, "that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff is himself the successor of the blessed Apostle Peter, the Prince of the Apostles; and that he is the true vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in the blessed Peter, was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling and governing the universal Church, as it is also contained in the Acts of Ecumenical Councils and the sacred canons!" <sup>137</sup>.

In the Chapter on the Properties and Marks of the Church, Wilhelm and Scannell are again at pains to show that the Catholic Church is "the Church of Christ", excluding all others. Old Testament references to the Church are mentioned, which put emphasis on her conspicuousness; such as

135. e.g. "I bear the burdens of all who are heavily laden; yea, rather in me that burden is borne by the blessed Peter, who we trust in all things protects and has regard to us, who are heirs of his government". (Pope St. Siricius, Ep. 1 Ad Himer. Tarrac. Ep. n.1); "Anathema to him who believeth not that Peter hath so spoken by Leo" (Council of Chalcedon, Hardouin tom.ii, p.306); and "Peter, therefore, first filled that individual chair which is the first of the marks of the Church; to him succeeded Linus; to Linus succeeded Clement; to Clement, Anacletus...(and so on through the whole succession) to Liberius, Damasus; to Damasus, Siricius, who is now our colleague, with whom the whole world, by the mutual exchange of circular letters is concordant with us in one fellowship of communion. You who wish to claim to yourselves the holy Church, tell us the origin of your Chair". (St. Optatus of Miletus, De Schism. Donat., lib.ii, nn.2-4).
136. St. Cyprian: Ep. XLV, Ad Cornel., n.3.
137. D-S 1307. In this respect, M.C.T., *ibid.* p.335, also mentions the confession of Michael Paleologus (1267) submitted to the Council of Lyons II, and also Vatican I's condemnation of those who "deny that it is by the institution of Christ, or by Divine right, that blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the Primacy over the universal Church, or that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter in the Primacy".

Micah 4:1, "the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised up above the hills". The uniqueness of the Church is again demonstrated from the New Testament, as for instance by I Tim. 3:15: "the household of God, the pillar and bulwark of the truth". The Fathers are found to have explicitly stated that there is one visible community of Christ on earth; for example, St. Cyprian is quoted: "The Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays throughout the whole world; yet the light is one which is spread over every place, while its unity of body is preserved" <sup>138</sup>.

This great weight of evidence delivered, the manual concludes "it is clear from reason itself that, if Our Lord founded a Church at all - if he gave it authority to teach and rule and sanctify - it must be distinguishable from the false bodies not founded by Him and not possessed of his authority" <sup>139</sup>. The Catholic Church is the true Church of Christ, according to this manual for the following reasons: the Catholic Church alone recognizes the Primacy of Peter, may be successfully tested by the marks of the Church (Unity, Catholicity, Holiness and Apostolicity), celebrates the Mass and observes the seven sacraments under the headship of the Pope. All these are reasons offered by Wilhelm and Scannell for regarding the Catholic Church as the sole preserver of the Christian Faith.

### 3. L. Billot.

Let us now pursue this theme in "De Ecclesia Christi" of Cardinal Billot <sup>140</sup>. This Jesuit sets out to show a triple unity of rule, faith

138. St. Cyprian, De Unitate, n.5.

139. M.C.T., ibid. p.343.

140 . Billot: Tractatus De Ecclesia Christi (Rome 1898) Tomus Primus.

and communion: "Ecclesia ex sui fundatoris instituto est essentialiter una unitate regiminis, fidei, et communionis; quae triplex unitas prout viva ac per se consistens, id est nulli alii uniati naturali (puta politicae) subordinata, et accessorii instar annexa, proponitur in Evangelio velut nota verae Ecclesiae positiva. Porro, in vi huius notae, Ecclesia communionis Romanae unica vera et legitima Christi sponsa esse ostenditur" <sup>141</sup>. He is quite certain that salvation is to be found only with the Roman Catholic Church: "Vides integram assertionem ad duo principalia puncta reduci. Primum est quod unitas sub triplici aspectu praecedentur declarato est iuxta Christi institutum proprietates Ecclesiae simul et nota positiva. Alterum est quod de facto non invenitur nisi in communionem Romanam quam eo ipsa signat ut solam veram Ecclesiam extra quam non est salus. Singula per ordinem demonstranda."

For Billot, the vital clue to the unity of the Church is given when Jesus, at the Last Supper prays to the Father (Jn. 17:1-23). The Church's unity is best illustrated by the unity of the Father and his incarnate Son. The Church has preserved the unity of faith by handing down the Apostolic tradition, so that she possesses "one Lord, one faith, one God, and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all" (Ep. 4:5,6). Jesus intentionally created a safeguard for his teaching by setting up a hierarchy that would be eternally infallible. Billot illustrates this from Jesus' teaching about the one Shepherd of the one flock (Jn. 10:16 and 11:52). The unity of Church government is based, says Billot, on the divinely established throne of Peter, of which both

141. *ibid.* p.160.

Scripture and Tradition give adequate testimony <sup>142</sup>. Billot cannot find any national or political parallel to the unity between Christ and his Church, but suggests the nearest comparison may be that unity that should exist between a man and wife.

Billot continues by stressing that the visible unity of the Church is notably expressed in the fact of communion with Rome. All members of the true Church of Christ give allegiance to the Bishop of Rome, the infallible teacher of the faith. In a reference to St. Augustine <sup>143</sup>, he draws out the promise inherent in the first Pentecost: as those first Christian preachers were able to speak the language of everyman, so in the end all nations will be able to speak the language of faith. The present visible sign of Church unity is the Papacy which is the focal point for Christians, the judge of error and the final tribunal in controversy. Only through the Pope is Catholicism able to rise above national and political boundaries and issues. Protestantism is singled out as a deliberately destructive force against the Christ-given unity of the Church. Billot insists that by rejecting the true Eucharist, they have a purely invented priesthood. Protestant views of scripture are denounced for their individualism, and the Catholic Church is reaffirmed to be the one and only ark of salvation. None of the National Churches (for example Russian or Greek) can have the vital unity that is a mark of the Catholic Church: "Quod extra communionem Romanam unitatis nota non est" <sup>144</sup>.

142. Having examined the detailed documentation of Wilhelm and Scannell, we need only mention here that Billot specifically refers to: St. Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, n.5, St. Irenaeus: *Contra. Haer. Ek.1*, ch.10, St. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom. Ek.7*, ch.17, St. Cyprian, *Ep.40*, ad plebem, St. Athanasius: *de decret. Nicaen*, n.4, & St. Jerome: *in Osee*, ch.8.

143. St. Augustine: *Sermons 267*, n.3 and *269*, n.1.

144. *Tr.E.C.*, *ibid.* p.173.

With sarcasm and in a spirit of disparagement, the Cardinal contrasts other Christian bodies with the Catholic Church. In marked contrast with the Roman Church, he says, Protestant sects multiply like worms in a corpse <sup>145</sup>. His eulogy on the Unity of the Roman Catholic Church ends in a triumphalist spirit, with the words <sup>146</sup>: "Quisquis ergo haec considerabit, intelliget Ecclesiam Romanam ratione suae unitatis esse vere montem in vertice montium, civitatem in alto positam quae abscondi nequit, signum levatum in nationes quod undique conspicuum apparet et illustra. Intelliget praeterea, unitatem hanc esse adeo singularem, adeo unicam, adeo extra et supra omnes leges alibi observatas, ut constituat verum morale miraculum, nonnisi in specialissimo die interventu rationem sui sufficientem habens. Hinc, praecisione etiam facta ab omni auctoritate positiva, demonstrat credibilitatem ecclesiae cuius est, utpote suapte natura sigillans attestacionem qua ipsa se a Deo revelatam affirmat ut societatem supernaturalem, infallibilem fidei magistram, necessariumque salutis aeternae medium".

Under the heading "De nota Apostolicitatis", Billot emphasises that there is one Church, based on the See of Peter, by producing in full the succession of Popes from Linus to Leo XIII, the latter being his contemporary. First, Billot lays emphasis on the Petrine foundation of the Church, regarding this as the source of her strength and unity. It is heresy to deny the supreme authority of Rome or to say that her government is not God-given. Here he appeals to both Matthew 16 and John 21 to prove that the Pope's "primacy of jurisdiction" has come down from Christ through the Apostle Peter and his successors. The Patristic literature is widely quoted to illustrate the Church's unique authority <sup>147</sup>.

145. *ibid.* p.179.

146. *ibid.* p.180.

147. The Fathers mentioned at this point: St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Origen, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory of Nazianzum, and St. Basil.

The important role of the Papacy in the Church's existence as one visible community, is underlined in Billot's section "De Romano Pontifice"<sup>148</sup>. Christ, he says, instituted the Church as one. To preserve this unity, he decreed that Peter and his successors should have supreme power over all Christians<sup>149</sup>. Billot then goes to great lengths in showing how early writers confirm Catholic faith concerning the Church's foundation - Eusebius, Tertullian and several other famous writers are mentioned. No other Christian body besides the Catholic Church could possibly lay claim to the great titles bestowed at different times upon the Roman See - "Ecclesia cuius est potior principalitas" (St. Irenaeus), "Ecclesia Maxima, omnibus cognita, omnium antiquissima" (Origen), "Cathedra principalis" (St. Cyprian), and "Quae praesidet universalis" (St. Gregory of Nazianzum)<sup>150</sup>.

#### 4. Conclusion.

In part one of this first chapter, we brought out evidence to support the view that the Catholic Church, on the eve of Vatican II, believed that salvation came only through that Church. Now in part two, we have examined this more closely and found that the Catholic Church broadly believed the following about herself:-

1. Christ instituted the Church in a visible unity, intending her to remain so.

148. Tr.E.C., *ibid.* pp.96-216.

149. *ibid.* p.99, relying here on the Definition of the Council of Florence (D-S 1307) renewed at Vatican I, sess.4, c.3: "Romanam Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum...et ipsi in Beato Petro, pascendi, regendi, ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesus Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse".

150. When L.G. begins "Christ is the light of all nations...", it sets the tone for a new era in which Christ, and not the Church is the centre of faith.

2. This unity admits of diversity in the same way as the Trinity or the Body of Christ.
3. Christ centred this unity on the Apostle Peter and the succeeding Bishops of Rome.
4. The authority of the Pope was to be the guarantee of an accurate tradition of faith and protection against heresy.
5. This has been the understanding of the early Church and the Fathers.
6. Further it would seem from theologians we have studied that there can only be one Church because she is the Kingdom of God on earth.

On all these points Catholics showed that their Church was the only visible order of salvation appointed by God and that quite certainly outside that communion salvation did not exist. We move on finally, in this chapter, to penetrate the exact meaning of "Extra Ecclesia nulla salus" and to see exactly where Catholic exclusivism found its limits.

#### THE BOUNDARIES OF EXCLUSIVISM.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF MONOGRAPHS.

1. M.J. Congar.

How do Catholics understand the status of "the separated brethren"? What difference is there between the status of the separated brethren and that of the plethora of dissident communities? These are questions posed by M.J. Congar in "Divided Christendom"<sup>151</sup>. He begins his investigation by stating that "Christendom is more extensive than the visible reality of the Church. He says, "Although for us the one and only Church is the visible Catholic Church, we know that outside her visible membership there are souls who belong to Jesus Christ...even among the heathen there are

151. M.J. Congar: "Divided Christendom" London 1939, Ch.7, p.221.

members of the mystical body, predestined to eternal life". Pius XII in *Mystici Corporis* (1943) directly denies that non-Catholics have membership within the Mystical Body. However, taking his own statement as "self-evident fact", Congar immediately adds the corollary, "We do not of course, mean that the heathen are saved, as such, for faith is necessary to salvation. A Moslem or a pagan who is justified by God, is to that extent, no longer an unbeliever, even though he does not formulate his faith nor express it externally..." We have already made brief reference to Congar's article "Hors de l'Eglise pas de Salut"<sup>152</sup>, which is a reminder that he has no intention of denying the truth of the adage. In the article he illustrates the wide use of the expression throughout Catholic history, drawing the conclusion that the expression has been well used against indifferentism, the enemy of "la bonne foi", and yet as encouraging a narrow view, classically depicted in the case of Fr. Feeney, it creates an untenable position. Congar's objection to "personnes comme telles" and "à déterminer, par un critère extérieur, qui peut et qui ne peut pas être sauvé"<sup>153</sup>. In view of the universal will of God, Congar deploras any arrogance on the part of the Catholic Church, while at the same time constantly affirming that only visible membership of the Catholic Church can give the full possibility of salvation.

152. M.J. Congar, "Sainte Eglise", 1963, pp.417-432, See note 13.

153. cf. M.J. Congar, "Hors de l'Eglise, pas de salut" *Destin et sens d'une formule*, in "Istina" No. 58, pp.3-5. In this article Congar comments on the "affaire Feeney", describing it as having a conclusion only to be described as "grotesque": "grotesque, car voila des hommes qui se font exclure de l'Eglise pour s'entêter à soutenir qu'il n'y a pas de salut hors d'elle". As in "Divided Christendom", Congar here comes out strongly against Indifferentism but also against an absurd use of "Extra Ecclesiam nulla Salus". Surely no one can be expected to find the "institution" of the Church "unique et nécessaire" unless in some way or other they have had the opportunity for "un rapport a l'Eglise"? Already in this article we see signs of a change in emphasis from "the Church" to "Christ", for he concludes "Hors de Jésus-Christ, pas de salut".

Returning, to "Divided Christendom", we find Congar saying that there are souls who reach salvation, who are not in the visible unity of the Church, and by their salvation they achieve incorporation into Christ. It follows, he says, that if they are incorporated into the Body of Christ, then, in some way they belong to the Church. The all-important note of humility is sounded again by Congar when he admits that in the past the Church has made mistakes which were partly due to an overemphasis on the role of Kingship, to the neglect of the role of Servant. He says, "Here on earth Christ saves rather than reigns, and where He does reign it is not in a Kingdom manifest in its perfection, but an interior Kingdom, hidden, crucified and crucifying - the economy of salvation by the cross and not of triumphant Kingship"<sup>154</sup>. In straightforward terms, he puts it like this: "Christ ...knows for his own far more souls than the leaders of his Church can enumerate in their official returns".

He continues by rejecting a clear-cut distinction between the "soul" and the "body" of the Church as if they were clearly distinguishable and that a man could belong to one and not the other. Bellarmine is the first theologian recorded, in Congar's opinion, as having used the idea in attempts to explain the theology of St. Augustine<sup>155</sup>. In this way Congar expresses the lack of antiquity about the body-soul concept, besides its apparent inability to explain the facts. Congar finds it implausible that one could be a member of the soul of the Church but not of the Body. He can see the value of a distinction of this kind, but finds the vocabulary "Body" and "Soul" totally inadequate to the situation. Continuing, he maintains that the Church has traditionally spoken rather of differing "manners of belonging" to the Church. The Church has

154. Congar. "Divided Christendom", p.223.

155. R. Bellarmine: "De Ecclesia et Conciliis", Bk.III, ch.2.

distinguished between "esse numero tantum" and "esse numero et merito de Ecclesia", or, to put it another way, "in voto" or "in re" <sup>156</sup>. Yet another means of expressing this distinction is in terms of "mentaliter", or "invisibiliter", and "corporaliter" <sup>157</sup>. Congar is making the point that he will not conceive of a division between the soul and the body of the Church, but only of different ways of belonging to the Church. Any soul that belongs to Christ must be said to belong to the Church, which is "nothing else than humanity reconciled with God in Christ". Congar insists that "the Church is not a simple thing of which one can say, as of an individual substance, that it is entirely present or entirely absent." He explains life in the Church in these words: "It is because the benefits of the New Covenant are many that it is possible to belong to the Church in varying degrees and to claim membership of it on various grounds" <sup>158</sup>. Membership of the Roman Catholic Church is seen to assure the fullness of the means of salvation and sanctification but there can be valid baptism within other communions. This is traditional Catholic teaching that the Church includes members who appear to be outside her.

Congar stresses that through baptism and the preservation of good faith, a man may possess the vital element of the Church in an efficacious manner so that "in the soul of the dissident a spiritual incorporation (in voto) may be brought about, tending increasingly to an

156. Congar's authority here is St. Thomas' "Sum.Theol." IIa-ae, q.1, a.8, ad 3; IIIa, q.69, a.V. ad 1. Comm. in Pss., 14, n.1.

157. St. Thomas, *ibid.* IIa, q.69, a.V, ad 1.

158. Congar, *ibid.* p.226. In *Sainte Eglise* p.430, Congar says: "Seule l'appartenance effective à l'unité visible de l'Eglise Catholique assure la plénitude des moyens du Salut et de Sanctification...". This is absolutely in line with Vatican II, e.g. V.R.3: "It is through Christ's Catholic Church alone, which is the all embracing means of salvation, that the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained".

entire and practical (in re) incorporation in the ecclesiastical Catholic Body". In this way a good dissident would indeed be in a superior position to a bad Catholic, though both must be regarded as in an abnormal and irregular situation. However, a Catholic has the power available to help him become a saint, while the dissident first needs to surpass his church which is "Wrong", offering of itself "incomplete and even deceptive helps". Congar takes this opportunity of condemning those who speak disparagingly of the other Churches. The Catholic Church does not rejoice in the weakness of others, for "whatever there is of genuine Christianity among Protestants belongs by right to the Church... certainly whatever there is of the Gospel to be found in Luther or Calvin must not be renounced but must be fulfilled and find its consummation in unity" 159.

It has been said of Congar that his thinking tends to overemphasize the internal aspect of the Church sometimes to the detriment of the external and visible <sup>160</sup>. However, in this work we find Congar treating "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus" in the strictly traditional sense. Despite his assurances about the salvation of individual dissidents, he denies that other Christian communities, while they may be regarded in some fashion as preserving elements of the Church, have preserved the unique elements of the Catholic Church. Protestants have no other sacraments but baptism and marriage <sup>161</sup>. They have no priesthood, no real teaching office and only the pale shadow of a dogmatic system. It is specially noted that Eastern Catholics who are not in communion with Rome still possess a great

159. *ibid.* p.235.

160. J.J. King: "The Necessity of the Church for Salvation in Selected Theological writings of the Past Century". A dissertation of the Catholic University of America. Washington 1960.

161. Congar, *ibid.* p.243, n.1: "The union of two validly baptized Protestants is the true sacrament of marriage in the eyes of the Church". Cf. Codex Juris Can., c.1099.

number of elements of the true Church <sup>162</sup>. A great example of this would be the teaching function of the Liturgy which, to some extent has preserved the magisterium <sup>163</sup> and the word, "Church" is therefore appropriate when speaking of such Christians <sup>164</sup>.

We may conclude our examination of Congar's teaching by stressing that the reunion of Christians was to him an aim for which all Christians should strive and for which they should be prepared to make many sacrifices. He says, "Reunion is for our separated brethren a question of fulfilment, an acceptance of the full benefits of the New Covenant, the dowry of the Church, of the plenitude of reconciliation and fellowship and of the full reality of the Church and life within it. For us, it is a matter of bringing this about and in the first place of making it POSSIBLE, not only by showing ourselves true children of the Church, but by treating our separated brethren as Christians who already possess in greater or lesser degree what we desire to see fulfilled in them, and who themselves secretly look for such a consummation" <sup>165</sup>.

162. Congar believes the Easterns to possess all the sacraments and the apostolic succession in the Episcopate. That Orthodox jurisdiction may therefore be effective, even if schismatic, Congar regards common belief among Roman Catholic theologians of his day.
163. He refers to Pius XI who said of Oriental Christendom: "It is not sufficiently known how much there is that is good and precious in the remnants of ancient Christendom. Detached fragments of a gold-bearing rock also contain the precious ore. The ancient Churches of the East retain so true a holiness that they deserve not only our respect but also our sympathy". (Address, Ja. 9th 1927 to the Italian Catholic Universities Federation).
164. Congar mentions that earlier tentative approaches to reunion between East and West have regarded Eastern Christians as members of Churches, despite their separation. He cites the examples of the Union of Lyons (1274) and the Council of Florence (1439).
165. Congar, *ibid.* p.247. Emphasis his.

2. H. de Lubac.

A second very important contributor to this field is de Lubac. In "The Splendour of the Church" <sup>166</sup> he is anxious to keep Catholic Unity inviolate against all attempts to distinguish between a visible, hierarchical Church and an invisible Church. De Lubac expressly ranges himself against the Calvinist idea of an invisible Church, as expressed in the Catechism of the Church of Geneva. Of such teaching de Lubac says, "you are giving a dream the status of an extra-mental entity and trying to separate what God has united...it is to deny all scripture for the sake of human considerations" <sup>167</sup>. He continues by stressing that many divided bodies cannot constitute a single Church in "spiritual unity". The Church's magisterium has always maintained that the Church must be tangible. For example "Satis Cognitum" of Leo XIII is quoted in "Mystici Corporis" followed by the comment: "It is therefore an aberration from the divine truth to represent the Church as something intangible and invisible, as a mere "pneumatic" entity joining together by an invisible link a number of communities of Christians in spite of their difference in faith" <sup>168</sup>. De Lubac mentions the earlier Encyclical "Mortalium Animos" in the same connection: "Many...deny that the Church of Christ was intended to be visible and manifest, at any rate in the sense that it was to be visibly the one body of the faithful, agreeing in one and the same doctrine under one teaching and governing authority" <sup>169</sup>.

166. Henri de Lubac: "The Splendour of the Church" 1956 (see n.51).

167. *ibid.* p.56.

168. "Mystici Corporis" article 14 (C.T.S. text, 1952).

169. "Mortalium Animos" (Pius XI) p.12-13, C.T.S. text, 1943).

In Chapter seven of "Catholicisme" <sup>170</sup>, de Lubac discusses the state of the Unbeliever, rejecting the exclamation, "Il ne tombe pas une seule goutte de grâce sur les païens". He notes the Patristic evidence for the salvation of individuals outside the Church <sup>171</sup>, remarking, "Il n'est pas un homme, pas un infidèle, dont la conversion surnaturelle à Dieu ne soit possible dès le seuil de sa vie raisonnable" <sup>172</sup>.

Despite the proper rejection of the extreme rigorist position, de Lubac points to the necessity of admitting the Catholic doctrine that Christ founded a society outside of which there is no salvation. The Church would have no raison d'être, he says, if it were superfluous to salvation. Urgently, he puts the question, "Can we still claim that the Church is a vital necessity?" Without doubt, missionaries have shown that the so-called "unbelieving" pagan often can possess "les éléments de religion authentiques qui ennoblissent jusqu'au culte des populations les plus méprisées" <sup>173</sup>. However, the Catholic Church has constantly believed herself to be the Divinely instituted and normal way to salvation <sup>174</sup>. Taking up a theme found frequently in the documents of Vatican II, de Lubac reminds us of the spiritual unity of the human race, but goes on to emphasise the Church's role as the only means of salvation appointed for humanity. Unbelievers have many elevated systems and philosophies and great religions but none of them bear comparison with the Catholic Church. The Hindu mystics have indeed

170. See note 6.

171. St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, Origen, St. Jerome, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Augustine, De Lubac notes that even Augustine, the strictest of the Fathers, admitted that pagans has their "Saints cachés".

172. De Lubac, *ibid.* p.181, quoting R.P. Huguency, "Le Scandale edifiant d'une exposition missionnaire", 1933, p.56.

173. De Lubac, *ibid.* p.183.

174. De Lubac relying here on the "Bulletin des Missions, mars-juin, 1934, p.60, "... (the Catholic Church is) de par les intentions divines et l'institution du Christ, la seule voie normale du salut".

a genuine spirituality, but its significance pales before a St. John of the Cross. Until an unbeliever has taken to himself the ultimate perfection of Catholicity, his faith cannot bring him eternal life. The Catholic Church is the supreme answer to all mankind's struggling after unity: "Voici la maison des noces, ou le ciel se joint à la terre. Voici la maison où tous s'assemblent pour manger l'Agneau, voici le lieu du véritable sacrifice" <sup>175</sup>. Men can only achieve salvation by taking up God's offer and joining his Catholic Church. In this connection the Catholic Church has a call to universal mission - every soul must have the opportunity to accept the Kingdom of God - and the Church cannot rest until this has been achieved.

Here, we may take a look at de Lubac's discussion of the famous phrase used from the time of Cyprian down to Pius XI's "Mortalium Animos", which he translates: "Hors de l'Eglise point de Salut". That no one will be saved outside the Church is not to de Lubac the sense of "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus": "...il est significatif que les textes où il s'insère quand ils ne sont pas dirigés simplement à l'adresse de ceux qui ont fait sécession, apportent aussitôt les correctifs attendus, en réservant le cas de l'ignorance invincible chez les infidèles de bonne volonté" <sup>176</sup>. The Church, by the use of this maxim, says de Lubac, has been referring to schismatical communities. We may take it to be the case, therefore that he is here in agreement with Yves Congar that "L'Eglise catholique reste la seule institution divinement instituée et mandatée de salut, et ce qui existe de grâce dans le monde lui est rapporté par la finalité, sinon par l'efficience" and that this is the

175. De Lubac notes that Vatican I expressed this well: "veluti in domo Dei viventis, fideles omnes unius fidei et caritatis vinculo continerentur" (Constitutio dogmatica de Ecclesia Christi).

176. De Lubac, *ibid.* pp.195-6. This is also the teaching of Vatican I Cst. de fide Cath. 3, D-S 3008-14.

sense of "Hors de l'Eglise, pas de salut"<sup>177</sup>. This is a positive evaluation of the phrase which, while firmly stating the necessity of the Church for Salvation, does not condemn the individual but rather leaves the way clear for the man of good disposition to find salvation<sup>178</sup>.

If the phrase "outside the Church there is no salvation" be thought too harsh, says de Lubac, then we might equally well restate it positively: "it is by the Church, and by the Church alone, that you will be saved". As an unbeliever, it might still be possible to be a Catholic, as it were by anticipation. Throughout the present discussion, de Lubac makes use of the two expressions "plus" (more) and "moins" (less) to refer to the respective positions of believer and unbeliever. Adherence to the "moins", that is being outside the Church, must in the end give way to adherence with the "plus" which is full catholicism. This is part of the meaning, in practical terms, of "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus". Once an unbeliever comes to know the will of God with regard to the Church, it is his obligation to enter the Catholic fold: "Ceux qui ne connaissent pas l'Eglise sont donc sauvés par elle de telle manière que l'obligation leur incombe de lui appartenir même extérieurement

177. "Hors de l'Eglise, pas de salut" in Congar: "Sainte Eglise". pp. 431-432.

178. The contemporary article in "Revue Ecclésiastique de Liège" by A. Minon (pp. 111-117) makes similar positive conclusions after discussing the Holy Office Letter of 1949 and quotes valuable support from the Magisterium. Here is his translation of Pius IX's words in 1863 which leaves the way open for individual non-catholics: "Ceux qui souffrent d'une ignorance invincible à l'égard de notre sainte religion, et qui accomplissent avec soin la loi naturelle et ses commandements inscrits par Dieu au cœur des hommes, et qui, décidés à obéir à Dieu, mènent une vie honnête et droite, peuvent avec l'aide de la lumière divine et de la grâce parvenir à la vie éternelle. Dieu, en effet, qui voit en pleine lumière, scrute et connaît les esprits de tous les hommes, leurs âmes, leurs pensées, leurs habitudes, ne peut permettre, en raison de son infinie bonté et de sa clémence que soit jamais puni des supplices éternels quiconque ne s'est pas rendu coupable d'une faute volontaire" (Quanto conficiamur moerore, D-S, 2865-7). "Une explication officielle de l'adage "Hors de l'église pas de Salut" - A. Minon.

des qu'ils viennent à la connaître". De Lubac finds this position to be in line with Catholic teaching when he recalls how much the Fathers valued the lives of holy people in the Gentile world<sup>179</sup>.

If, says de Lubac, the Catholics were humble enough to recognise the full implications of these ancient truths, there would be no spirit of triumphalism - nor would there be a seeking of occasions for condemnation and counter-attack. A Catholic has the responsibility to collaborate with the unbeliever: "Nul n'a le droit de dire comme Caïn: "Suis-je chargé de mon frère?" Nul n'est Chrétien pour soi seul"<sup>180</sup>.

### 3. G. Baum.

Thirdly in this section let us refer again to Baum's "That they may be One"<sup>181</sup>. In a note on membership of the Church, he asks the question: if there is no salvation outside the Church, are only Roman Catholics to be saved? Firstly he invites us to look at the Encyclical "Mystici Corporis" where it appears at first sight that even the life of grace is denied to all who are not Roman Catholics. Pius XII says: "In Ecclesiae autem mebris reapse ii soli annumerandi sunt, qui regenerationis lavacrum receperunt veramque fidem profitentur, neque a Corporis compage semetipsos misere separarunt, vel ob gravissima

179. De Lubac mentions that St. Irenaeus considered that saints who lived before Christ "annoncèrent la venue du Christ et obéirent à sa Loi" (Adv. Haer. 4,27,2): similarly, St. Clement of Alexandria "de même qu'il a envoyé aux Juifs des prophètes, Dieu a suscité dans le sein de la Grèce les plus vertueux de ses enfants pour les constituer prophètes au milieu de leur nation" (Stromates, Bk. 6,c.5); St. Leo also stressed the unity of the innumerable means of salvation which have always been available to man; St. Augustine, in connection with Job the Idumean, speaks of a vast "Jérusalem spirituelle" (De Civitate Dei, Bk.18, c.47) De Lubac concludes that the Fathers did not hesitate to regard as members of the Church those Jews and Gentiles who prepared the way for Christ.

180. De Lubac, *ibid.* p.204.

181. See note 11, "That they may be one" p.27.

admissa a legitima auctoritate seiuncti sunt..." 182. Those who are REAPSE members of the Church are described in this passage as possessing the threefold marks of "baptism, creed and communion". Baum asks us to notice carefully that the Pope does not say that in this triple mark "CONSISTS" the unity of the Catholic Church but rather that this triple mark "records" unity within the Church. Unity (cf. I Cor. 12:13; Eph. 4:5) is conceived in terms of "one spirit, one Lord, one Body" - these are the foundations of Catholicism according to Pius XII - but merely because the Encyclical lays stress on obedience does not preclude the possibility of salvation or the reception of grace beyond the bounds of the Church. Baum voices the possibility that even a natural human longing for eternal life or salvation may have its undisclosed roots in the Church thus making a seeming unbeliever in fact a member of the Church. Baum freely admits the widespread confusion which "Mystici Corporis" produced in its wake but is perhaps using this to gloss over the hard fact that Pope Pius XII was safeguarding the visibility of the Church by identifying it with the Roman Catholic Church. This indeed is a case in point of what has been observed previously in our survey: documents and writings have been written concerning the Church TO PROVE A PARTICULAR POINT OR TO RIGHT A PARTICULAR BALANCE. Therefore it is highly dangerous to take up such material "cold" or "out of context" and use it as a piece of detached theological treatise. Historically, we probably have to wait until the Second Vatican Council for a statement on the Church and the Unbeliever that is not self-consciously apologetic.

Baum refers us to a second Document, the Holy Office Letter of 1949 to which we have already made reference in this chapter. He notes that the response to the unorthodox opinions (namely an over-literal approach to "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus") of Fr. Feeney was an authoritative statement of Catholic teaching which settled "a number of questions which to some extent had remained open and even controverted in Theology"<sup>183</sup>. The Letter stated that the Church was instituted by Christ as necessary for salvation and declared necessary as a necessity of means, and not just of precept. In the words of the Letter, "Not only did the Saviour command that all nations should enter the Church, but he also decreed the Church to be a means of salvation, without which no one can enter the kingdom of eternal glory"<sup>184</sup>. However, continues the argument, God "in his infinite mercy" may sometimes grant the effects of salvation to the DESIRE only, without the FACT. In other words there may be a full membership in the Church (displaying the triple mark of baptism, creed and communion) which could be described as belonging to the Church "in re", but equally it must be admitted that there exists a membership of "desire" and "longing" which is described as "membership in voto". Baum points out that the Boston Letter abandons the "ordinari ad Ecclesiam" of *Mystici Corporis* for the firmer expression, "adhaerere Ecclesiae" to express membership "in voto". He says, "Adhering to the Church suggests the idea of being attached to her, living from her life, clinging to her with deepening roots, and yet remaining outside, grown as it were on to the surface. Adhering to the Church

183. Baum, *ibid.* p.29. This statement is at least directly on the subject of exclusivism and is therefore likely to be an important factor in the present discussion.

184. Text of Holy Office Letter 1949 from J.J. King, "The Necessity of the Church for Salvation", p.xii.

implies habitual grace, or at least some permanent supernatural character. It calls to mind the image of a living body with some parts fully incorporated as members and others merely adhering to the outside in a loose but VITAL manner" <sup>185</sup>. The Boston letter admits then, of an incomplete membership of the Church - Baum continues to investigate more precisely what this might mean. An unbeliever is capable of "a living supernatural faith" even if it remains unconscious and implicit, but there must be the desire to become "a member of the organism of grace" or of "employing all the means which the Lord has ordained for salvation". There is no denial of the maxim: *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*, for "he who comes to God must believe that God exists and is a rewarder of those who seek him" <sup>186</sup>. Baum comments: "Where and how often this occurs, we do not know but it may happen that God reveals himself in the heart of a pagan and, in view of the crucified and exalted Christ drawing all things unto himself, makes him holy by the gift of a living faith and an unconscious desire of belonging to the Church, the organism of salvation" <sup>187</sup>. There are therefore infinite possibilities of salvation for the unbeliever, says Baum, but it is not the same case with the deliberate schismatic as there is no excuse for destroying the unity of the Church <sup>188</sup>. He admits that most "fratres dissidentes" of these days have been born into schism and did not create it themselves and in this way receive "patrimony" which can be a living reality.

185. Baum, *ibid.* p.30. Emphasis my own.

186. Holy Office Letter, quoting Heb. 11:6.

187. Baum, *ibid.* p. 31.

188. He refers to the New Testament (*ibid.* p.33): Jn. 15:6; 2Peter 2:1; Titus 3:10; Heb. 2:1-3; 6:4-7.

Of actual schismatical Churches Baum selects the "Orthodox" as having preserved, despite the schism, more of the Divine Revelation than any other non-Catholic body. His documentation for this claim includes "Rerum Orientalium" <sup>189</sup>: "Praesertim cum apud illos populos tanta divinae Revelationis pars religiosissime asservata sit; et sincerum Christi Domini obsequium et in eius matrem intereratam amor pietasque singularis, et ipsorum sacramentorum usus vigeat". Baum next mentions Leo XIII. Despite its separation from Rome, Leo XIII regards the Orthodox Church as having unity with Christ through faith and the sacraments, as having a valid ministry and being worthy of the title "Church".

After speaking with such optimism of the Eastern Church, Baum addresses himself to "Protestantism" by which he means Western Christendom <sup>190</sup>. A general summary would be that Protestant communities have no power to mediate the Christian faith and yet "we shall show that in the eyes of the Popes, grace continues to flow in the vessels which were visibly disjoined from the Church at the time of the Reformation" <sup>191</sup>. "While the Catholic is said to have faith communicated by the very Institution to which he belongs, the Protestant may have faith by fortuity because the spirit blows where he wills, that is, not as an heir to the promises of Christ in whom he is taught to believe, but by the unsolicited bestowal of God". Certainly Baptism is a common link between all Christians as it may be administered by anyone, but dissidents have an impoverished sacramental life because they do not live in obedience to

189. "Rerum Orientalium" AAS 20 (1928) 287.

190. He acknowledges that the Church of England may to some extent want to regard itself as catholic, having retained a strong ecclesiastical tradition, but is forced to point out that in the eyes of the Popes, the Church of England has abandoned the Catholic faith, quoting both "Amantissimae Voluntatis" (1895) and "Gratissimas Cito" (1897).

191. Baum, *ibid.* p.38.

the appointed sign of God. However, while the Catholic Church is the appointed sign in which all elements of divine revelation are preserved, there are elements which may reasonably be received from reading the Bible. Baum puts it like this: "we must admit that a separated Christian community which teaches that the Bible is the book of salvation and places it in the hands of its members must be said to mediate, at least in a material sense, sufficient credibility for faith in the Word made flesh...dissident Christians who receive the Bible from their Churches may have the faith which justifies, and not only accidentally, by an extraordinary election of God, but rather according to the normal genesis of faith which presupposes the divine credentials offered by Jesus Christ"<sup>192</sup>.

Baum intends to show that this "open" approach to other Christians is easily to be found in official pronouncements of modern times. For example, "the Church embraces the separated brethren with unfeigned charity, and with the fervour of prayers for their return to the Mother from whom God knows how many live apart without personal guilt" of Pius XII<sup>193</sup>, and Leo XIII writes of the English: "their minds so well disposed"<sup>194</sup>. He admits that over the years there is not a great deal of evidence for Rome's supposed benevolence towards the "fratres dissidentes" but the very use of this expression is significant - the Catholic Church does not address those whom she regards as

192. *ibid.* pp.43, 44.

193. Pius XII, "Wie Hatten Wir", AAS 40 (1948) 49.

194. Leo XIII, "Amantissimae Voluntatis", LA 15 (1895) 149.

schismatics or heretics as "fratres", yet it is well known how much this phrase is used. Baum concludes at this point that the Roman Catholic Church considers that she alone offers the fulness and completeness of the Christian faith while separated communities possess a mutilated form of this faith <sup>195</sup>. Yet despite this "mutilation", the Protestant sects may have access to the faith which justifies which is the supernatural and living faith in Jesus Christ <sup>196</sup>. As we should expect from what we have seen of Baum already, he fully endorses the view of Congar and de Lubac that triumphalism with regard to the dissident Church is not to be allowed. Catholics are not to regard other Christian communities as rivals but should rejoice at manifestations of grace to be found among them <sup>197</sup>. Baum also makes the important point that Ecumenism and Mission have never been officially described as overlapping. The Catholic Church has never felt a call to evangelise dissident Christians <sup>198</sup>.

195. Catholic truth is "the perfect and absolute truth" (*caritas Studium*, LA 18 (1898); "the whole of Christian wisdom", *Annum Ingressi*, LA 22 (1902) 66; "the integral and genuine doctrine", *Ubi Arcano Dei*, AAS 14 (1922) 696.
196. Baum takes pains to give positive examples of official statements about the Protestants, for example: "They acknowledge Jesus Christ as Redeemer and rejoice in the Christian name". *Iam Vos Omnes* (1868); "they set on Christ all their hope of salvation, both for themselves and for the human family", *Lux Veritatis*, AAS 23 (1931) 51; and "The highest credit is due to those who fearlessly and unceasingly proclaim the rights, the law and the charter of God Almighty and his Son Jesus Christ; for in these the divine kingdom endures on earth" spoken of all religious men in England by Leo XIII, *Amantissimae Voluntatis* LA (1895) 144.
197. Baum, *ibid.* p.75 "When the Popes desire the return of dissident Christians to catholic unity, they do not envisage a human victory over another party, but the unfolding of the gifts of Christ... Being gifted with the universality of the cross, she can rejoice at the spiritual success of other Christians because it is her own success too."
198. No mention of Ecumenism is found in the main encyclicals on Mission: "Maximum Illud" (1919), "Rerum Ecclesiae" (1926), nor "Evangelii Praecones" (1951). Nor do letters or speeches recorded in AAS contain any such suggestion according to Baum, *ibid.* chapter 4, note 8.

We may summarize Baum's conclusions in two points. (a) Individual dissident Christians are not precluded from the possibility of salvation by their separation from the Catholic Church and (b) Dissident Communities have positive means of communicating grace to greater or lesser degrees.

#### 4. J.C. Fenton.

J.C. Fenton, also writing about Papal pronouncements <sup>199</sup>, deserves discussion at this point. Unlike Baum, Fenton covers a wide historical period and we begin with his considerations of the statement of faith imposed on the Waldensians by Lateran IV <sup>200</sup>. Polemically the Council stressed that no one could be saved outside the Catholic Church, but Fenton is careful to note that there is a distinction between being "outside the Church" and being a non-member of this society. He refers us to St. Ambrose's teaching "De obitu Valentiniani" in which it is made clear that the Emperor died, not as one of the "fideles", but actually "within" the Church in that he had prayed for baptism. Fenton formulates his conclusion like this: "At the moment of death a man must be in some way "within" the Catholic Church (either as a member or as one who desires and prays to enter it) if he is to attain to eternal salvation". This is parallel to Baum's idea of a dissident Christian somehow belonging to the Church.

Pope Eugenius IV's "Cantate Domino" (1442) states specifically who may be considered to be outside the Church: pagans, Jews, heretics and schismatics. Such have no hope of eternal life and "they are going to

199. Fenton, "The Catholic Church and Salvation" see note 62.

200. Fenton, *ibid.* pp.6-9.

the everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels" <sup>201</sup>. Fenton points out that salvation is not lightly received as it was not lightly achieved by Our Lord's death <sup>202</sup>. Only by membership of the Church can a man benefit from the death of Christ.

"Singulari Quadam" is described by this author as the first "modern" statement from the magisterium that there is no salvation outside the Church and for this reason is important. The statement issued in 1854 has equal significance today, says Fenton, in that it opposes those who would empty "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus" of all meaning. God's mercy is not unjust when he makes this stipulation that a man must belong to the Church. Indeed any man who loves God and acts in a loving manner is already in a state of grace and if he dies in that state will surely find eternal salvation and might be described as "within" the Catholic Church. In other words, Fenton is describing "Membership in voto".

"Quanto conficiamur moerore" is mentioned in the following chapter to explain how the Church is necessary by necessity of means and by necessity of precept. The Church is necessary for all men since no one "outside" can be saved, and secondly, people who obstinately refuse to be joined to its visible leader, the Pope, cannot obtain salvation. In other words, not by necessity of precept only, but by necessity of

201. It is interesting that in 1970 the reaction to such a suggestion is tolerant amusement, but in 1958 Fenton was criticizing those who protested at hell-fire teaching in that they simply misunderstood Catholic teaching. A natural result of saying that he who is not saved is lost, is that unbaptized children, despite their sinlessness, are not eligible for the Beatific Vision.

202. Fenton, *ibid.* p.38, is referring to those words from the Decree of Eugenius IV: "...the unity of the ecclesiastical body is of such value that the Church's sacraments are profitable to salvation, and that fastings, almsgivings, and the other duties of piety and exercises of the Christian militancy, bring forth eternal rewards only for those who remain within it: and that however great his almsgiving may be, and even though he might shed his blood for the name of Christ, no one can be saved unless he remains within the embrace and unity of the Catholic Church". (D-S 1351).

means, the Church is necessary for salvation. For if it were by necessity of precept alone, those men who had not heard of this necessity could not be logically excluded from salvation: it would be tantamount to saying, "neminem scilicet extra ecclesiam posse salvari" is the same as saying, "only people who are contumaciously separated from the Church cannot be saved". So Fenton establishes the necessity of means. From this encyclical Fenton is also able to suggest that people who are "zealously observing the natural law and who are leading honest and upright lives" are probably in a state of sanctifying grace and as individuals may possess faith, hope and charity<sup>203</sup>. Fenton points out that it is no easy matter to remain within the moral law for long without the support of sanctifying grace. However, this grace may be granted where there is only implicit awareness of the Catholic Church.

Already we have noted several discussions of the Letter, "Suprema haec sacra"; we come now to Fenton's remarks. He conveniently lists the explicit lessons to be drawn from the Holy Office Letter in his own consideration<sup>204</sup>: (1) It is Catholic dogma that there is no salvation outside the Church. (2) This dogma has always been taught, and will always be taught infallibly by the Church's magisterium. (3) The dogma must be only understood in the manner prescribed by the magisterium. (4) The Church is necessary to salvation both as a necessity of precept and a necessity of means. (5) Because of the necessity of precept, any person who knows the Church to have been divinely instituted by Our Lord and yet refuses to enter it or to remain within it cannot attain eternal

203. "Quanto conficiamur moerore" D-S 2866: "It is known to us and to you that those who labour in invincible ignorance of our most holy religion, and who, carefully observing the natural law and its precepts which God has inscribed in the hearts of us all, and whom, being ready to obey God, live an honest and upright life, can, through the working of the divine light and grace, attain eternal life, since God who clearly sees, inspects and knows the minds, the intentions, the thoughts, and the habits of all, will, by reason of his supreme goodness and kindness, never allow anyone who has not the guilt of wilful sin to be punished by eternal sufferings".

204. Fenton, *ibid.* p.117.

salvation. (6) The Church is a general and necessary means for salvation, not by reason of any intrinsic necessity, but only by God's own institution, that is, because God in his merciful wisdom has established it as such. (7) In order that a man may be saved "within" the Church, it is not always necessary that he belongs to the Church "in re", actually as a member, but it can sometimes be enough that he belongs to it as one who desires or wills to be in it. In other words, it is possible for one who belongs to the Church only in desire or "in voto" to be saved. (8) It is possible for this desire of entering the Church to be effective not only when it is explicit, but also (when the person is invincibly ignorant of the true Church) even when that desire or "votum" is merely implicit. (9) The Encyclical "Mystici Corporis" reproved both the error of those who teach and the impossibility of salvation for those who have only an implicit desire of entering the Church and the false doctrine of those who claim that men may find salvation equally in every religion. (10) No desire to enter the Church can be effective for salvation unless it is enlightened by supernatural faith and animated by perfect charity. Fenton has done us a great service in expressing the several points of the official position so clearly.

Fenton refers to the Encyclical "Humani generis" to answer Protestant claims that the Catholic exclusivism was too harsh. Condemning Catholic writers who "entice the wills of those that differ from us" by reducing the necessity of the Church for salvation to an empty formula, he gives one or two examples.

Arnold Harris Mathew <sup>205</sup> is said to have boldly denied that the Catholic Church is the only appointed means of salvation: "...he held ultimately that Catholics were simply not bound to hold anything like

205. *ibid.* p.124, Fenton is referring to A.H. Mathew's "Extra Ecclesiam Salus Nulla"; "Ecclesia: The Church of Christ" was Mathew's own contribution to the book he edited in 1906, London.

the teaching that no one can be saved outside the Catholic Church" <sup>206</sup>. Cardinal Newman's last published study in this field, "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk" comes in for criticism from Fenton in that it admits of exceptions to the dogma of "No Salvation outside the Church". It was Newman's opinion at the time that Pius IX admitted exactly this, which Newman described as "the doctrine of invincible ignorance", inferring that it is possible to belong to the soul of the Church and not to the body. It seems fair at this point to comment that Newman was not directly discussing the dogma of "No salvation outside the Church", but rather was supporting a contention that there was sometimes a place for "legitimate minimizing" <sup>207</sup>. We simply need to mention now that Fenton also criticizes those who have tried to say that the Church was only the ORDINARY means of salvation but that others exist, and others who have described the maxim as only applicable by necessity of precept. These points we have found already in our discussions of other authors and we may conclude by referring to Fenton's list, quoted in full above (pp.66,67) which he regarded as an excellent summary of the Catholic position, and also by stating that he would defend the formula "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" as a solemn condition of salvation that was never to be eroded or evaded.

5. R. Lombardi.

Another milestone in the period under discussion was the publication of Lombardi's work on the Salvation of the Unbeliever, to which we have already referred in part one <sup>208</sup>. Here in the 1950's we have a theologian emphasizing that he finds the necessity of faith for salvation

206. Fenton, *ibid.* p.124.

207. This is made clear by consulting the passage in "Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching" (London 1896), II, p.334.

208. Lombardi, "The Salvation of the Unbeliever", 1956; see above note 10.

a painful and perplexing problem. If we are to take our Lord's words in Mk. 16:16 ("He who believes not shall be condemned") at their face value, then they condemn the majority of all men who have ever lived in all ages. This is particularly horrifying with regard to those pagans who have never even heard the gospel proclaimed. In these days, says Lombardi, when intellectual contact between Protestant and Catholic is constantly increasing, it is hard to be expected to regard one's non-Catholic friends as "a subjectively sinful soul, obstinately refusing the light"<sup>209</sup>. This problem is so great, he thinks, that "if these questions are not satisfactorily answered, many consciences will find their faith faltering, and not without apparent reason".

Lombardi recognizes that he is not alone in his dilemma but remarks that the many solutions that have been offered always err either on the side of leniency or alternatively, rigorism. The maxim "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus" must be regarded as the king-pin of all discussion in this field - it is nonsense to say that "all the good folk" and those who have never heard of Jesus will somehow find their way to Heaven. This is the result of sentimentalism as a reaction to our repugnance at the idea of so great a number seemingly condemned to Hell. On the other hand the errors of Calvinism and Jansenism do not merit discussion. While he is condemning errors, Lombardi remind us that the Protestant doctrine of evangelisation of Hell as a possible solution is erroneous<sup>210</sup>. To speak of a limbo for adults is mere escapism according to Lombardi and has never been Catholic doctrine. Adults who die without faith go

209. *ibid*, p.11.

210. Lombardi notes that such teaching has been based on the New Testament texts: I Peter 3:18-20 and 4:6. A classic exposition is to be found in Martensen's "Dogmatique Chrétienne", Fr. transl., Paris 1879. Lombardi quotes from Grétilat's "Exposé de théologie systématique": "The analogy with the doctrine of Christ's preaching to the dead authorizes the hypothesis that the preaching of salvation will be continued in limbo for those human beings who have not been in a position to decide for or against Christ during their earthly lives", Vol IV, p.549 (Paris 1890).

to Hell. This is not the place to pursue all Lombardi's references, but his opinions on the work of Cardinal Billot in this field will help to build up our overall picture.

Billot<sup>211</sup> attributed unbelief to deficiency of intellect. It was his firm belief that adults who lived outside the Catholic Church were retarded in their intellectual development and from a moral point of view, still infants. Billot's suggestion is not theological, but rather psychological. It only received great attention because of the scholarly stature of its author and failed for a number of reasons. One of them, in fact the most important, says Lombardi, is that adults may quite well possess moral knowledge and yet not know God. This is plainly true and it follows therefore, if moral knowledge is attainable without knowledge of God, that the only apparently adult are not exempted from responsibility. Billot's ideas have been criticised also for positing that these immature non-Catholics might escape to the limbo of children. In fact his attempted solution has never had much popularity.

Catholicism, says Lombardi, still has her great problem: she remains true to the great maxim, "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus" - faith is necessary to salvation - and yet along with this stern rule she must hold the teaching, expounded in the New Testament equally well, that God desires the salvation of every man.

Given that salvation is necessary to all men what then is the nature of this indispensable faith? Lombardi will not allow that this is a vague certainty of the existence of God, but strictly, "an assent to divine Revelation in homage to the authority of God the Revealer"<sup>212</sup>. In the following chapter Lombardi condemns what he calls broad faith

211. Billot: "La Providence divine et le nombre infini d'hommes hors de la voie normale du salut" in "Etudes", 1919-1923.

212. Lombardi: *ibid.* p.65.

(the idea of the "votum" being sufficient for salvation), underlining that unless adults confidently assert that God exists and that he is the Rewarder of those who have faith in him, they cannot hope to escape Hell. An act of faith is therefore indispensable. However, God does not demand such an act of faith without making it universally possible by many and various ways. Lombardi says, "In our modest opinion...we may say that many partially false religions may have a providential function under the strong guidance of God"<sup>213</sup>. A bold statement like this might be taken for a form of indifferentism, but Lombardi is at pains to refute this charge. He defends himself by saying that even though he has been led to see the possibility of salvation for men who profess religions other than Catholic christianity, he is not claiming that all religions can give rise to true faith. Neither is he claiming that these "false religions" have any salvific merit in themselves - they may only offer salvation in so far as they derive echoes of God's word through obscure contact with Catholicism. For this reason Lombardi regards himself as providing an unheretical solution to the problem, in that he is always able to say, "Extra Ecclesiam nulla Salus".

We shall conclude this survey of Lombardi's ideas with an analogy of his own which expresses much of what he wrote: "The life of every human being needs the sunlight and the sunlight knows how to send its rays to all living things: the light of dawn, the light of noon, the sunset gleam... Every man on earth needs to see his Rewarder in order to live; and at some time or other, even if he is half obscured in the mists all men may see him"<sup>214</sup>.

213. *ibid.* p.274.

214. *ibid.* p.280.

6. L. Capéran.

L. Capéran's "Essai Historique"<sup>215</sup> has a final chapter devoted to our present study. The dilemma of salvation, such as we have described several times already as found in other authors, is stressed by Capéran; he described it as "une question délicate et difficile" which "les grands maîtres de la théologie ont omis de traiter, du moins explicitement, mais que les conditions des temps, le changement des circonstances, les exigences de la controverse, ne permettent plus de négliger aujourd'hui"<sup>216</sup>. Capéran, placed in his correct chronological place, would have appeared in this study between de Lubac and Gregory Baum. There are several reasons why it seems more appropriate to place him at the conclusion to this section of the chapter. Capéran's convenient accounts of examples of dictionaries on this point make further documentation on our part, superfluous - for this reason it is convenient to give account of this author now rather than earlier. Secondly, by putting him last, it is a convenient way of drawing attention to an author so neglected in this country. Thirdly, Capéran's contribution to this field is in many ways so different in content to those recounted above, that it is best kept apart.

Commenting on the work of Cardinal Billot in this field, Capéran points out that the Cardinal's reputation could have been the only possible attraction of this theory as it is both unscriptural and contradictory of tradition. Capéran finds that he has the support of P. Claeys-Bouuaert, Garrigou-Lagrange and Edouard Hugon. Hugon had begun at the beginning of the century to attack the "calumny" that the Church condemns all non-believers to hell. In 1905 he said it was possible ("Revue thomiste" - "Le Salut des païens") that men of good will could be saved as they must be regarded as members of the soul of the Church, if not the body. However, in 1907, Hugon produced a major

215. Capéran: "Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles: Essai Historique" 1934, p.511. See note 9.

216. Capéran is quoting Billot: "Etudes" t.164, p.387.

work on this subject, entitled "Hors de l'Eglise point de salut", where he came down heavily on the side of exclusivism. We might summarize his argument as follows:- (1) It is with necessity of means, not only by desire, that a man must belong to the soul of the Church. Faith or sanctifying grace are necessary to justification. (2) The necessity of means must be rigorously, absolutely and universally maintained in that a man must belong at least by desire to the body of the Church; the man who lives in the soul of the Church through sanctifying grace possesses charity, and this, which is the fulness of the law, contains at least implicitly the desire of satisfying the obligation imposed by Christ of entering the spiritual and visible society which he founded. (3) There is the necessity of means of belonging to the body of the Church in the measure that one knows and can fulfill this obligation. Capéran draws attention to a later statement of Hugon's <sup>217</sup> in which he says that the Church Tradition nowhere denies the knowledge of God to pagans. Hugon writes, "Nous croyons que Dieu accorde aux infidèles et les moyens naturels et les grâces suffisantes, non seulement pour s'élever jusqu'à la connaissance de la loi morale, mais même pour parvenir au salut; nous croyons que la miséricorde infinie a des inventions merveilleuses pour les éclairer, soit pendant la vie soit au dernier instant, alors que la lumière céleste peut illuminer subitement les profondeurs de l'âme et permettre au mourant de s'assurer par un acte suprême la bienheureuse destinée".

Paul R. Pies' work, "Die Heilsfrage der Heiden" <sup>218</sup> receives mention by Capéran, as one more important contributor in this field. Pies considers the universalism of the Old Testament of Jesus and his Apostles to be the central pivot of Catholic faith which has been taught throughout the history of the Church: by the Fathers, especially St.

217. E. Hugon: "Revue thomiste" July-September 1922, pp.278-281.

218. Paul R. Pies: "Die Heilsfrage der Heiden", Aachen 1925.

Augustine, the early scholastics and the great Doctors of the thirteenth century, also by the post-Tridentine theologians, those who resisted Jansenism and the attacks of philosophers up to the present time. Capéran naturally approves of Pies' rejection of the idea of the evangelisation of the dead or a limbo for adults. Indeed Pies is convinced that a pagan may come, by grace and faith, to justification which leads on to baptism and Church membership.

Capéran continues his survey of literature in the debate during this century on a true interpretation of "Horsde l'Eglise pas de salut" by discussing work by theologians which we have only room here to list: A. Bayet, P. Bainvel, H. Pinard de la Boullaye, A.D. Sertillanges, W. Schmidt, P. Glorieux and P.H. d'Herbigny.

We defer any conclusions at this stage until we have taken into account Capéran's précis of the Dictionary material and also made some remarks about the theological manuals.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE DICTIONARIES.

##### 1. Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique.

Capéran turns first to a thorough article by Harent in "Dictionnaire de théologie catholique". After some "preliminary notions" attempting to define terms, set limits on the scope of the work and set out general principles, Harent categorizes various heterodox solutions of the problem. Specifically mentioned are the rigorous solutions of Calvinism and Jansenism and, at the other extreme, the lax solutions of Origenism, Pelagianism and Naturalism<sup>219</sup>. Harent regards an act of faith as a necessity of means for the salvation of every adult. He is anxious to show that this has been the constant teaching of the magisterium and refers to the decisions and statements of the Council of Trent, Vatican I,

219. D.Th.C.t.7, coll. 1730ff (Harent).

and Pope Innocent XI's "Errores doctrinae moralis laxioris". Hebrews 11:6 together with extracts from Justin Martyr, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen and St. Irenaeus are also provided as witness to the necessity of faith. Harent attacks the position of some Thomists (along with Estius, Sylvius and Gonet) who state quite unorthodoxly, in his opinion, that pagans have no hope of salvation. The Church has never condemned non-Catholics, stresses Harent: "Les infidèles négatifs peuvent arriver à la foi par une révélation immédiate". He follows St. Thomas in speaking of "interior inspiration" which is not always concurrent with revelation <sup>220</sup>, and shows his approval of those who have said "There is within pagan religions sufficient vestiges of revelation to be the means whereby the non-Catholic of good will can have sufficient faith necessary for the act of faith". We may summarize Harent as regarding the work of the missionary as already prepared for by divine inspiration amongst the so-called "pagans" and at the same time expressing the hope that a few may have found salvation as Billot described, in the limbo of children - perhaps paleolithic man or primitives of modern times.

## 2. Dictionnaire Apologetique de la foi Catholique.

Capéran next discusses the "Dictionnaire Apologetique de la foi Catholique" article written by d'Alès <sup>221</sup>. The treatment of the subject here is far simpler than in the previous dictionary - the "Dictionnaire Apologetique" rapidly dismisses the solution that advocates the limbo as available to adults or the evangelisation of the dead. Instead of any such theory, says d'Alès we must hold fast to the teaching of the Catholic Church: the call to salvation is universal even if Christ is unknown to many people. The great statements of the Fathers and of the magisterium

220. Capéran, *ibid.* p.532, quoting Harent, *ibid.*

221. Capéran, *ibid.* p.534. D.A.F.C. vol. iv. cols. 1156-1182, "Salut des Infidèles".

that spoke of the unity of the Church and of her necessity for salvation, always remembered that divine providence is universal. The dictionary itself expresses it like this <sup>222</sup>: "...une "pédagogie surnaturelle qui reste le secret de Dieu" instruit de la vérité strictement indispensable les âmes de bonne volonté. "Que les moyens de cette pédagogie surnaturelle puissent comporter une extrême diversité, tout le suggère: vestiges de la révélation primitive, échos de la révélation mosaïque ou de la révélation chrétienne repercutés insciemment par les milieux infidèles, prédication muette de l'exemple ou de la charité active: autant de moyens, sans compter le miracle proprement dit, dont Dieu peut user à l'occasion, pour suppléer au défaut de l'apostolat direct".

3.

The traditional orthodox view, that salvation is unique and yet in some way universal, is seen by Capéran as the norm presented by the Catholic Dictionaries. The "Dictionnaire des connaissances religieuses" expresses this, as also the "Lexikon für Theologie und Glaube" and the "Catholic Encyclopedia".

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE MANUALS.

##### 1. P. Murray.

A standard manual "De Ecclesia" by P. Murray was available for reading on library shelves on the eve of Vatican II. although it was written in 1860 <sup>223</sup>. In speaking of salvation and the Church, Murray

222. D.A.F.C. ibid, col. 1182, Capéran, ibid. p.536.

223. Murray, P., De Ecclesia, 3 vols., Dublin 1860.

describes the question as follows: "...the question here is, whatever may or may not be necessary for salvation, whether at least this is necessary, namely to be a member of the Church". He would want to distinguish between pertaining to the Church in reality and in desire and presents a detailed description of the nature and necessity of this desire. "But the question is, whether it is of necessity of means to pertain to the Church in desire: This desire is twofold, explicit and implicit. The explicit would be present in the person who doubts whether his sect is the true Church and speaks to himself in these or similar words, "Since I reasonably doubt whether the Church to which I belong is the true Church, I will with all my heart and I am resolved to associate myself with the true Church, whichever one it may be, as soon as it is sufficiently proposed to me". The explicit desire would be present also in the person to whom it has already been proved that his sect is false and the Catholic Church is true, and who has decided to reject his sect, leave it immediately and join the Catholic Church. The implicit desire would be present in the person who, being in no doubt concerning his own sect, would elicit an act of absolute conformity to the will of God in all things, or, which, is the same thing, would decide sincerely to follow all the commandments of God. A desire of this type would be contained in an Act of contrition, in the resolution of not sinning again. In the light of these facts, it seems that the explicit desire is not necessary with the necessity of means. The implicit desire however is required with the necessity of means in these cases where there is required with the same necessity a resolution of observing all the more serious divine commands, and not in other cases, not in another way: e.g. after the commission of a grave sin, for whose remission there is necessary with the necessity of means, contrition (imperfect in the sacrament, perfect outside it), in which there is included the resolution of not sinning again, and in which

resolution the desire is said to be contained implicitly" <sup>224</sup>. In this way Murray described two ways of belonging to the Church: by implicit desire and by explicit desire. While it seems that Murray may be admitting that a pagan who avoids serious sin could hope for salvation, "there is just enough lack of clarity here to make it impossible to determine Murray's actual view" <sup>225</sup>.

## 2. J.B. Franzelin.

The work of Cardinal Franzelin toward finding a solution to this problem exerted strong influence at the close of the nineteenth century. Let us therefore examine his treatment in the "Theses de ecclesia Christi" published after his death <sup>226</sup>. His thesis is long and involved and can best be expressed in his own words: "Although it was said in the previous thesis, some people can be justified and saved without being recognized in the external forum as pertaining to the visible Church, nevertheless: (1) they are not saved except THROUGH THE CHURCH, to whom belongs the word of faith and for whose sake salvific graces are given. They are not saved except IN THE CHURCH; for they are joined not only to the spirit of the Church, but also to its visible elements by means of their will, which APUD DEUM PRO FACTO REPUTATUR. For these visible elements: (2) by divine institution are not merely of necessity of precept but of necessity of means to justification and salvation. Therefore justification in the New Testament is never effected without a relation to the Church and

224. *ibid.* pp. 733-734 quoted in the Translation of J.J. King, p.7. "The Necessity of the Church".

225. King, *ibid.* p.7.

226. Franzelin J.B. "Theses de ecclesia Christi", Rome 1887.

at least a spiritual union of man with these same visible elements; thus before God and the Church triumphant he is not without some union with the Church on earth. (3) However, the union of some members of this type with the Church and justification without the visible sacraments - derogates nothing from the dogma of the visibility of the Church of Christ" <sup>227</sup>.

This is to say, Franzelin regarded that people who are saved outside the visible Church are not saved except, "through the Church, to whom belongs the word of faith and for whose sake salvific graces are given". The Church is absolutely necessary - faith sufficient for salvation may come through hearing the word of God, even if imperfectly, through a dissident sect. The truth is, says Franzelin, that only the Catholic Church has preserved the faith that brings about salvation, so all owe their salvation to the "sole divinely constituted custodian and publisher of the truth" <sup>228</sup>. Salvation may come to one of the dissident brethren "through an internal illuminating grace" but this too is given by the Church and should naturally lead to the Church. In this way, every process of salvation must be said to have its accomplishment "per ecclesiam". It is important to stress, according to this manual, that not only must a man be saved "through the Church" but that he cannot be saved "outside it": "justification is not to be ascribed to the contrition without the desire of baptism and through this of union with the body of the Church, if they are not baptized; and if they are baptized, that same justification is not accomplished without the desire of the sacrament of penance and so by this of reconciliation and reintegration in the

227. *ibid.* p.424, in King's translation, *ibid.* pp.58, 59.

228. Franzelin, *ibid.* p.427, King, *ibid.* p.60.

visible Church" <sup>229</sup>. This necessity is one of means.

Finally, Franzelin explains how it is that some men may be saved merely by the "votum" despite the normal necessity of belonging to the visible Church. The explanation is that in the end, God alone knows who truly "pertain to the Church or not". From this we could say of Franzelin that he outlines salvation as possible both "per ecclesiam" and "in ecclesia", the one explanation supplementing the other. There are no exceptions to the rule, "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus", for Franzelin. A man must of absolute necessity be united with the Church in some way in order to attain salvation. By "Church", he means throughout the visible Church, making no distinction between body and soul. To belong to the Church by the "votum" is to belong to the Church in fact, and amounted to membership of the Church, and in this way he might be accused of a certain lack of precision in that "membership of the Church" for him equals what others may call "being in a state of grace". This aside, however, we have found in Franzelin the traditional outline of the dogma of the Church's necessity for salvation.

We now have an overall picture of the way in which the Catholic Church regarded herself in relation to salvation, as expressed in monograph, dictionary and manual and can move on to some general conclusions.

229. Franzelin, *ibid.* p.431, King, *ibid.* p.62.

CONCLUSIONS.

1. The literature which constituted the dogma of the Catholic Church on the eve of Vatican II maintained that the Church was absolutely necessary for salvation to the exclusion of all other bodies. No man could hope for salvation by reason of his membership of any community but the Roman Catholic Church.
2. The word "Church" signified the Roman Catholic Church and it was of this institution that visible membership was required. To interpret "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus", or any of the related phrases, in any other way was inaccurate and not Catholic dogma.
3. The necessity of belonging to the Church was constantly regarded as necessary both with the necessity of precept and the necessity of means.
4. A usual interpretation of "membership" of the Church allowed
  - a) formal unity with the Church, through baptism and the other sacraments,
  - b) a membership in desire, the "votum ecclesiae", which would technically place a man within the Church for purposes of salvation.
 In this way a non-Catholic in invincible ignorance is given the possibility of salvation. The "votum" may be either explicit or implicit in the general desire to do God's will and live a moral life.
5. Attempts at separating a visible "body" of the Church and an invisible "soul" have proved unsatisfactory and have no traditional support.
6. It is not sufficient to regard the Church merely as the "ordinary" means of salvation.
7. Invincible ignorance of the Church was not regarded as a means of avoiding the consequences of "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus".
8. Membership of the Church has been regarded as a clearly definable status, such as described by Pope Pius XII in the encyclical "Mystici Corporis".

9. The expression "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus" has been the basic pillar of the dogma of the period - this has been the terminus a quo - but, especially in the period immediately preceding Vatican II, there has been an increasing feeling of concern for non-Catholics and an attempt to replace arrogance and triumphalism by understanding and humility and a more positive approach. This is officially reflected in the letter to the Archbishop of Boston at the time of the excommunication of Fr. Feeney S.J.

## CHAPTER TWO

Part One: The Catholic Church and the Non-Christian  
in the documents of Vatican II.

Part Two: The Catholic Church and Non-Catholic Christians  
in the documents of Vatican II.

PART ONE: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN IN THE DOCUMENTS OF VATICAN II.

1. Mission.

Mission to non-Christians is one of the basic themes of the Council texts. Without full and persistent missionary activity, the Church is meaningless. The Church holds a unique place in the history of the salvation of mankind. Lumen Gentium 1 states: "By her relationship with Christ, the Church is a kind of sacrament or sign of intimate union with God and of the unity of all mankind. She is also an instrument for the achievement of such union and unity". The Church's mission is universal; she is bound to show Christ to the world and "bring all men to full union with Christ"<sup>1</sup>. Involvement with a genuine loving concern for mankind is the task of the People of God. L.G. 9 expresses this as follows: "God has gathered together as one all those who in faith look upon Jesus as the author of salvation and source of unity and peace, and has established them as the Church, that for each and all she may be the visible sacrament of this saving unity". The same idea is expressed in G.S. 42: "Christ, to be sure gave his Church no proper mission in the political, economic, or social order. The purpose which he set before her is a religious one. But out of this religious mission itself comes a function, a light, and an energy which can serve to structure and consolidate the human community according to the divine law"<sup>2</sup>.

1. L.G. 1.
2. Kevin McNamara makes the suggestion that Teilhard de Chardin's idea of "the awakening of the sense of humanity" may have been one of the chief influences on the Council's thought in this direction. McNamara in support of this statement (in "Vatican II: The Constitution on the Church. A Theological and Pastoral Commentary". London 1968, p.77) quotes de Chardin's "Vision of the Past" (London 1966, p.172) as follows, "In us and around us, almost beneath our eyes, a psychological phenomenon of great magnitude is developing (born hardly a century ago!) which might be called: the awakening of the sense of humanity. In a positive sense, men began to feel themselves bound together, all united in a great task, and captivated, in an almost religious sense, by its progress. To know more, to be able to do more. Although many still take these words in a utilitarian sense, they are already touched with a sacred value".

Mission to all the world is the essential sine qua non of the Church. A threefold basis for a theology of mission is outlined in Lumen Gentium 17. Firstly, mission has the divine precedent of the Incarnation and the human precedent of the commission of the first Disciples. L.G. 17 says, "Just as the Son was sent by the Father, so He too sent the apostles (cf. Jn. 20:21), saying : "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you..." Through all this the Holy Spirit works constantly: "For the Church is compelled by the Holy Spirit to do her part towards the full realization of the will of God..." Secondly, L.G. 17 stresses that mission must not intend to destroy, but rather to fulfil, the good that other faiths and cultures already possess. The text puts it like this: "Through her work, whatever good is in the minds and hearts of men, whatever good lies latent in the religious practices and cultures of diverse peoples, is not only saved from destruction but is also healed, ennobled, and perfected unto the glory of God, the confusion of the devil, and the happiness of man". Finally, the article stresses that every disciple of Christ, not just the ordained ministers, are to engage in missionary activity. "The obligation of spreading the faith is imposed on every disciple of Christ, according to his ability".

This outline of the nature and purpose of mission is the basis of the later Decree "Ad Gentes". A.G. 5 repeats in more detail the commission of Christ to his disciples which meant that "the duty has weighed upon the Church to spread the faith and the saving work of Christ". Again, as in L.G. 17, this article emphasizes that the Incarnation is the source of all mission. A.G. 5 has: "The mission of the Church, therefore, is fulfilled by that activity which makes her fully present to all men and nations". In this way, the Church has the constant task to succeed the Apostles in preaching the Gospel to the unconverted. A.G. 5 states it as follows: "This duty exists not only in virtue of the express command which was

inherited from the Apostles by the order of bishops, assisted by priests and united with the successor of Peter and supreme shepherd of the Church. It exists also in virtue of that life which flows from Christ into His members: "For from him the whole body (being closely joined and knit together through every joint of the system according to the functioning in due measure of each single part) derives its increase to the building up of itself in love" (Eph. 4:16)". Lumen Gentium 9 also says, "this people...is used by Him as an instrument for the redemption of all, and is sent forth into the whole world as the light of the world and the salt of the earth". We can summarize by saying that the Fathers are affirming the Church's duty (springing from its very essence) to preach the word of God to all humanity. Lumen Gentium 10 restates the principle that mission must not be left to the few but is the work of every Christian: "...Everywhere on earth they (all the disciples of Christ) must bear witness to Christ and give answer to those who seek an account of that hope of eternal life which is in them (cf. I Peter 3:15)". These words more probably refer to the foreign Mission field<sup>3</sup> for there is no doubt that for the vast majority, the layman's task will be indirect with regard to mission, but not consequently of secondary importance.

At this stage it is useful to consider what themes have been raised so far in our study of the documents. We have noted a keen sense of the Church's responsibility for and her affinity with mankind which leads her to develop to the full her sense of mission. The Church's

3. All members of the Body of Christ engaged in foreign missions have equal duties because of the baptism and confirmation which they hold in common, while the priest "crystallizes" mission by his ordination and the special grace that God has given him. M-J le Guillou expresses it like this: "Seul le prêtre en effet, est, sans conteste, sous la dépendance du collège épiscopal, l'agent cristallisateur de la mission...il est le germe, ou plus exactement la cellule-mère de l'Eglise à fonder parce-que, grâce aux pouvoirs de Christ qui lui sont communiqués, il est capable de faire lever et se noyer dans l'Eucharistie en dépendance de l'évêque, une communauté chrétienne". E.V. II. pp.687, 688.

life is completely centred on mission - Christ has commissioned her to bring all men to explicit faith. At the same time, always remembering the power of the Holy Spirit, and having respect for the varied cultures of the world, the Church will never reject, out of hand, the thoughts and customs of non-Christian peoples. Rather she will draw upon them and fulfil them so that they may bear the good news of Christ<sup>4</sup>. While the material relating to mission in L.G. occupied a central place<sup>5</sup>, it hardly did justice to the importance of mission within the context of the theology of the Church. A.G. goes some way towards redressing the balance. It is to this that we now turn.

2. The Special Contribution of "Ad Gentes" to our Understanding of the Church's Mission to the Unbeliever.

The decree "Ad Gentes", in articles two to nine, briefly presents the theological theory of the Fathers of Vatican II on the position of unbelievers and the Church. Articles 2-4 remind us that mission is Trinitarian in foundation. God the Father sends salvation to mankind through the Holy Spirit in the Church. Articles 5 and 6 distinguish the Church's specifically missionary activity from the general mission:

4. It is interesting to find Jean Daniélou making the same general statement, if not in such positive terms: "...We must remember that every error has a portion of truth, without which it would have no efficacy whatever. Indeed, there is a portion of truth in every religion. We Christians are the first to recognize this, inasmuch as we know that pagan humanity is not abandoned by God. We know that while paganism does not enjoy the immense benefits of Revelation in its search for truth, there none the less subsists in it a certain natural knowledge of God. Though this knowledge is profoundly falsified, deformed and distorted, it subsists even within the coarse idol worship by the Senegalese native".

"The Salvation of the Nations", 1949, London. Translated by Angeline Bouchard, p.6.

5. Cf. this statement by Le Guillou, E.V. 2, p.681, 682: "Situé à la fin du chapitre "De Populo Dei", que l'on pourrait en vérité considérer comme un "De catholicitate Populi Dei", c'est-à-dire comme un traité de la catholicité dynamique de l'Eglise... le No. 17 intègre les missions au coeur même de la vision ecclésiale".

the concept, purpose and methods of various forms of mission are outlined and contrasted with the pastoral and ecumenical service of the Church. In the following articles (7,8) the necessity of faith is indicated as a prime motive for missionary activity, along with the logical steps of baptism and fellowship in the People of God. Finally, in article 9, the duration of the missionary activity is stated as the length of time between the Lord's ascension and the Parousia, in which the Church works to gather together and convert the non-Christian nations.

Article three is of special importance. It states both sides of the missionary situation: mission is necessary, it is the Lord's command. This is one side, which the Council states like this: "The sainted Fathers of the Church firmly proclaim that what was not taken up by Christ was not healed"<sup>6</sup>. Yet on the other side it allows that God's grace does not just arrive with the missionary: "The universal design of God for the salvation of the human race is not...achieved merely through those multiple endeavours, including religious ones by which men search for God...these attempts...through the kindly workings of Divine Providence ...may sometimes serve as a guidance course towards the true God, or as a preparation for the Gospel".

Article four supports these ideas in its teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit. "The Holy Spirit was already at work in the world before Christ was glorified", not only accompanying but preceding missionary work<sup>7</sup>. Yet the Day of Pentecost was a decisive point on which the Spirit

6. Dv. p.587, n.9 provides the documentation for the Council's proclamation, referring to the writings of St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Marius Victorinus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Gregory Nazianzan, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Cyril of Alexandria.
7. This is well attested in Tradition: The Creed of Constantinople, ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΜΕΝ... εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον...τὸ λαλῆσαν δια τῶν προφητῶν D-S 150; St. Leo the Great. Serm. 76 (P.L.54,405,406) "When on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit filled the disciples of the Lord, it was not so much the beginning of a gift as it was the completion of one already bountifully possessed: because the patriarchs, the prophets, the priests, and all the Holy men who preceded them were already quickened by the life of the same spirit...although they did not possess his gifts to the same degree. (Transl.Dv. pp.587,588,n10) Also Leo XIII, encyclical "Divinum illud"(AAS 1897,650,651); St. John Chrysostom, although he insists on the newness of the Holy Spirit's mission on Pentecost: "On Ephesians" C. Homily 10, 1 (P.L. 62, 75).

"came down upon the disciples to remain with them forever (cf. Jn. 14:16)". The union of all men was to be achieved by the Church "which speaks all tongues, which lovingly understands and accepts all tongues, and thus overcomes the divideness of Babel" <sup>8</sup>. The Holy Spirit "vivifies ecclesiastical institutions as a kind of soul and instills into the hearts of the faithful the same mission spirit which motivated Christ himself. Sometimes He visibly anticipates the Apostle's action just as He unceasingly accompanies and directs it in different ways <sup>9</sup>.

Article 5 again recounts the origin of mission in Christ's commissioning of the Apostles: "Go into the whole world; preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptized shall be saved, but he who does not believe shall be condemned" (Mk. 16:15f). The

8. Dv.p. 588, n.11 notes: "The Holy Fathers often speak of Babel and Pentecost; Origen, "One Genesis", c.1. (P.G. 12,112); St. Gregory Naz., Oration 41, 16 (P.G. 36,449); St. John Chrysostom Homily 2 on Pentecost, 2 (P.G. 50,467): "On the Acts of the Apostles" (P.G. 44); St. Augustine, "Exposition on Psalm 54", 11 (P.L. 36,636); Sermon 271 (P.L. 38,245); St. Cyril of Alexandria, Glaphyra on Genesis II (P.G. 69,79); St. Gregory the Great, "Homily on the Gospels", Bk.2, Homily 30, 4 (P.L. 76,1222); St. Bede, "In Haxeam", Bk.3 (P.L. 91,125). See also the image in S. Mark's Basilica in Venice".
9. Dv. p.589, nn.16 & 17 offer New Testament documentation (all from the "Acts") for the Holy Spirit's work:-
- a) in preceding the Apostles:
    - Acts 10: The Conversion of Cornelius; 11: Peter's Report in Jerusalem; 15 The dispute about Circumcising Gentiles.
  - b) in working with the Apostles:
    - Acts 4:8 "The Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit..."; 5:32 "And we are witnesses to these things, and so is the Holy Spirit..."; 8:26 Philip is inspired to meet the Ethiopian Eunuch; 8:29: "And the Spirit said to Philip, 'Go up and join this chariot'"; 8:39: "And when they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught up Philip..."; 9:31: "...and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit it (the Church) was multiplied"; 10: The conversion of Cornelius; 11:24 "...for he (Barnabas) was a good man and full of the Holy Spirit"; 13:2: "While they were worshipping the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, 'Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them'"; 13:4 "So, being sent out by the Holy Spirit..."; 13:9: "But Saul...filled with the Holy Spirit..."; 16:6 "And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia". 20:22: "And now, behold, I am going to Jerusalem, bound in the Spirit, not knowing what shall befall me there..."; 21:11; "Thus says the Holy Spirit..."

Bishops, as the successors of the Apostles, and all the members of the Church have inherited this mission. "Prompted by the Holy Spirit, the Church must walk the same road which Christ walked".

The hierarchically structured Church, under the Pope, Peter's successor has the "Duty" of mission, says article 6. The duty remains constant but the method will vary according to the situation. "These circumstances depend sometimes on the Church, sometimes on the peoples or groups of individuals to whom the mission is directed. For although the Church includes within herself the totality or fulness of the means of salvation, she does not and cannot always and instantly bring all of them into action". Progress will often be slow and major setbacks are almost inevitable. "As for the men, groups, and peoples concerned, only by degrees does she touch them and pervade them, and thus take them up into full catholicity". The article defines "Missions" as "preaching the gospel and planting the Church among peoples or groups who do not yet believe in Christ". The Church aims to expand so that through baptism men may be "joined to the Church which, as the body of the Word Incarnate, is nourished and lives by the Word of God and by the Eucharistic Bread (cf. Acts 2:43)". In some circumstances direct mission may be impossible, continues the article, but then Christians are called to "witness" and "by charity and works of mercy, with all patience, prudence and great confidence (to) prepare the way for the Lord and make him present in some manner". Mission "wells up from the Church's innermost nature". Mission and pastoral work are clearly distinguished. Missionary activity is among "the nations", it is preaching to unbelievers in a foreign, unchristian land; on the other hand, Pastoral work is exercised "among the faithful" in countries where nominal Christianity is professed. Again, Mission work is not the same as Ecumenism. A non-Catholic is not a pagan, but a Christian. Yet Ecumenism and mission are intimately linked "because the division among Christians damages the most holy cause of preaching the gospel to every creature and blocks the way to the faith for many".

God's universal will for salvation is given, in article 7, as the reason for missionary activity. "For there is one God, one Mediator between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all" (I Tim. 2:4-5). "Neither is there salvation in any other" (Acts 4:12). This is to say plainly that God wishes all men to be saved and although individuals, who are not baptized Christians can and do achieve salvation, only the full life of the People of God and incorporation into the Body of Christ can bring full union with God. For this reason "all must be converted to Him as He is made known by the Church's preaching. All must be incorporated into him by baptism, and into the Church which is his body". The Council affirms ardently the necessity of faith for salvation. "Therefore, though God in ways known to himself can lead those inculpably ignorant of the gospel to that faith without which it is impossible to please him (Heb. 11:6), yet a necessity lies upon the Church (cf. I Cor. 9:16), and at the same time a sacred duty, to preach the gospel. Hence missionary activity today, as always, retains its power and necessity". So the Mystical Body of Christ will grow and God will be glorified in the ultimate salvation of his creation. God's plan will so be vindicated "at last when all who share one human nature, regenerated in Christ through the Holy Spirit and beholding together the glory of God, will be able to say "Our Father".

Missionary work is linked in article 8, with human nature and its aspirations. "By manifesting Christ, the Church reveals to men the real truth about their condition and their total vocation". Christianity is not on the perimeter of human life, but speaks to the highest human hopes, transcending "every particularity of race or nation". "...all stand in need of Christ, their Model, their Mentor, their Liberator, their

their Savior, their Source of life" <sup>10</sup>.

Article 9 locates Missionary work in the time between the first coming of the Lord and the Parousia. The Church and the Kingdom of God are shown to be separate entities: "Then from the four winds the Church will be gathered like a harvest into the Kingdom of God". The Gospel must be preached to all men before the Second Coming. Mission is vital as bringing to mankind the presence of Christ, "But whatever truth and grace are to be found among the nations, as a sort of secret presence of God, this activity frees from all taint of evil and restores to Christ its maker, who overthrows the devil's domain and wards off the manifold malice of vice". Here we are very definitely finding overtones of L.G. 17 as the present article continues: "And, so, whatever good is found to be sown in the hearts and minds of men, or in the rites and cultures peculiar to various peoples, is not lost. More than that it is healed, ennobled, and the bliss of men". Vatican II is here giving positive value to non-Christian faiths.

### 3. A Call for Humility in the Church with Regard to Non-Christians.

Ad Gentes article 11 makes the demand that all Christians should bear witness to their faith. An insular or exclusive attitude towards the non-believer is not life in the Holy Spirit. "For wherever they live, all Christians are bound to show forth, by the examples of their lives and by the witness of their speech, that new man which they put on at baptism, and that power of the Holy Spirit by whom they were strengthened at

10. In 1958, at the close of the pre-conciliar era, Jean Daniélou personally expressed this aspect of the Council's teaching on Mission. In his book "The Lord of History" (London 1958, transl. from the French "Essai sur le Mystère de l'Histoire") p. 108, he says, "Here we have to avoid two errors. One is to regard all non-Christian religions as gross superstitions or aimless speculations. We must on the contrary, fairly allow the genuine spiritual worth that is in them. Pius XII in the encyclical "Divini praecones", said that 'the Church has never despised pagan teaching, but father freed it from its errors' ".

Confirmation. Thus other men, observing their good works, can glorify the Father (cf. Mt. 5:16) and can better perceive the real meaning of human life and the bond which ties the whole community of mankind together". Christianity is not for the encouragement of a spiritual hierarchy; it is concerned with human life and the work of the community of mankind. To this end, Christians must take a full part in the activities of the world yet at the same time "they should exert themselves lest modern man, overly intent on the science and technology of today's world, becomes a stranger to things divine". The human must prove perfectly acceptable but a Christian must always see these things as shot through with the divine. "Thus they can learn by sincere and patient dialogue what treasures a bountiful God has distributed among the nations of the earth. But at the same time, let them try to illumine these treasures with the light of the gospel, to set them free, and to bring them under the domain of God their Savior"<sup>11</sup>.

The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, article 58 endorses the need for humility, understanding and penance in the Church. "The message of salvation" is closely linked with "human culture". The Church can express her message in the terms of any culture and so, "Faithful to her own traditions and at the same time conscious of her universal mission, she can enter into communion with various cultural modes, to her own enrichment and theirs too...Thus by the very fulfillment of her own mission the Church stimulates and advances human and civic culture. The theme of Dialogue, which by definition implies discussion between parties that have a mutual respect for each other's presuppositions,

11. The influence of Paul VI's "Ecclesiam Suam" is suggested by Brechter (C.D.V. IV p.128) and he offers the following translated extract by way of documentation: "The Church must undertake a dialogue with the world in which it actually lives, the Church itself turns to speech, message, dialogue. This point of view is one of the most important in the present life of the Church; as is well known, it is the subject of special and thorough study at the Ecumenical Council" (AAS 56, 1964, pp.639f.).

is pursued in G.S. articles 90 and 91.

International co-operation is a field in which Catholics should make their influence felt, says article 90. This dialogue or brotherhood can "contribute much to the development of a universal outlook - something certainly appropriate for Catholics". Christians, whether Catholic or not, can assist in the quest "for the world-wide promotion of justice for the poor" and in showing the love of Christ to all men. Human need and social justice are as much the concern of the Church as the salvation of souls. Article 91 encourages Christians to throw in their lot with non-Christians in the search for their common human destiny "so that they can fashion the world more to man's surpassing dignity, search for a brotherhood which is universal and more deeply rooted, and meet the urgencies of our age with a gallant and unified effort born of love".

In explicit and positive terms G.S. 93 sums up the significance of Dialogue. "By virtue of her mission to shed on the whole world the radiance of the gospel message, and to unify under one Spirit all men of whatever nation, race or culture, the Church stands forth as a sign of that brotherliness which allows honest dialogue and invigorates it". A prerequisite for dialogue with the world is an understanding within the Church of her diversity within unity". The unity of Christians "will be a harbinger of unity and peace for the world at large".

These overtures for brotherhood-dialogue have, of course, to be held together with the urgent call to mission to retain the full picture of what the Fathers are saying. For instance we need to plunge into Ad Gentes article 13, where it says "Whenever God opens a door of speech for proclaiming the mystery of Christ (cf. Col. 4:3) there should be announced (cf. I Cor. 9:15; Rom. 10:14) to all men (cf. Mk. 16:15) with confidence and constancy (cf. Acts 4:13,29,31; 9:27,28; 13:46; 14:3; 19:8; 26:26; 28:31; I Thess. 2:2; 2 Cor. 3:12; 7:4; Phil. 1:20; Eph. 3:12; 6:19,20) the living God, and he who He has sent for the salvation of all,

Jesus Christ (cf. I Thess. 1:9-10; I Cor. 1:18-21; Gal. 1:31; Acts 14:15-17; 17:22-31)". The Church therefore always welcomes the convert but the Council offers no evidence here of triumphalism or of the principle that "error has no rights". This brings us to a consideration of the Council's Declaration on Religious Freedom.

Article 1 "takes careful note" of society's increasing sense of the dignity and freedom of man. It combines this with the statement that there is "one true religion" which "subsists in the catholic and Apostolic Church, to which the Lord Jesus committed the duty of spreading it abroad among all men". In the light of the freedom of man, coercion with respect to religion has no place. The human rights are "invincible". In the following article (2) we read that "the human person has a right to religious freedom". No one is "to be restrained from acting in accordance with his own beliefs...within due limits". This does not deny that there is truth which some believe and some avoid, but all have the human right to "religious freedom". Conscience is stressed in article 3 as the guide of man. "...the exercise of religion consists before all else in those internal, voluntary, and free acts whereby a man sets the course of his life directly towards God"<sup>12</sup>. Article 5 pleads for the freedom of expression of religious groups without specifically mentioning any by name. Governments are shown to have an

12. Dv. p.681, n.8 suggests the influence of Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris". Here it is affirmed that man has a right to worship God according to his own conscience "and to profess his religion both in private and in public". (Catholic Truth Society Translation, London 1963,14).

important role to play in bringing about this freedom of worship <sup>13</sup>.

Article ten says, "It is one of the major tenets of Catholic doctrine that man's response to God in faith must be free. Therefore no one is forced to embrace the Christian faith against his own will". This is God's will and has always been the teaching of the Church that "The act of faith is of its very nature a free act". In article 11, Christ in his Incarnate life is shown to be the example of this freedom, in that "he refused to impose the truth by force". This was followed up by the Apostles and should be the model of the Church today. Article 14 presents us with a summary of the Council's attitude towards religious freedom. There is a "grace obligation" to Christian mission but not by "means incompatible with the spirit of the gospel". "All is to be taken into account - the Christian duty to Christ, the life-giving Word which must be proclaimed, the rights of the human person, and the measure of grace granted by God through Christ to men, who are invited freely to accept and profess the faith".

We may pause here again to summarize what the Documents have said so far. The Church has a Mission to the whole of mankind and in this way is responsible for every man. This responsibility will be partly fulfilled by preaching the Gospel and seeking the conversion of the non-Christian, but partly by recognizing the human solidarity and accepting all men as brothers. Knowing that God is the Lord of History, quite honestly and without any trace of coercion, can engage in dialogue with the non-Christian religions, and in service to the whole human family,

13. The Fathers are directly against the spirit responsible for the concordat between the Pope and the Republic of Ecuador of September 1862: "The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion shall continue to be the single (unica) religion of the Republic of Ecuador, and it shall always be maintained in the possession of all rights and prerogatives which it ought to enjoy according to the law of God and the dispositions of Canon Law. In consequence, no other dissident cult and no society condemned by the Church can ever be permitted in Ecuador".

can work for the fulfillment of humanity <sup>14</sup>.

Before we move on to a consideration of the Council's statements about specific groups of non-Christians, there are two points of general significance in the Declaration on Christian Education. In G.E. 11 theological faculties are given the responsibility "to explore more profoundly the various areas of the sacred disciplines so that day by day a deeper understanding of sacred revelation will be developed, the treasure of Christian wisdom handed down by our ancestors will be more plainly brought to view, dialogue will be fostered with our separated brothers and with non-Christians, and solutions will be found for problems raised by the development of doctrine". The following article (12) urges co-operation "between various Catholic schools...and others". A note in Abbott's text <sup>15</sup> comments that "There is an oblique but important reference here to the growing tendency to develop collaboration between Catholic universities and secular universities or between Catholic schools on the campuses of secular universities. In some countries this has proven to be of utmost importance and some valuable formulae have been evolved".

14. On this topic of the common ground between the Church and the unbeliever, *Gaudium et Spes* art. 40 must have mention. The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World purposely does not speak explicitly of the Church's role in society until Chapter 4. The Council did not therefore uphold the idea that the Church could exist for herself, in vacuo, but showed that the Church was called to live in the world. The three chapters preceding made statements on the dignity of the human person, the life of men in society and the significance of human life. Chapters one to four were worked out according to the inductive method of teaching. It was not assumed that Christianity was the norm of belief, excluding only the wayward or the imbecile, but that all men were free to hold their own faiths. This is the meaning of Dialogue. By not presupposing faith, the Council started from that which was well known in order to advance to that which is less well known.

15. Dv. p.650, n.51.

#### 4. The Council and Specific Non-Christian Beliefs.

The Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions encourages the serious study of other beliefs by Catholics. "In her task of fostering unity and love among men, and even among nations, she (the Church) gives primary consideration in this document to what human beings have in common and to what promotes fellowship among them". That the Church should produce a document containing such positive evaluations of various non-Christian faiths, was stressed by Cardinal Bea as he presented it in the aula in 1964. In his speech he referred to the Holy Office letter to Archbishop Cushing<sup>16</sup> to remind the Fathers that those who are without explicit faith, but follow the dictates of conscience, can be united in the Mystical Body of Christ.

The document is limited in its scope and mentions, by name, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Judaism, in this order. To restrict the Declaration to the four traditional great non-Christian faiths was probably the only way to make a decision on what to include and what to exclude from consideration. Abbott<sup>17</sup> notes, "Bishops from Africa, and scholars of religions like Franziskus Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, asked that mention be made of a number of religions in Africa, etc. It was decided however to keep to the traditional idea of the

16. D-S 3872. The Archbishop of Boston suspended Fr. Leonard Feeney from all priestly functions for taking in an exclusive rigidity the maxim "Extra Ecclesiam nulla Salus". Cardinal Bea is not saying that the Council no longer upholds this maxim. L.G. article 48 is clear evidence for the Council's mind on this. Here it is clearly expressed that Christ is God's ultimate and eschatological word to man: "The Church, to which we are called in Christ Jesus, and in which we acquire sanctity through the grace of God, will attain her full perfection only in the glory of heaven. Then will come the time of the restoration of all things (Acts 3:21). Then the human race as well as the entire world, which is intimately related to man and achieves its purpose through him, will be perfectly re-established in Christ (cf. Eph. 1:10; Col.1:20; 2 Peter 3:10-13)."

17 Dv. p.662, n.9.

great religions of the world (Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam), giving these explicit mention and referring to all the others in this general summary". The longest treatment of an individual non-Christian faith is that of Judaism. This is natural, as the Council had a particular wish to foster dialogue between Christians and Jews, as we shall see in considering exactly what the Fathers said. The importance of the statement on the Jews is shown in its relative length and its position as fourth in the document. The Moslems are held in second highest honour because they hold many beliefs bordering on the Christian<sup>18</sup>. Buddhism stands second in the list, third in rank of significance in that, akin to Christianity, it puts incomplete faith in the present time. Fourthly, Hinduism shares in elements of the universal revelation in a positive, if less precise, way than the others. We come now to a specific treatment of each of them, which for convenience we will take as they appear in the document.

A. Hinduism.

"...in Hinduism men contemplate the divine mystery and express it through an unspent fruitfulness of myths and through searching philosophical enquiry. They seek release from the anguish of our condition through ascetical practices or deep meditation or a loving,

18. John M. Oesterreicher presents us with an example when (CDV III, p.92) he quotes the opening prayer of the Koran:

"In the name of Allah, the All-Merciful!  
Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds,  
The gracious All-compassionate,  
The Lord of the Day of Judgement.  
We wish to serve You alone, we ask You alone for assistance,  
Lead us in the right way,  
The way of those to whom you are gracious,  
With whom you are not angry and who do not go astray".

N.B. "Though the last line seems to be directed against Jews and Christians, the whole song of praise is a fruit of biblical spirituality".

trusting flight towards God" <sup>19</sup>. The Fathers, in the small space available, make no attempt to describe the full nature of Hinduism with its complexities of belief, but rather, select certain key elements <sup>20</sup>. This brief statement, however, does adequately express a positive and genuinely high opinion of the life and spirituality of these people <sup>21</sup>.

B. Buddhism.

Realizing that Buddhism is a collection of varied beliefs, the Council sets out essential common characteristics. All forms of Buddhist faith acknowledge "the radical insufficiency of this shifting world" <sup>22</sup>. The second of the two sentences which are devoted to Buddhism takes account of the main features of the two most significant branches of the faith - Theravāda and Mahāyāna - "...a path by which men, in a devout and confident spirit, can either reach a state of absolute freedom or attain supreme enlightenment by their own efforts or by higher assistance".<sup>23</sup>.

19. N.A. 2.

20. Abbott (Dv. p.662, n.7) notes the similarities between Christian and Hindu beliefs, such as the concept of God's appearance on earth; the concept of grace; sacraments; and similarities between the Christian Trinity and Hindu Ultimate Reality". It is interesting to see that Daniélou's researches in the 1950's led him to mention that "Abbot Monchanin has proposed the use of the term "Saccidananda" which denotes the Hindu triad, for the Mystery of Holy Trinity". (Daniélou, "The Lord of History" p.117, referring to Monchanin's "An Indian Benedictine Ashram").

21. The seal is being placed on the previous statements of individuals like Sir Monier Williams, who said: "The Hindu race affords perhaps the only example of a nation, who, although apparently quite indifferent to the registering of any of the great facts of their political history - as for example, the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great - nevertheless, at a very early period, regulates their domestic rites and customs according to definite prescribed rules, which were not only written down, but preserved with religious care and many are still in force". Cyril B. Papali: "Excursus on Hinduism", CDV III. p.144 quoting Monier Williams: "Indian Wisdom", p.197.

22. N.A. 2.

23. It was only at the recommendation of Japanese Bishops, at the fourth session, that this distinction was taken into account. The Fathers adopted the improvement without discussion.

After a generalizing summary statement to the effect that "other religions to be found everywhere strive variously to answer the restless searchings of the human heart" and that "The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions", we come to a discussion of the Moslems.

C. Islam.

"Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem". This is far removed from the spirit of the Crusades against the "Infidels". Indeed, until the beginning of this century, the Church condemned Islam as a new faith seeking to supplant Christianity, denying her most cherished dogmas of the Trinity, Incarnation and Salvation. Mohammed was regarded in the West as a false prophet, the Koran a collection of errors and any truths recognised in it were said to be stolen from the Bible.<sup>24</sup> The Council however, was influenced by the later researches which stemmed chiefly from the inspiration of Professor Louis Massignon, who granted a more favourable judgement and ascribed a positive value to

24. Various estimates were collected and summarized by Zwemer in his "Islam, A Challenge to faith" (New York 1907). Gabriel Oussani (C.E.10, p.424) says, relying on Zwemer, "According to Sir William Muir, Marcus Dods and some others, Mohammed was at first sincere, but later, carried away by success, he practised deception wherever it would gain his end. Koelle "finds they key to the first period of Mohammed's life in Khadija, his first wife, "after whose death he became a prey to his evil passions!" Sprenger attributes the alleged revelation to epileptic fits, or to a "paroxysm of cataleptic insanity". Zwemer himself, goes on to criticize the life of Mohammed by the standards first of the Old and New Testaments, both of which Mohammed acknowledged as Divine Revelation; second by the pagan morality of his Arabian compatriots; lastly by the new law of which he pretended to be "the divinely appointed medium and custodian". According to this author, the prophet was false even to ethical traditions of the idolatrous brigands among whom he lived, and grossly violated the sexual morality of his own system. After this it is hardly necessary to say that in Zwemer's opinion, Mohammed fell very far short of the most elementary requirements of Scriptural morality".

the Islamic faith <sup>25</sup>.

The Fathers admit that Moslems "adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and allpowerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men". Moslems attempt to obey the "inscrutable decrees" of God and "the Islamic faith is pleased to associate itself" with Abraham. N.A. 3 continues by admitting that Islam does not regard Jesus as God, but rather as a prophet. However, "They also honor Mary, His virgin mother; at times they call upon her, too, with devotion". Georges Anawati <sup>26</sup> suggests that the text could have been improved by mention of the fact that in the Koran, Jesus is referred to as "the Word of God" and "Spirit of God". The article continues to show how Islam has an eschatalogical hope in that Moslems "await the day of judgement, when God will give each man his due after raising him up". A final word refers to ethics: "they prize the moral life, and give worship to God, especially through prayer, almsgiving and fasting"<sup>27</sup>.

25. Louis Massignon (1883-1962) devoted his life to the study of Islam in its several aspects - linguistic, historical, and cultural. The N.C.E. Vol 9 describes his thesis "Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane", re-edited 1954, as of fundamental importance and of great influence in the orientalist field.
26. Georges C. Anawati: "Excursus on Islam", CDV III, p.152.
27. However, it must be admitted that Islamic standards of morality, especially in respect of Marriage and Divorce, fall below those accepted by Western Christianity. The first draft was more favourable to the Moslem way of life than the majority of Bishops would countenance. Those Fathers with first hand experience of Islam asked that the text might be revised in the direction of the less favourable remarks in the promulgated declaration. The old said: "moreover they (the Moslems) honour God above all through prayer, almsgiving and fasting. They strive also, in obedience to God, to lead a moral life both as individuals and in the family and society". Anawati (CDV III, p.153) comments "This draft evoked numerous objections from bishops who live in contact with the Moslem population of Africa. Polygamy and the repudiation of wives must not be allowed to appear in any way acceptable to a community that was concerned about the morality of family life. In order to avoid possible objections, it was preferred in the new draft to leave out the reference to family morality".

Finally, the Declaration, in article 3, provides the basis for Islamic-Christian dialogue. "This most sacred Synod urges all to forget the past and to strive sincerely for mutual understanding". The Council urges them to find common cause in "safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace, and freedom".

D. Judaism.

"As this sacred Synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it recalls the spiritual bond linking the people of the New Covenant with Abraham's stock". These opening words of N.A. 4 strike up a link with the Constitution on the Church. L.G. 16 with reference to the people of God speaks of "those who have not yet received the Gospel". In different ways these people are "related to the People of God". L.G. continues, "In the first place there is the people to whom the covenants and the promises were given and from whom Christ was born according to the flesh (cf. Rom. 9:4-5). On account of their fathers, this people remains most dear to God, for God does not repent of the gifts he makes nor of the calls he issues (cf. Rom. 11:28-29)". The beginning of the Chapter in L.G. devoted to the People of God, article 9, states "At all times and among every people, God has given welcome to whosoever<sup>28</sup> fears him and does what is right (cf. Acts 10:35). It has pleased God however, to make men holy and save them not merely as individuals without any mutual bonds, but by making them into a single people, a people which acknowledges him in truth and serves him in holiness. He, therefore, chose the race of Israel as a people unto himself. With it he set up a covenant. Step by step He taught this people by manifesting in its history both himself and the decree of his will, and by making it holy unto himself. All these things however, were done by way of preparation and as a figure of that new and perfect covenant which was to be ratified in Christ, and of that more luminous revelation which was to be given

28. "whosoever" - sic Abbott, Dv. p.24.

through God's very Word made flesh".

The second noteworthy point in N.A. 4 is the stress on the common patrimony of the Christian and Jewish faiths. "She (the Church) professes that all who believe in Christ, Abraham's sons according to faith (cf. Gal. 3:7) are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that the salvation of the Church was mystically foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage"<sup>29</sup>. The Church is direct heir of the blessings given to Israel, "she draws sustenance from the root of that good olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild olive branches of the Gentiles (cf. Rom.11:17-24)"<sup>30</sup>. The text

29. The brotherhood of Jew and Christian rests partly on that general solidarity between all men but Pope John XXIII gave the lead in showing the particular relationship in salvation history. In his encyclical "Ad Petri Cathedram" of 1959, he said "To all our sons and brothers...who are separated from the See of Peter, we address these words: "I am Joseph, your brother." (It has been widely accepted as significant for Jewish-Christian relations that the Pope should have chosen these Old Testament words on several occasions).
30. The Biblical Institute in Rome also influenced the Council's early preparations for a statement on Judaism. The Institute proposed that the Fathers should bear in mind that Christians are without doubt the true successors of the spiritual Israel, the authentic heirs of Abraham "our patriarch" and of the blessing of Jacob, "the Israel of God", as the Apostle says (Gal.6:16). The Institutes Petition of 1960 was signed by the then rector, Ernst Vogt, S.J. on behalf of eighteen other Jesuit teachers from different countries. This particular aspect appeared in the final paragraph entitled "De antisemitismo vitando" (Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando, series I, Vol.IV. pars. I, 1., pp.132-134). A similar request came from the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, U.S.A. and was submitted in 1960 by John Oesterreicher to Cardinal Bea, President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Some of the suggestions contained in the memorandum of the Apeldoorn working group were on similar lines. This group represented Holland, Israel, France and America; its main points on this topic were as follows:-
- i) In the eyes of the Church the Old Testament advanced the same claim to be God's revealed word as the New.
  - ii) As the Word made flesh, Jesus transcends the Old Testament but as true man he belongs to his people and his country, and is steeped in their traditions.
  - iii) It was the same divine grace that was progressively revealed throughout both Testaments and the same command of love that was present in them.
- (list from Oesterreicher CDV. III, p.13).
- These were some of the pro-Jewish pressures which must have influenced Gregory Baum's 1961 survey with a view to formulating a first draft of the text.

reminds us that Christ was a Jew, "the son of the Virgin Mary"; also the Apostles the Church's "foundation stones and pillars" were of the Jewish people.

This same theology of the Church having her roots in the Old Covenant is borne out in articles 14-16 of the Constitution on Divine Revelation. Dei Verbum 14 describes how "Israel came to know by experience the ways of God with men," and tells of the permanent value to religious experience of the books of the Old Testament, "For whatever things have been written have been written for our instruction, that through the patience and the consolation afforded by the Scriptures we may have hope (Rom. 15:4)". Article 15 shows how the teaching of the Old Testament is normative for the way that God deals with man ("true divine pedagogy"). The Old Testament books can teach all men something of prayer: "(they) contain a store of sublime teachings about God, sound wisdom about human life, and a wonderful treasury of prayers". The Christian too may learn much about the nature of salvation from the Old Testament Books and therefore he "should receive them with reverence". It is very noteworthy that all apologetic or polemical elements are absent.

Returning to N.A. 4, we come to an aspect of the Council's teaching on the Jews that has held much attention: namely, the accusation that "the Jews" put Jesus to death. "Scripture testifies" says the text, referring to Luke 19:44, "that Jerusalem did not recognize the time of her visitation, nor did the Jews in large number accept the gospel; indeed not a few opposed the spreading of it (cf. Rom.11:28)". God cannot be said to have withdrawn his promises on account of Jesus' rejection, indeed "the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and 'serve him

with one accord' (Wisd. 3:9; cf. Is. 66:23; Ps.65:4; Rom.11:11-32)"<sup>31</sup>. It is hoped that "brotherly dialogues" will replace the misunderstandings of the past. No one would deny that the "authorities of the Jews and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ (cf. Jn. 19:6)" but this does not mean that all Jews alive then or now are communally guilty. Cardinal Bea, in introducing the Declaration on Non-Christians and the Jews in September 1964 emphasized that the accusation of Deicide against "Israel" was untenable but that it had been at the root of anti-semitism in the past. For this reason the Jews were expecting a solemn condemnation of this attitude from the Council. While the Jews could not all be held responsible, reasoned Bea, the legally elected representatives of the nation were acting on behalf of all Jews living at the time. However, in that those rulers "did not know what they did" (Lk.23:34) they could not stand accused of Deicide. In the course of the debates and before the final draft, the expression "deicidii rea" (guilty of deicide) was dropped. It had fitted after "Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God..." The Secretariat was convinced that the idea implied in the phrase "deicidii rea" was perfectly explicit and therefore could be omitted from the text without altering the sense at all. The very word "deicidium" was regarded as hateful and the Secretariat hoped that it would be removed altogether from Christian vocabulary, as it has shown itself to lead only to difficulties both in pastoral and Ecumenical work. "Besides", to return to the text of N.A. 4, "as the Church has always held and continues to hold, Christ in His boundless love freely underwent His passion and death because of the sins of all men, so

31. "A reference to 'conversion' of the Jews was removed from an earlier version of the Declaration, because many Council Fathers felt it was not appropriate in a document striving to establish common goals and interests first". Dv. p.665, n.19.

that all might attain salvation" <sup>32</sup>.

In summary "The Church repudiates all persecutions against any man. Moreover, mindful of her common patrimony with the Jews and motivated by the gospel's spiritual love and by no political considerations, she deplores <sup>33</sup> the hatred, persecutions, and displays of anti-Semitism

32. The Council's obvious friendliness towards Israel from a theological point of view was looked upon with suspicion by the Arabs, who felt that this could only lead to Papal support for the new political State of Israel. This is not our problem here, but it was a factor of considerable importance in the history of the text.
33. "A latin phrase meaning "and condemns" was dropped at the request of the Council Fathers who complained that the phrase would put the Council on record as repudiating discrimination against the Jews more strongly than discrimination against anyone else. Others argued that "Condemns" in a Council document should be reserved for matters of formal heresy, and Pope John explicitly requested that this Council not engage in such condemnations".  
Dv. p.666, n.27.

directed against the Jews at any time<sup>34</sup> and from any source<sup>35</sup>.

THE DOCUMENTS OF VATICAN II AND THE ATHEIST.

There is no individual Decree on this subject but Atheism occupied time in the debates as an important subject about which some statement must be made. It was not altogether natural, rather fortunate, that the Council made such a statement because, to many Bishops, the problem of the non-believer did not loom terribly large. Karl Rahner has made

34. "at any time from any source": Lateran IV said of the Jews in 1215, that Christian Princes must watch lest Jews exact too high interest of Christian debtors; baptized Jews may not observe Jewish customs; Jews may not appear in public during Easter week; Jews must give tithes on their houses and other property to the Church and pay a yearly tax at Easter; no Christian Prince may give an office to a Jew under pain of excommunication; Jews must wear distinctive dress, from their twelfth year, to distinguish them from Christians. Here the Church is humbly repudiating all such laws.
35. John Oesterreicher was one of the most influential personal characters behind the scenes in influencing the Council's Declaration. It was a personal triumph for him when such a strong document was produced - to his mind, as to many others this was one of the greatest achievements of Vatican II. This is what he wrote in the Jesuit "America" (4th July 1964) before the Council promulgated *Nostra Aetate*. "The Jews did not know who it was they were killing. 'Father forgive them for they know not what they do' (Lk.23:34). Nevertheless there are people who insist on calling deicides not only the actors in the drama of salvation but the whole Jewish people. But we are all sinners and thus also spiritually guilty of the crucifixion just as we are its beneficiaries. Thus we have become brothers in guilt just as we have become brothers in mercy - why should therefore a Christian - a sinner who has been forgiven - want to burden the Jews with his bitterness, even his hatred? Why should he want to accuse at all, instead of rejoicing that his own and the world's sin "deserved such a great Redeemer"? (*Exultet*, Liturgy of Easter night). I must own I should be much more easily convinced of the purity of the motives of the persistent defenders of the accusation of deicide if they were equally anxious to give the Jewish people credit for being, as it were, the womb of Christ. The consequence seems inevitable to me: If the whole Jewish people bears the guilt of the few who tried and condemned Jesus, they must also be named in the same breath as the Mother of Jesus. But I have never heard anyone who calls the Jews Deicides say that they brought forth God and that the Jewish people could be called "Israel, the Godbearer". Could it be that the source of their accusation is not their faith and their love of Christ, but their love of self or an even more sinister power?"

the suggestion that far too often the Fathers' language took it for granted that all men immediately understand the word "God"<sup>36</sup>. The subject is most thoroughly dealt with in articles 19-21 of *Gaudium et Spes* but also at G.S. 22; L.G. 16; A.G. 7; C.D. 11 & 13; and P.O. 4. There are several points made by the Council that can be described as a positive move away from any official teaching of previous years.

A. The Moral Guilt of the Atheist.

Whereas the pre-Conciliar attitude to Atheism had been that no normal intelligent human being could be a positive Atheist over a period of time without moral guilt<sup>37</sup>, the Fathers took an opposite view, saying that it is possible for a reasonable adult to be an Atheist without incurring moral guilt. G.S. 19 is the only place in the Vatican Documents that makes reference to the guilt of atheism: "Undeniably, those who wilfully shut out God from their hearts and try to dodge religious questions are not following the dictates of their consciences. Hence they are not free of blame". Cardinal Silva Henriquez was champion

36. Karl Rahner: "The Teaching of the Second Vatican Council on Atheism", *Concilium*, Vol. 3 (March 1967) No. 3, p.5.
37. This could be documented from any of the manuals or dictionaries discussed in part one of this work, let us take for example the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907). Considering "Atheism" (C.E. vol.2, p.40) F. Aveling writes: "The most trenchant form which Atheism could take would be the positive a dogmatic denial of the existence of any spiritual and extra-mundane First Cause...it may be doubted whether such a system has ever been or could ever possibly be seriously maintained". So much for the sanity of Atheism, Hugh Pope, writing in C.E. Vol.5 (p.759) under the heading "Faith is necessary" implies the moral guilt. After quoting Mk.16:16 and Heb.11:6, he says, "The absolute necessity of faith is evident from the following considerations: God is our beginning and our end and has supreme dominion over us; we owe him, consequently, due service which we express by the term "religion". Now true religion is the worship of the true God. But it is not for man to fashion a worship according to his own ideals; none but God can declare to us in what true worship consists, and this declaration constitutes the body of revealed truths, whether natural or supernatural...we are bound to give the assent of faith". He concludes by saying that a man may embrace any facet of the Christian faith, he may even be a Protestant, but he must not be an Atheist.

of this cause. It was his firm belief that Atheism could no longer be countered by mere condemnation, but rather in the terms of anthropology. Cardinal Suenens shared his belief and pointed out that ignorance of the true nature of God and Christianity accounts for a great deal of Atheism. Men have a distorted image of God which they are right to reject - it is the Church that has failed in its teaching. However, there were Fathers, especially those who identified Atheism with Communism, who wished the Council to record censure. Patriarch Maximos, in the interests of pastoralia, spoke out against any such high-handed action. It was his concern that the Church should have something positive to offer to the great mass of unbelieving workers that populate the industrial cities of the world. By giving a fair mention of Atheism in the Document on the Church in the world, the Council has shown that it takes Atheism seriously as a genuine human problem which has to be treated as such <sup>38</sup>.

B. The Possibility of Salvation for the Atheist.

L.G. 16 states: "Those also can attain to everlasting salvation who through no fault of their own do not know the gospel of Christ or His Church, yet sincerely seek God and, moved by grace, strive by their deeds to do his will as it is known to them through the dictates of conscience". In other words a man may reach salvation by living according to his conscience. Salvation is only to be found in Christ, but by acting according to conscience a man is implicitly seeking God. Speaking of Christ as the "New Man", G.S. 22, adds that in the hearts of all "men of good will" there is grace at work "in an unseen way"... "For,

38. G.S. 19: "Thus atheism must be accounted among the most serious problems of this age, and is deserving of closer examination".

since Christ died for all men, and since the ultimate vocation of man is in fact one, and divine, we ought to believe that the Holy Spirit, in a manner known only to God, offers to every man the possibility of being associated with this paschal mystery"<sup>39</sup>. To the question, Can the Atheist be saved? the Council has answered, 'Yes', because it has not added the corollary: only if in the end he is converted. The salvation referred to is to that of the Atheist as he is. This is in direct line with the stated views of Pius IX<sup>40</sup> and the Holy Office Letter of 1949, but far outreaches them.

C. The Council Recognizes Different Types of Atheism.

A sign that Atheism is taken seriously is the recognition that the term "Atheism" covers a variety of meanings. G.S. 19 recognizes these kinds: sceptical, agnostic, positivist and that which is the result of a lack of religious experience. The analysis is contained in these two paragraphs and is devoid of condemnation. "...For while God is expressly denied by some, others believe that man can assert absolutely nothing about Him. Still others use such a method so to scrutinize the question of God as to make it seem devoid of meaning. Many, unduly transgressing the limits of the positive sciences, contend that everything can be explained by this kind of scientific reasoning alone, or, by contrast, they altogether disallow that there is any absolute truth.

Some laud man so extravagantly that their faith in God lapses into a kind of anaemia, though they seem more inclined to affirm man than to

39. This is of course complete ratification of the traditional interpretations of the maxim "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus".

40. D-S 2865 - 7.

deny God. Again some form for themselves such a fallacious idea of God that when they repudiate this figment they are by no means rejecting the God of the Gospel. Some never get to the point of raising questions about God, since they seem to experience no religious stirrings nor do they see why they should trouble themselves about religion".

Article 20 of G.S. alludes anonymously to Marxist Atheism, "that which anticipates the liberation of man especially through his economic and social emancipation". The Church cannot condone these ideas, says article 21, but rather than condemning, must strive "to detect in the atheistic mind the hidden causes for the denial of God". Atheism, as a whole tends to hold "that the recognition of God is...hostile to man's dignity" but this the Fathers repudiate in that man's dignity "is rooted and perfected in God". The following article (22) adds weight to this "...only in the mystery of the Incarnate Word does the mystery of man take on light. For Adam, the first man, was a figure of Him who was to come, namely Christ the Lord. Christ the final Adam, by the Revelation of the mystery of the Father and his love, fully reveals man to man himself and makes his supreme calling clear". This is the basis upon which dialogue must rest.

The ideal of the Council, with regard to Atheism, is expressed in G.S. 21: "While rejecting Atheism, root and branch, the Church sincerely professes that all men, believers and unbelievers alike, ought to work for the rightful betterment of this world in which we all alike live. Such an ideal cannot be realized however, apart from sincere and prudent dialogue" <sup>41</sup>.

41. Dv. p.219, n.52 "To understand the presuppositions necessary for a Dialogue of Christians with professed Atheists, it is important to recall the famous distinction laid down by John XXIII in his "Pacem in Terris" (158-159) "One must never confuse error and the person who errs, not even when there is a question of error, or inadequate knowledge of truth, in the moral or religious field...It must be borne in mind furthermore, that neither can false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin and destiny of the universe and of man be identified with historical movements that have economic, social, cultural or political ends, not even when these movements have originated from those teachings..."

## 6. Conclusion.

The themes that have constantly recurred in this survey of the Council documents on unbelief and non-Christian belief are two. Firstly, Man has solidarity as one unit of which the Church is a part and therefore works for the perfection and realization of that unity. Secondly, the Church herself has a special commission to preach the Gospel of God and to bring all men to explicit faith in Jesus. In comparison with the official pronouncements made before the Council, there is in these Documents a striking absence of juridical principles and language. The Council has accepted that there are men who in all conscience, sanity and freedom of thought, do not accept the Church's faith or wish to live by her doctrine. This may be the case because they have positive and explicit religious faith of their own or because they regard belief in God as retrogressive in principle and a hindrance to the life of man in these times. The Church has not reduced her doctrine on the necessity of faith for salvation but has recognized both that there is a compelling need for Dialogue, which she encourages with all her power, and also that such Dialogue requires freedom balanced with authority.

PART TWO: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND NON-CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS IN THE DOCUMENTS OF VATICAN II.

1. Introduction.

The decrees on Ecumenism and on the Eastern Catholic Churches will plainly be important in this study, but other documents of the Council have material of varying significance, namely: On Education, Missions, the Ministry and life of Priests, Revelation, the Laity, the Liturgy, the Church and the Pastoral Constitution.

The Catholic Churches in the East have come into a new relationship of close friendship with the West since the promulgation of the Decree "Orientalium Ecclesiarum". For many centuries the Eastern Churches were recognized as alien and separated from the Catholic Church. We must only briefly examine the text of this Decree, for this advance is not so important to us here as that between Rome and other Churches which have less obvious connections with the Catholic, Apostolic Church, as traditionally understood by the Roman Catholic Church.

2. The Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches (Orientalium Ecclesiarum).

Directed principally at Eastern communities in the Catholic Church (though not without the hope for corporate re-union with those churches not in union with Rome) the Decree begins by stating that the Roman Catholic Church has a high regard for the 'traditions' and 'way of life' of the Eastern Churches. "For, distinguished as they are by their venerable antiquity, they are bright with that tradition which was handed down from the Apostles through the Fathers, and which forms part of the divinely revealed and undivided heritage of the universal Church". The Easterns are for this reason specially dear to the Roman Catholic Church which desires "that they may flourish and execute with new Apostolic vigour the task entrusted to them". Article two begins with the discussion of Individual Churches or Rites<sup>42</sup>.

42. Paul Mailleux S.J., (Dv. p.372) in his introduction to the Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches, mentions that there are "six main Eastern Catholic Rites: the Chaldean, Syrian, Maronite, Coptic, Armenian, and Byzantine rites". It ought to be noted that this Decree is not directly intended for Eastern Churches that are not united with Rome. (cf. DV. p.371, n.1).

The "Church, Holy and Catholic" admits that within her unity she has ample room for diversity and that "this variety within the Church in no way harms her unity, but rather manifests it"<sup>43</sup>, The various rites (varying that is in liturgy, ecclesiastical discipline, and spiritual heritage) possess an equal "dignity" and are "equally entrusted to the pastoral guidance of the Roman Pontiff, the divinely appointed successor of St. Peter in supreme governance over the universal Church". They all have the same obligation to preach the gospel to the world.

Article four draws attention to the preservation of the individual character of the different Churches. Their differences should be overcome in "unity of action" at an official level. Priests and laity ought to be acquainted with the particularities of differing rites while at the same time each retaining "his proper rite", cherishing it and observing it "to the best of his ability". The Pope is always the court of final appeal.

Articles 5 and 6 are devoted to instructions on the "Preservation of the Spiritual Heritage of the Eastern Churches". The Fathers of the Council admit that the Universal Church "is indebted to the Eastern Churches". The text (5) says: "This Sacred Synod, therefore, not only honours this ecclesiastical and spiritual heritage with merited esteem and rightful praise, but also unhesitatingly looks upon it as the heritage of Christ's Universal Church". On account of this the Churches of the East are entitled to govern themselves, and their doing so, according to their different traditions, will be for the advancement of their faithful: Article 6 encourages Easterners to become fully acquainted with their own spiritual traditions, as well as enjoining all Westerners whose office brings them into contact with the East to "know and respect the rites, discipline, doctrine, history, and characteristics of Easterners".

In its next section (articles 7-11) the Fathers make statements concerning the "Eastern Rite Patriarchs". The Council recognizes the

43. In this way the opinion that the Roman Rite holds priority over all others is officially discarded.

antiquity of the institution of the Patriarchate<sup>44</sup>. The jurisdiction of the Patriarchs cannot be regarded as prejudicing the primacy of the Pope, though the individual Patriarch has jurisdiction outside his defined boundaries only with the Approval of the Holy See<sup>45</sup>. Some patriarchates are "of later origin than others", says article 8, and the "honorary and lawfully established order of precedence among them is to be observed", though "all are equal in patriarchal dignity". It is noted in article 9 that the normal appointment of bishops and even the setting up of new "eparchies"<sup>46</sup> do nothing to detract from the overall power of the Pope. Only the Pope (or an Ecumenical Synod) is responsible for creating new patriarchates (article 11).

Under the heading "Rules Concerning the Sacraments", article 14 allows the validity of the Eastern Sacrament of Chrism, adding that "all Eastern Rite priests can confer this sacrament validly on all the faithful of any rite, including the Latin" and "Priests of the Latin Rite...can confer it also on the faithful of Eastern Churches, without prejudice to rite".

The section specifically dealing with "Relations with the Brethren of Separated Churches" begins with article 24. Eastern Churches in communion with Rome have an important role to play in the restoring of full union between East and West. Individuals of the Eastern Rites may be joined to Rome by a simple "profession of the Catholic faith"; "Eastern clerics are permitted to exercise the orders they possess, upon joining themselves to the unity of the Catholic Church". Article 25 emphasizes the seriousness of "communicatio in sacris". There will be occasions when this might promote the cause of salvation but on others "the unity of the Church may be jeopardized" or there may be "intolerable risks involved".

44. Traditional documents bear witness to this: Nicaea (I), Can. 6; Constantinople (I), Can. 2 & 3; Chalcedon Can. 29 & 29; Constantinople (IV), Can. 17 & 21; Lateran (IV) Can. 5 & 30; Florence, decree pro Graecis; and others.

45. This would seem to be the sense of the final paragraph of article 7. (cf. Dv. p.377, n.19).

46. Equivalent of western "Diocese".

Article 27 however, allows that the sacraments of Penance, the Eucharist, and the Anointing of the sick may be granted by Roman Catholic ministers to Easterners separated from the Catholic Church in good faith "if they ask of their own accord and have the right dispositions". Similarly, in the absence of a Roman Catholic priest, Catholics may validly receive these sacraments from the hands of Eastern Rite ministers. This ruling of the Council applied especially to those Soviet controlled countries where collaboration between Christians is vital for survival. Article 28 adds: "Again, in view of these very same principles, Catholics may for a just cause join with their separated Eastern brethren in sacred functions, things and places. The local Ordinaries will ultimately be responsible for the careful administration of "this more lenient policy with regard to common worship".

The concluding article (30) looks for increasingly fruitful collaboration between the East and the West until the Churches achieve complete union. To that end the Council enjoins all Christians to pray for assistance to the "most holy Mother of God" and the Holy Spirit. We shall find further reference to the union with the Eastern in the Decree on Ecumenism<sup>47</sup> but it is sufficient at the moment to have shown how far advanced the Council considered the Eastern Churches to be towards unity with Rome.

47. In its proper place we shall be noting what is new in the Decree on Ecumenism with regard to the Eastern Rites, but for the sake of completeness at this point we may summarize three main points of De Oecumenismo section three which is specifically devoted to the Eastern Churches:-
- a) in spite of their separation, the Eastern communities have continued to be Churches.
  - b) these Eastern Churches possess a heritage of their own which justifies their particularism in matters of liturgy, spirituality, canon law, and even theology.
  - c) Catholics must begin by respecting and loving that heritage and those particularities of the Eastern Churches so that these may have their legitimate place within the reconstituted unity.
- (sic Lercaro, Cardinal Giamoco, "De Oecumenismo and the Eastern Churches" in Concilium Vol. 5, p.84 col. 2ff.).

3. The Decree on Ecumenism (Unitatis Redintegratio).

The introduction begins promisingly: "Promoting the restoration of unity among all Christians is one of the Chief concerns of the Second Sacred Ecumenical Synod of the Vatican". This article (1) continues by stressing that although many differing "communions"<sup>48</sup> present themselves, yet "The Church established by Christ the Lord is, indeed one and unique". The "diversity" and "discord" among Christians both contradicts Christ's will for the Church, and as "a stumbling block to the world...inflicts damage on the most holy cause of proclaiming the good news to every creature". The Council senses that never before has there been such a common urge towards unity, mentioning with great approval the ecumenical movement begun "among our separated brethren." The basics held in common by those in this movement are seen by the Fathers to be: worship of God in Trinity and the confession of Jesus "as Lord and Savior". It is noteworthy that the Third World Assembly of the World Council of Churches held in New Delhi in 1961 described itself in more or less these terms: "...a fellowship of Churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit".

An important statement follows now in the Introductory remarks to the Decree: "They (our separated brethren) join in, not merely as individuals, but also as members of the corporate groups in which they have heard the Gospel, and which each regards as his Church and indeed, God's". It has been generally regarded as extremely significant that the Council was openly

48. "Communities" is a general term used throughout this decree to indicate various Christian bodies without being more precise (cf. Dv. p.341, n.2).

recognizing the existence of other groups of Christians. We shall find more material in this connection later on. Although these other Churches may exist, continues article 1, "almost <sup>49</sup> everyone...longs that there may be one visible Church of God..." The Council commends *Lumen Gentium* as a doctrinal basis for what the present Decree is proposing <sup>50</sup>.

Chapter One of 'Unitatis Redintegratio' is headed: "Catholic Principles on Ecumenism". Article two begins by reminding us of Jesus' prayer that all his disciples might have unity (Jn.17:21) and that the Eucharist was established as the sacrament by which "the unity of the Church is both signified and brought about". Jesus also commanded all his followers to love one another and promised them the Holy Spirit who "would abide with them forever". This Spirit was sent when Christ was "glorified" and the Spirit "gathered together the people of the New Covenant...in unity of faith, hope and charity". It is noteworthy that the Church is presented as a community of faith, hope and charity; before the exact structure of the Church as a society is discussed - the primacy of the Spirit was not always brought out so clearly in Catholic dogma. The text continues: "It is the Holy Spirit, dwelling in those who believe, pervading and ruling over the entire Church, who brings about that marvelous communion of the faithful and joins them together so intimately". This is clearly of great ecumenical significance as the emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church is completely in accord with the statements of the World Council of Churches at

49. Not all Protestants consider that Christ founded a visible Church. Catholic Ecumenism seeks to make visible the invisible unity that is already present.
50. CDV vol. III (J. Feiner, commenting on *Unitatis Redintegratio* 1) says "...note that in the process of composing the two texts during the Council, the text on Ecumenism preceded the Constitution on the Church in various points, and several statements were first taken into the latter after they had already been included in earlier versions of the text on ecumenism".

the Assemblies in Evanston (1954) and New Delhi (1961)<sup>51</sup>. This emphasis on Christian communities having their foundation in the Holy Spirit prepares the way for the Council to recognize non-Catholic churches as Churches mediating salvation and not just collections of individuals who might possibly attain personal salvation.

Article 2 continues with some account of the structure of the Catholic Church. The text states that "Christ entrusted to the College of the Twelve the task of teaching, ruling and sanctifying (cf. Mat. 28:18-20 in conjunction with Jn. 20:21-23). Among their number he chose Peter." "It is an ecumenical gesture to balance the importance of Peter scripturally and indicate the Church's unity within the College of Apostles. This is supported by the sentence "...Christ Jesus Himself forever remains the chief cornerstone (cf. Eph.2:20) and shepherd of our souls" (cf. I Peter.2:25). In this way it is made quite clear for the benefit of non-Catholics that

51 The commentary in CDV II, p.65, nn.10,11 offers the following documentation.

(a) 1954, at Evanston: "the report of the first sub-committee on "Our unity in Christ and our Disunity as Church", which states that by the indwelling of the Spirit, the Comforter, who leads the Church into all truth, the unity of the Church is already a foretaste of the fullness which will be present, because it is so already. The report adds that Christ has given his Spirit as the bond of peace and love, and to lead us into all truth".

(b) 1961, at New Delhi: "According to the New Delhi Assembly, it is the unity which is given to his people through his Spirit and all the gifts of the Spirit, which vivifies, builds and strengthens the new humanity in Christ. The Church exists in space and time through the power of the Holy Spirit, who is at work in all the elements of her life which compose her unity, her witness, and her service. It is the gift of the Father in the name of Jesus Christ, in order to build up the Church and to lead her to the freedom and fellowship which form her peace and her joy. For every step forward to a fuller unity than is now visible we are wholly dependent upon the presence and the guidance of the Holy Spirit".

The New Delhi Report on "Unity" devoted section 9 to the Holy Spirit's work: "The Church exists in time and place by the power of the Holy Spirit, who effects in her life all the elements that belong to her unity, witness and service" (three key ideas in the Documents of Vatican II) "He is the gift of the Father in the name of Jesus Christ to build up the Church to lead her into the freedom and fellowship which belong to her peace and joy. For any achievement of a fuller unity than that now manifest we are wholly dependent upon the Spirit's presence and governance." ("The New Delhi Report" SCM, London 1962, Ed. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, p.119).

Catholics do not seek to give Peter equal dignity with Christ.

The article concludes very much on a note of the unity of the Church. The Church is said to be "God's only flock" living in "unity...with the Holy Spirit energizing a variety of functions". "The highest exemplar and source of this mystery is the unity, in the Trinity of Persons, of one God, the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit".

With article 3 the text comes on to a definition of the relationship to the Church of non-Catholics. The Church has never been free from division: "From her very beginnings there arose in this one and only Church of God certain rifts (cf. I Cor. 11:18-19; Gal. 1:6-9; 1 Jn. 2:18-19), which the apostle strongly censures as damnable (cf. I Cor. 1:11ff; 11:22). But in subsequent centuries more widespread disagreements appeared and quite large communities became separated from full communion with the Catholic Church - developments for which, at times, men of both sides were to blame". It is important to notice that the decree has not said that the Church split into several Churches but that Communities of Christians separated themselves from the Catholic Church which has always remained in existence. The insertion of the word "full" before "communion", in the final text has important bearing on Ecumenism because it clearly implies that these separations have not fully destroyed the unity of the Catholic Church. This first sentence of article 3 also raises the important problem of guilt. At times, says the text, there was blame on both sides, which neatly avoids the controversial question whether the Church can ever be spoken of as guilty<sup>52</sup>. "However, one cannot impute the sin of separation to those who at present are born into

52. Although it has been argued whether the Church as a corporate entity can be spoken of as "sinful", Catholic historical scholarship on the whole agrees that the state of the Church, which lasted beyond the early stages of the Reformation, shared in the blame for the separation. (cf. CDV. II, p.71).

these communities and are instilled therein with Christ's faith". The Catholic Church in this way declares that she regards all those who "have been properly baptized" as "brothers...in certain, though imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church" <sup>53</sup>. The Council insists that there must be no underestimating of the differences between Catholics and non-Catholics and that the very real difficulties must be faced. "Nevertheless, all those justified by faith through baptism are incorporated into Christ ...have a right to be honored by the title of Christian...brothers in the Lord" <sup>54</sup>.

Paragraphs two and three of article 3 are concerned with the constituent "elements" of the Church which also exist, in varying degree, in the non-Catholic Churches. These are enumerated as: "the written word of God; the life of grace; faith, hope, and charity, along with other interior gifts of the Holy Spirit and visible elements". That is to say therefore, that the Council Fathers considered the Roman Catholic Church to possess all these endowments while other Churches possess these ecclesial elements in varying measure. The Catholic Church has no wish

53. The distinction between complete and incomplete communion with the Church is explained in L.G. article 14: "They are fully incorporated into the society of the Church who, possessing the Spirit of Christ, accept her entire system and all the means of salvation given to her and through union with her visible structure are joined to Christ, who rules her through the Supreme Pontiff and the bishops". The terms of "Mystici Corporis" (Pius XII, 1943) probably precluded the Council from describing these respected "brothers" as "members of the Church". Under the heading "Conditions of membership" M.C. has "Only those are to be accounted really members of the Church who have been regenerated in the waters of Baptism and profess the true faith, and have not cut themselves off from the structure of the Body by their own unhappy act or been severed therefrom, for very grave crimes by legitimate authority". (Catholic Truth Society, London, 1943, article 21). This suggestion is made in Dv. p.345, n.12.
54. In comparison with our survey of Chapter One of this Thesis, it is very relevant at this point to notice that the Council makes no recourse to the concept of "membrum Ecclesiae in voto". Indeed the Council would seem to have abandoned the term "member" as being incapable of permitting the idea of varying degrees of communion.

to keep all these elements in exclusive possession, but rather wishes to share them outside her visible limits. Liturgy is the chief concern of the following paragraph. The Council admits that each individual Church is in a different position with regard to Sacraments and liturgical actions ("ways that vary according to the condition of each Church or Community"), but "that these actions can truly engender a life of grace, and can be rightly described as capable of providing access to the community of salvation". These non-Catholic Communities, despite their "defects", says paragraph four, are Communities which "the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using...as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Catholic Church".

The final paragraph of this article stresses that whatever merits the separated "Communities or Churches" may have, the fact remains that "they are not blessed with that unity which Jesus Christ wished to bestow...". Only in the Catholic Church are all the elements of salvation available for those who would receive them: "For it is through Christ's Catholic Church alone, which is the all-embracing means of salvation<sup>56</sup>, that the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained".

The Council, in article 4, gives its attention to the Ecumenical movement itself. Catholics are called upon to take an active part in the movement. The descriptions given in brief here of the "ecumenical movement" in its entirety are expounded in more detail in Chapter Two

55. "Catholic" was inserted by order of Paul VI. (Dv. p.346, n.17).
56. The expression "generale auxilium salutis" is an extract from the Holy Office Letter of 1949 concerning the necessity of the Church for salvation ("Idem autem suo modo dici debet de Ecclesia, quatenus generale ipsa auxilium salutis est") D-S 3870. The Letter intended at this point to indicate that the Church itself could be distinguished from its members. Church members were not to be regarded as saved, simply on account of belonging to the all-embracing means of salvation.

"The Practice of Ecumenism". "Dialogue" is at the forefront of Ecumenical activity, together with co-operation "in whatever projects a Christian conscience demands for the common good", common prayer, and renewal within the Church itself. The end result of such a road should be "a common celebration of the Eucharist" in "that unity of the one and only Church which Christ bestowed on his Church from the beginning". Unity belongs to the Catholic Church "and we hope that it will continue to increase until the end of time".

Conversion to Roman Catholicism is as much a part of God's ordering of things as ecumenism.

The cause of Ecumenism does not involve a reduction in the Church's tradition but a careful appraisal of the content of Catholic faith. The Fathers continue that the Church must undergo stringent reform so that her "face may shine" more "brightly in the eyes of our separated brethren". In general also whatever is good among the separated brethren is to be appreciated by Catholics as a "more ample realization of the very mystery of Christ and the Church".

The last paragraph but one in article 3 points out that as long as the divisions of the Church last, it is impossible to effect the fullness of Catholicity which really belongs to the Church. This is for two reasons: firstly, that not all the institutional means of salvation are available to all Christians, and secondly, because, while divisions exist, all the legitimately diverse expressions of the Christian life cannot be developed to the full within Catholicism.

The article closes by noting the daily increase of Catholic participation in Ecumenism, while "it commends this work to bishops everywhere in the world for their skillful and prudent guidance".

The first article of chapter two, 5, generally commends practical ecumenical work to the whole Church "faithful and clergy alike". Article 6 reiterates the call to the Church, "as she goes her pilgrim way, to that

continual reformation of which she always has need". The need for the Church to reform herself constantly cannot be better expressed than by herself in Council in this article: "Church renewal...has notable ecumenical importance. Already this renewal is taking place in various spheres of the Church's life: the biblical and liturgical movements, the preaching of the word of God, catechetics, the apostolate of the laity, new forms of religious life and the spirituality of married life, and the Church's social teaching and activity. All these should be considered as favourable pledges and signs of ecumenical progress in the future".

From the institutional plane article 7 takes us on to renewal at the personal level. "We should...pray to the divine Spirit for the grace to be genuinely self-denying, humble, gentle in the service of others, and to have an attitude of brotherly generosity towards them". The Catholic Church cannot enter fully into Ecumenical movement unless she makes a public confession of guilt <sup>57</sup>: "Thus, in humble prayer, we beg pardon of God and of our separated brethren, just as we forgive those who trespass against us". The last paragraph of this article makes the point that striving to live "according to the gospel" must imply concern for one's relationship with one's own Christian brothers. Always the unity of the Trinity must be the example and source of communion among men.

"Spiritual ecumenism" is the name given to the inward change of heart of Catholics, in article 8. This "oecumenismus spiritualis" has

57. CDV. II, p.100 notes: "At ecumenical conferences of non-Catholic Churches the guilt of all Churches for separation had long been expressed". The Lambeth Conference 1920 is one example: introducing the section of Reunion, in the encyclical letter, the Bishops said, "...the Church must itself be a pattern of fellowship. It is only by showing the value and power of fellowship in itself that it can win the world to fellowship. The weakness of the Church in the world of today is not surprising when we consider how the bands of its own fellowship are loosened and broken". Other instances include Faith and Order Conference 1927, in Lausanne, the World Council of Churches Assembly at Evanston in 1953.

been attributed <sup>58</sup> to the influence of Paul Couturier (1881-1953) who can be regarded as one of the Catholic pioneers of the ecumenical movement. It was Couturier's belief that the disunity between Churches, at its deepest level, did not so much concern lack of theological understanding but was a breach in communion between Christian brothers - it was this that damaged the cause of Christian union. So here in article 8, we find the Council Fathers saying: "This change of heart and holiness of life, along with public and private prayer for the unity of Christians, should be regarded as the soul of the whole ecumenical movement, and can rightly be called 'spiritual ecumenism' ".

The text goes on to say that Catholics already have a tradition of praying for Church unity but that it is "allowable, indeed desirable" that Catholics should join in prayer with the separated brethren, "in certain special circumstances, such as in prayer services 'for unity' and during ecumenical gatherings".

However, "communicatio in sacris" is an area of the Church's prayer in which communion between denominations is to be undertaken only with great care. "Such worship depends chiefly on two principles: it should signify the unity of the Church; it should provide a sharing in the means of grace. The fact that it should signify unity generally rules out common worship. Yet the gaining of a needed grace sometimes commends it". This change from the previous policy of forbidding Catholics to receive the sacraments in the worship of other communities and vice-versa is a sign of the new ecclesiology of the Council, recognizing as it does the character of Churches in other Christian communities. The principles upon which the new practice was to be based is made clear from the text. The occasion for precise rulings in particular situations is left to the appropriate ecclesiastical authority. Clearly, unauthorised or unofficial

58. CDV. II, p.102.

acts of common worship cannot be said to further the cause of Church unity.

Article 9 recommends the study of the "outlook of our separated brethren" and especially through confrontation in intellectual discussions. "Such meetings require that those who take part in them, under authoritative guidance, be truly competent." It is hoped that in this way the Catholic Church will gain both a clearer understanding of herself and of the "attitude of our separated brethren".

Continuing in this vein, article 10 shows the need for Catholic education to be truly ecumenical: "For it is highly important that future bishops and priests should have mastered a theology carefully worked out in this way and not polemically, especially in what concerns the relations of separated brethren with the Catholic Church".

The second paragraph (3rd in Abbott's translation) makes reference to the special importance of an ecumenical orientation of Catholic missionaries.

False representations of Catholic dogma, in dialogue with non-Catholics, condemned by article 11. "Nothing is so harmful as a false conciliatory approach which harms the purity of Catholic doctrine and obscures its assured genuine meaning". Attempts should be made to explain Catholic teaching accurately and at the same time in ways which will be understood by the separated brethren.

True ecumenism will be loyal to the Church's doctrine, have a passion for the truth, and will act in charity and humility. The statement which follows, that "in Catholic teaching there exists an order or "hierarchy

of truths", is important <sup>59</sup>. It is a safety device against over-emphases on one aspect of Catholic doctrine to the neglect of the greater importance of the central truths.

This theme is completed at the beginning of article 12: "Before the whole world, let all Christians profess their faith in God, one and three, in the incarnate Son of God, our redeemer and Lord. United in their efforts, and with mutual respect let them bear witness to our common hope, which does not play us false". A realisation of this common witness is seen to be co-operation "in social matters" which is described in the rest of the article. As followers of Christ the servant, Christians express their unity through such acts of co-operation. In this way Christians all over the world can show an example in appreciating "the dignity of the human person, the promotion of the blessings of peace, the application of gospel principles to social life, and the advancement of the arts and sciences in a Christian spirit". Social need of every kind should be the common care of all Churches so that "all believers in Christ are able to learn easily how they can understand each other better and esteem each other more, and how the road to the unity of Christians may be made smooth".

59. CDV. II, p.118, n.44 "The idea of the hierarchial ordering of revealed truths was heard for the first time at the Council in the speech which the then Bishop of Gorizia, A. Pangrazio, made on 25 November 1963 during the discussion on the schema "De oecumenismo": "In order that the unity which already exists among Christians, and at the same time the differences which still endure, may be rightly distinguished, it seems important to me to pay careful attention to the hierarchial order of the revealed truths through which the mystery of Christ is expressed, and of the ecclesial elements on which the Church is founded. If all revealed truths are to be believed with the same divine faith and all constitutive elements of the Church maintained with the same loyalty, they nevertheless do not all claim or possess the same status" (Y. Congar, H. Küng and D. O'Hanlon "Council Speeches" 1964, pp.142ff).

Chapter three is entitled, "Churches and Ecclesial Communities separated from the Roman Apostolic See"<sup>60</sup>. Article 13 introduces the subject of the two major schisms, the one of the East and the other of the West. The Easterns were separated from Rome either because of early dogmatic dispute or later ecclesiastical rivalries. Four centuries later the Reformation severed many national and denominational groups of Christians from the Catholic Church. "Among those in which some Catholic traditions and institutions continue to exist, the Anglican Communion occupies a special place". Several speeches made in the aula paid special respect to the Anglican Church and the suggestion was even made that this communion deserved a section to itself, as in the case of the Easterns. This suggestion was not adopted but the Secretariat for unity did make this particular mention.

The special position of the Eastern Churches is discussed in articles 14 - 18. The same respect is paid, as in *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, to the "many particular or local Churches" among which the Patriarchal Churches "hold first place", many of them having Apostolic origins. The local Churches of the East are shown here, quite rightly, as regarding each other as equal, on a horizontal plane with "family ties... as between sisters". It is further admitted that the West owes a great deal to the "treasury" of the Easterns, with regard to "liturgy", spiritual tradition, and jurisprudence". Also the first four Ecumenical Councils "concerning the Trinity and God's Word made flesh of the Virgin Mary" owed their achievement largely to the Bishops of the East<sup>61</sup>. The

60. "Ecclesial Communities" may imply a Christian Community with comparatively few elements of the Church. It should also be pointed out that some Christian Communities have no desire to be described as "Church". (cf. DV. p.355, n.45).

61. CDV. II, p.131 notes that "at the Council of Nicaea in 325, only five of the 250 Fathers were from the West".

paragraph adds finally, "To preserve this faith, these Churches have suffered much, and still do so". Separation has occurred partly because of the varying "forms and ways" in which the tradition was handed on, partly because of "external causes", and partly because "mutual failures in understanding and Charity"<sup>62</sup>. Dialogue in our own time will be advanced, states the text, by deep study of the position of the Eastern Churches especially the "special aspects of the origin and growth" and "the character of the relations which obtained between them and the Roman See before the separation".

Articles 15 - 18 look more closely into the special character of the Eastern Churches. Number 15 begins with a mention of the Liturgy which for the East has always been the centre of the spiritual life. It is shown in the second paragraph that the Easterns have a particularly close relationship with the Latins in that their Liturgy expresses the truths that Mary is Theotokos and ever Virgin. "They also give homage to the saints, including Fathers of the universal Church"<sup>63</sup>. The priesthood and the Eucharist follow, one from the other since the Eastern sacrament of orders was recognized as valid, then the Eastern Liturgy is also valid (as Leo XIII stated frequently). This is a concrete example of what we have seen already in article 8 regarding *Communicatio in Sacris* "given suitable circumstances and the approval of Church authority". Indeed we found fuller instructions on this in the Decree on Catholic Eastern Churches.

62. In the Latin: "...propter defectum etiam mutuae comprehensionis et caritatis" - Dv. p.358, n.57 comment that "By inserting the word "etiam"...Pope Paul stressed the word "mutual".
63. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Ephrem. (Dv. p.359, n.61). It is interesting to find in the text "*Patres universalis Ecclesiae*" because in this context, the Council is not equating "*Universalis Ecclesia*" solely with herself, as was usual in the past.

This principle of unity in diversity is carried further, in article 17, "to differences in theological expressions of doctrine". It is recognized that the different modes of expression of the East and the West are not mutually exclusive but "are often to be considered as complementary rather than conflicting". The Easterns have proper respect for Scripture and their theological traditions have stood the test of use in their liturgy; also these traditions rely upon the Apostles, "the writings of the Fathers and spiritual authors of the East". There is no denying their possibilities for expressing the fulness of Christian truth. The Eastern Churches already in communion with Rome are given a mediating role between the separated Eastern Churches and Rome.

"After taking all these factors into consideration, this sacred Synod confirms what previous Councils and Roman Pontiffs have proclaimed: in order to restore communion and unity or preserve them, one must "impose no burden beyond what is indispensable" (Acts 15:28) (article 18). This article largely repeats what has already been said - unity must come from "living activities of the Church", "prayer", and "by fraternal dialogue on points of doctrine". Easterns living far from home are commended to the pastoral care of Catholic priests "so that friendly collaboration with them may increase in a spirit of love, without quarrelsome rivalry". In this way the Council seeks unity between East and West. The case of "The Separated Churches and Ecclesial Communities in the West" comes next under consideration.

Article 19 begins with the statement that the Reformation did not destroy completely the unity between the separated Churches and the Roman See "in view of the long span of earlier centuries when the Christian people lived in ecclesiastical communion". The Secretariat for Christian Unity, while detracting from the flow of the language, adds a necessary note on the divergence of the separated brethren which precludes any attempt, within the scope of the document, at a description of the various traditions. The third paragraph notes that certain Protestants are

opposed to ecumenism, adding that "it is our hope that the ecumenical spirit and mutual esteem will gradually increase among all men".

Once again, comes the injunction not to minimize the very real divergences that separate "these Churches and Communities on the one hand, and the Catholic Church on the other" and especially with regard to the interpretation of Revelation. The Fathers now proceed to offer some "considerations which can and ought to serve as a basis and motivation for such dialogue".

They have discovered a central Reformation theme in article 20, when the Fathers concern themselves with those Christians whose central tenet of faith is the confession of Christ as Lord and Saviour. There is here a basic common point of faith, "We are indeed aware that among them views are held considerably different from the doctrine of the Catholic Church even concerning Christ, God's word made flesh, and the work of redemption, and thus concerning the mystery and ministry of the Church and the role of Mary in the work of salvation. But we rejoice to see our separated brethren looking to Christ as the source and center of ecclesiastical communion". This has been regarded as a clear allusion to Vatican II aligning itself with the central belief of the World Council of Churches, which is "a fellowship of Churches which recognize our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour".<sup>64</sup>

Scripture, as a well-known forte of many Protestant Communities, is highlighted in article 21. "Calling upon the Holy Spirit, they seek in these sacred Scriptures God as he speaks to them in Christ, the One whom the prophets foretold, God's Word made flesh for us. In the Scriptures they contemplate the life of Christ as well as the teachings and the actions

64. In particular, the Council Fathers must have had in mind SS. Pachomius and Basil whose rules were adapted for use in the West by S. Benedict.

of the Divine Master on behalf of men's salvation, in particular the mysteries of His death and resurrection".

The Catholic Church is in full agreement with affirming the divine authority of holy scripture, but recognizes also revealed truths in the tradition of the Church as handed over during the centuries. "In the Church, according to Catholic belief, an authentic teaching office plays a special role in the explanation and proclamation of the written word of God". This leaves undamaged the common heritage of the "sacred utterances" which are "precious instruments in the mighty hand of God for attaining that unity which the Savior holds out to all men".

Article 22 discusses the place of baptism in ecumenism. Whenever it is validly administered, "in the way the Lord determined"; it is the means whereby "a man becomes truly incorporated into the crucified and glorified Christ and is reborn to a sharing of the divine life, as the apostle says: "For you were buried together with him in baptism, and in him also rose again through faith in the working of God who raised him from the dead (Col. 2:12; cf. Rom. 6:4)". All who have been baptized form a communion and are incorporated "into the system of salvation". With respect to the sacrament of orders, however, the Western separated brethren are lacking validity. Consequently, "they have not preserved the genuine and total reality of the Eucharist Mystery". Yet there is in the Protestant Eucharist a commemoration of "the Lord's death and resurrection" and a sign of life in communion with Christ, and an exception and anticipation of the parousia of Christ. On these grounds, there can be dialogue "concerning the true meaning of the Lord's Supper, the other sacraments, and the Church's worship and ministry".

The last article devoted to the Reformation Churches (article 23) gives positive evaluation to their faith. These separated brethren live the "Christian way of life", possess "faith in Christ", "the grace of baptism", and the means of "hearing...God's Word". Their Christianity expresses itself through "private prayer", "meditation on the Bible", in

"Christian family life", "in services of worship offered by Communities assembled to praise God", and "their worship sometimes displays notable features of an ancient, common liturgy". Further, the separated brethren offer "praise and thanksgiving" recognizing God's gift of faith to them; they also strive for justice and for "true neighborly charity". Their faith has "produced many organisations for the relief of spiritual and bodily distress, the education of youth, the advancement of humane social conditions, and the promotion of peace through the world". It must be admitted that on moral questions, Catholics and Protestants do not always come to the same conclusions but there is a basis for dialogue in that "they share our desire to cling to Christ's word as the source of Christian virtue and to obey the apostolic command: 'Whatever you do in word or in work, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him' (Col.3:17)".

In conclusion, article 24 stresses the necessary brevity of this "exposition of the circumstances within which ecumenical activity has to operate, and of the principles by which it should be guided" but indicates that it is enough to cause great optimism for the future. There is a final instruction to the effect that "superficiality or imprudent zeal" can only hamper the ecumenical cause and that ecumenism must seek a full and Catholic faith. There is a general appeal for the movement to be shot through with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, for the Council Fathers realize that no merely human efforts will be enough. The Council "therefore places its hopes entirely in the prayer of Christ for the Church, in the love of the Father for us, and in the power of the Holy Spirit".

#### 4. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium).

Article 8 of Lumen Gentium describes the Church as a mystery, a unity which is both visible and invisible. These two "realities"... "form one interlocked reality which is comprised of a divine and a human element";

The Church is described as "the unique Church of Christ which in the Creed we avow as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic". It is the Church which was "handed over to Peter to be shepherded" and governed, which "subsists in the Catholic Church"<sup>66</sup> and which "is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in union with that successor". However, the text continues, this is not to say that "many elements of sanctification and of truth" cannot "be found outside of her visible structure". "These elements" are indeed to be found among other Christian bodies but "as gifts, they properly belonging to the Church of Christ, possess an inner dynamism toward Catholic unity". The remainder of this article has no direct bearing on our present study.

The significance of the title of chapter two, "The People of God" is drawn out by Y. Congar in *Concilium* 1(1965)p.13. "The ecumenical interest of the idea of the People of God is obvious", he says, "especially in the dialogue with Protestants. The title would appeal to Protestants, continues Congar, in that it brings to mind ideas of call or election: "everything depends on God's initiative". Also the expression "The People of God" is not a water-tight definition of the boundary of the Church. It avoids institutionalism or the too vague "romanticism of a

66. "subsistit in Ecclesia catholica". An account of this phrase is given in Mühlén, "Das Verhältnis zwischen Inkarnation und Kirche", p.183,n.26 (quoted in CDV. I, p.150,n29). "An earlier draft: (that of 1963) reads, "Haec igitur Ecclesia, vere omnium Mater et Magistra, in hoc mundo ut societas constituta et ordinata, EST Ecclesia Catholica, A ROMANO PONTIFICE ET EPISCOPIIS in eius communione directa". This formulation is much narrower, since the "est" excluded the other "Churches" from the concept of the Church and forbade the application of the term to them even in an analogical sense. Thirteen Fathers still demanded the retention of the "est" even at the beginning of the third and decisive session. Nineteen pleaded for the formula, "Subsistit INTEGRO MODO in Ecclesia Catholica" and twenty-five others wanted "Jure divino subsistit". But the Theological Commission decided in favour of the simple "subsistit in", thereby deliberately leaving open the question of the relation of the one Church to the many Churches. A development of unforeseeable dimensions was once more made possible". (emphasis as found in CDV). So it is no longer said that the Roman Catholic Church "alone is the Church.

biological concept of the Mystical Body". Its biblical overtones and relation with the Old Testament certainly seal the expression as valuable to ecumenical dialogue.

Article 14 states that "the Church...is necessary for salvation" both because it is Christ's command that men should be part of his Body and also because baptism into the Church is the means whereby grace can be fully received. "Whosoever, therefore, knowing that the Catholic Church was made necessary by God through Jesus Christ would refuse to enter her or to remain in her could not be saved". Only Catholic Christians are fully incorporated into the Church and "this joining is effected by the bonds of professed faith, of the sacraments, of ecclesiastical government, and of communion". "All the sons of the Church" will not automatically receive salvation simply through material adhesion to the 'society', but only through charitable perseverance in it. Salvation is made possible by the grace of Christ.

However, article 15 allows that "The Church recognizes that in many ways she is linked with those who, being baptized, are honored with the name of Christian, though they do not profess the faith in its entirety or do not preserve unity of communion with the successor of Peter". Scripture is given as a norm of faith which is a sign of the unity of all Christians, just as dogmatic faith in the Trinity is another. Baptism in general is the means "through which they are united with Christ". Non-Catholics "also recognize and receive other sacraments within their own Churches or ecclesial communities". We have already found this stated in more detail in *Orientalium Ecclesiarum and Unitatis Redintegratio*, but this text specifies that "Many of them rejoice in the episcopate, celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and cultivate devotion towards the Virgin Mother of God". Prayer and "other spiritual benefits" are also said to be shared by Catholics and non-Catholics. The "sanctifying power" of the Holy Spirit must be recognized in the separated brethren, even to the extent that some have

given their lives for Christ. This same Spirit urges all Christians on towards unity "as one flock under one shepherd". The Catholic Church must do her part for this end; so "She exhorts her sons to purify and renew themselves so that the sign of Christ may shine more brightly over the face of the Church".

Material such as is to be found in the last part of article 23 is a duplication of the Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches. The same points are to be found which we have already noted: the apostolic foundation of some churches, the unique quality of Eastern Church disciplines, the value of Eastern Liturgies, and the sound content of their "theological and spiritual heritage". The Eastern Church is recognized for maintaining unity in diversity.

Article 28 reminds priests to be faithful to their vocation of a pastoral ministry to "Catholics and non-Catholics".

The articles in the section on Mariology have been variously considered from the ecumenical point of view. The text of article 68 says: "In the bodily and spiritual glory which she possesses in heaven, the Mother of Jesus continues in this present world as the image and first flowering of the Church as she is to be perfected in the world to come. Likewise, Mary shines forth on earth, until the day of the Lord shall come (cf. 2 Pet.3:10), as a sign of sure hope and solace for the pilgrim People of God". This cannot surely be condemned as the words of a continuing Triumphalist Church. It is the pilgrim People of God, recognizing that its present situation is only temporary, looking to heaven for a vision of the ultimate perfection of the Parousia. The final article, 69 expresses the hope that Mary may be another of the common bonds between Catholics and non-Catholics, with the injunction that "the entire body of the faithful pour forth persevering prayer to the Mother of God and Mother of men".

5. The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity (Ad Gentes).

Article 6 of Ad Gentes carefully distinguishes between Missionary activity, pastoral activity, and Ecumenism. They are all connected. Missionary activity is declared vital to the Church, welling up from her "innermost nature" and as such is inseparable from pastoral work. Both of these activities look to the work for unity to give their message credibility so that the Church can "bear unanimous witness before the nations to Christ their Lord". If there is not yet Church unity, at least the various Churches might "be animated by mutual esteem and love".

New converts, says article 15, must be encouraged in ecumenism: "They should rightly consider that the brethren who believe in Christ are Christ's disciples, reborn in baptism sharers with the People of God in very many riches". By acting as the Council has decreed (especially following the Decree on Ecumenism) Catholics can encourage Christians to make "a common profession of faith" before "all nations". Collaboration in social and cultural schemes as well as religious will further the Christian missionary cause.

The "scandal of division" is referred to in article 29, where the Curial Office "For the Propagation of the Faith" and the "Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity" are asked to act in co-ordination to "search out ways and means for bringing about and directing fraternal co-operation as well as harmonious living with the missionary undertakings of other Christian communities".

6. The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (Dei Verbum).

We may imply from Dei Verbum article 8 that the Council regards the Biblical Revelation as an equal gift to all Christians. "Now what was handed on by the Apostles includes everything which contributes to the holiness of life, and the increase of faith of the People of God;" This is the same teaching that we have encountered already in fuller form in the Decree on Ecumenism and the Constitution on the Church. The concern, in

article 22, for vernacular translations of the scriptures leaves the way open for co-operation between Catholic and non-Catholic scholars so that "all Christians will be able to use" the resulting versions. This is linked in article 23 to the guarded suggestion that Biblical Science might be done in co-operation between "Catholic exegetes and other students of sacred theology" <sup>67</sup>.

Article 25 addresses Catholics and non-Catholics alike: "This sacred Synod earnestly and specifically urges all the Christian faithful...to learn by frequent reading of the divine scriptures "the excelling knowledge of Jesus Christ" (Phil.3:8)".

7. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium).

It is of Ecumenical significance that article 23 should be recommending that Catholics increase the amount of reading from the Bible in their liturgy as well as giving the sacrament of preaching a strong position in Church services. "The sermon moreover, should draw its content mainly from scriptural and liturgical sources". The laity are to have a clear idea of the form of rites and "Bible services should be encouraged". This new emphasis would be particularly dear to the hearts of Protestants and Anglicans. A similar case appears in article 55 where the text reads: "Hearty endorsement is given to that closer form of participation in the Mass whereby the faithful, after the priest's communion receive the Lord's Body under elements consecrated at that very sacrifice".

The Declaration on Revision of the Calendar which is the Appendix to this Constitution discusses the date of Easter. The Council is most careful to act only in accordance with the wishes of all Christians: "It

67. For the sake of Ecumenism with regard to Bible study, the Catholic Church is abandoning its previous notion of progress beyond the Scripture text which had even gone to the extent of relying entirely on the evidence of tradition. The Reformation denied any possibility of linear progression in favour of a repeated return to the words of scripture, while the Easterns strictly adhere to Patristic positions.

would not object if the feast of Easter were assigned to a particular Sunday of the Gregorian Calendar, provided that those whom it may concern give their assent, especially the brethren who are not in communion with the Apostolic See".

8. The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes).

Article 40 discusses "the Church and the world as mutually related". We have already discussed the statements contained here but we must note particularly that, while the Catholic Church considers her role to be that of strengthening "the seams of society", contributing "Greatly toward making the family of man and its history more human": "In addition the Catholic Church gladly holds in high esteem the things which other Christian Churches or ecclesial communities have done or are doing co-operatively by way of achieving the same goal".

"By virtue of her mission", says article 92, "to shed on the whole world the radiance of the gospel message, and to unify under one spirit all men of whatever nation, race, or culture, the Church stands forth as a sign of that brotherliness which allows honest dialogue and invigorates it". For this reason, Christians themselves must be united: "Our hearts embrace also those brothers and communities not yet living with us in full communion. To them we are linked nonetheless by our profession of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the bond of charity". In unity, Christians can assist in the gigantic task of achieving human fulfillment.

9. The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity (Apostolicam Actuositatem).

"The common heritage of the gospel and the common duty of Christian witness resulting from it recommend and frequently require the cooperation of Catholics with other Christians" (27). This cooperation must be at every level, from the personal to the international.

In article 28 it is repeated that the Apostolate, for effective

activity, must be based on Christian unity.

10. CONCLUSION.

We have now surveyed all the important references to Ecumenism in the Council Documents. It would be superficial to attempt here a "summary" of Vatican II's teaching on this subject; what is offered below is merely a reminder of the principal themes which have recurred several times.

While, not denying the necessity of baptism into the Catholic Church for those who are aware of this necessity, the See of Rome openly recognizes the existence of other non-Catholic Christian communities and is willing to treat at least some of them as Churches. It is particularly significant for the world-wide Anglican Community that it should be singled out for special mention among the Reformation Communities or Communions. The position of the Eastern Churches not in communion with Rome is one of extreme closeness to the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church now admits that other Churches and ecclesial bodies can possess "elements" of the Catholic Church in differing proportions. In these Conciliar documents the role of the Holy Spirit has been brought out in a way which was not done over previous centuries. Accordingly the Church has paid somewhat less attention to its formal structures and more to the charismatic and eschatological aspects. It also follows that these texts have paid a more positive respect to non-Catholic Christian bodies than has been the case before and has attached no moral guilt to those merely out of communion with herself. In learning to accept the principles of ecumenism, the Catholic Church has nowhere reduced her doctrine but has called upon all Catholics for renewal of their lives so that Catholicism may present her trueself to the rest of the world. We have also found a more open minded attitude towards common prayer and worship between Catholics and non-Catholics than would have seemed possible before the Council, though participation in a common liturgy has been rightly reserved very much as a sign of unity already achieved. The need for mutual study between the

Catholic Church and others has been brought out along with the need for Catholic education to be ecumenically, rather than polemically based. These are some of the main points contained in the Vatican II texts concerning unity between Christians on a purely general basis. The more detailed, precise references, particularly to the Easterns, but to some extent to Protestantism, were made clear in their contexts earlier in the chapter.

### CHAPTER THREE

Part One: The Salvation of the Non-Christian.

Part Two: The Salvation of the Non-Roman Catholic  
Christian.

PART ONE: THE SALVATION OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN

1. Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus

In Chapter One we examined samples of the pre-Vatican II dogmatics literature and found that the Church's use of "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" was negative in that it pointed out the fate of non-believers and drew an exclusive line between members of the Body of Christ and pagans. In the post Vatican II period, we shall find not only that the maxim is used in a positive way and that it is not applied to non-Catholic Christians, but also that it can be used of the whole of mankind without intending to reject or denounce the "pagan".

Immediately after the Council, we have an example of this in the writings of Bonifac: Willems, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Albertinum in Nijmegen. He asks the question, "Who belongs to the Church?"<sup>1</sup> not in order to define non-members and to denounce or sympathize with them. Willems stresses that the Council has helped the Church to realize its "pilgrim situation" so that the pagan cannot be regarded as beyond its influence. He writes, "within this one mankind, called to God, the laborious gropings and seeking by 'pagans' of goodwill represents the pilgrim situation of the Church. This seeking would be meaningless if there were no organic link with an already achieved plenitude. Precisely because this plenitude is already achieved in the Church, this seeking acquires an undeniable significance in the history of salvation as a whole: through the Church with which these 'pagans' are invisibly linked they undergo that vital influence that permeates the whole body".

1. Bonifac Willems, "Who Belongs to the Church?", in "Concilium, Vol. I No.1 Jan. 1965, pp.62-71.
2. *ibid.* p.66. Henri de Lubac was making similar statements as early as the later 1950 s - now after Vatican II these lines of thought will be taken up by the Church as such.

Willems puts this another way in terms of the "People of God". "Radically" every human being is already a part of the Church because the People of God is co-extensive with humanity. In other words, whenever a human being accepts the fact of his concrete nature in all his free actions, then his free action becomes at the same time the expression of God's salvific will in grace. In saying this, Willems has not repudiated the maxim, "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus", but rather interpreted it as a comment on the role of the Church in the salvation of the world. The post Vatican II era is one which denies that the baptized People of God is the exclusive group of the elect; affirming instead that they are those who are called to serve the many - the Church is the "signum levatum in nationibus". It serves to pose the possibility that we should be speaking of the Church, not as the ordinary, but rather as the extraordinary way of salvation.

This is a great contrast to the earlier attitudes that were documented in which the Church was regarded as the chosen who were saved by the miracle of grace from the "massa damnata". We may summarize this in the words of Karl Rahner, "The Church is the sacrament of the salvation of the world even where the latter is still not and perhaps never will be the Church"<sup>3</sup>.

"The Church speaks to the world in the name of God and Christ, but it does not require a profession of faith in its creed before starting work in areas common to all men...Even so it would be wrong to ask the Church to disguise meanwhile its true identity and to hide from the world the source of its inspiration and devotedness"<sup>4</sup>. Gérard Philips thus enforces the conclusions we have drawn so far.

3. Karl Rahner "The Christian of the Future", 1966, London.

4. Gérard Philips, "The Church in the Modern World", in "Concilium", Vol.6 No.1 June 1965, pp.5f.

Neither the Council nor Catholic theologians since have refuted the expression "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" but all have shown concern to explain it in its fullest form. Bearing in mind that Vatican II has affirmed that "salvation is open to all, not just to schismatics, heretics and Jews, but to non-Christians too and even to atheists if they are in good faith", says Hans Küng, "Is there in fact salvation outside the Church or is there not?"<sup>5</sup>. It will be interesting to see how many will follow his suggestion to silently replace the one expression with the explicitly positive, "Salvation inside the Church". He expresses in clear terms much of the Vatican II's theology of dialogue when he writes, "The test is not whether the whole world can be brought into the Church<sup>6</sup> in some way or other"<sup>7</sup>. Expounding the theology of the Church and drawing out beyond the Conciliar statements, Küng is making a plea for the Church to forget formal boundaries and structures and to give herself in service to the salvation that is taking place in the world: "To be truly Catholic the Church must think of itself not as synonymous with the world nor yet on the other hand as an exclusive society of those already saved, but as an open community of people dedicated to serve and to work for the salvation of all, of the whole of mankind".

There have been many who have written along these lines since the Council. One example of a collator of this material is Richard McBrien<sup>8</sup>,

5. Hans Küng, "The Church", 1968 London, p. 318.
6. "The Church" Küng has already described on p.317, as "a community of baptized Christians united by the message of the New Testament, believing in Christ the Lord, celebrating the Lords supper, trying to live according to the gospels and wishing to be regarded by the world as a Church".
7. *ibid.* p.319.
8. Richard McBrien, "Do we need the Church?" 1968 (Collins)

who expresses the opinion that at last the Catholic Church as a "Ptolemaic System" has been swept away in the course of a "Copernican Revolution". The Church is now in a position to show itself consciously in existence for a purpose far beyond itself and with no intrinsic importance except as it serves this larger purpose". The Council's prompting in the matter of increased Catholic study of the Bible is clearly being implemented if McBrien is right in thinking that the works of C.H. Dodd, Rudolf Bultmann, Oscar Cullmann, and Wolfhart Pannenberg have had a profound effect on recent Catholic Theology. One of the areas of greatest importance in Biblical exegesis is that which concerns the Kingdom of God. For instance, McBrien notes that few would now accept the ideas which F.M. Braun expressed in his "Aspects nouveaux du problème de l'Eglise" (1941) which said that the Protestant refusal to identify Church and Kingdom violates the incarnational principle of the Gospel and of Revelation. In this connection, McBrien hopes that Catholic theologians will see the value of the secular theologies of Bonhoefer, Robinson, Van Buren and Harvey Cox, for "the last thing the Church exists to be is an organisation for the religious. Its charter is to be to servant of the world"<sup>9</sup>.

We are now in a position to summarize briefly the post-conciliar meaning of "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus".

1. The positive attitude towards unbelievers is stressed.
2. It is emphasized that Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus is not to be used as a means of exclusion.
3. The new thinking sees the Church, not as God's sole instrument for salvation but as the pilgrim people with whom those in the world who are seeking salvation may, consciously or unconsciously, identify themselves.

9. John Robinson, "Honest to God" 1963, p.134.

4. The Church is not a final end in itself, but a means to an end; it merely exists to serve others.

We must also ask whether or not this represents any advance upon the position of the Council.

1. In the first instance there is a clearly seen line of development from the Council into the post-conciliar writings.
2. What the Council may have expressed rather formally and briefly, has since been expanded and restated.
3. While Vatican II expresses the new positive approach to unbelief, there is an increasing tendency to be less Church centred. A Church Council can hardly help being Church orientated, but recently theologians have developed the theme of the Church as servant in order that attempts at genuine dialogue may be sincere.
4. With all this in mind Catholic theologians reaffirm as strongly as ever (though no longer in a spirit of polemic), "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus".

2. Humanity: Basis of Dialogue.

We have seen already in this chapter that the Church has ceased to arrogate to herself the whole of mankind's potential for communicating with God, and not only this but that the very fact of humanity can be preparation for becoming a part of the People of God.

Edward Schillebeeckx has shown that man's common heritage and destiny are vital to any modern understanding of salvation. "Service to a world which is growing into a closer unity; the ethical commitment upon Western man by the advanced position which the West enjoys in contrast to the rest of the world, particularly the underdeveloped countries; the plans for a dynamic blueprint to set up a society upon earth that will be worthy of men - all this is seen, also by the religious man of today, as the concrete, even the principle way in which

he purposes to give form to his religion and to Christianity<sup>10</sup>.

Schillebeeckx has taken the idea of "communio" as worked out in *Gaudium et Spes*, and having accepted that all human beings have unity in that they have a oneness of vocation, he describes salvation as "a gift conveyed through man's fraternal service to others according to God's election"<sup>11</sup>. The reason why the Church is the specially chosen means of salvation is that "Jesus perfected history, finally and conclusively; Jesus is the prototypical moment of mankind's history...Every human event wherever occurring, even in areas called "profane" can thus be understood only through the eschatological man, Jesus Christ"<sup>12</sup>.

Against this, it could be argued that there is a great deal of difference between the Catholic theology of the Church and "humanity redeemed in principle" or that we have returned to a more sophisticated version of the old "in voto" and "in re". However, it would be accurate to say that while Schillebeeckx sees the Church and mankind as drawing ever closer together in these times, he would never wish to deny the special sacral mission of the Church. Like so many of the new movements of theological thought in the post-conciliar period, the stress on the immanence of God in the world is Bible-centred. "Christianity means not only communion with God in the concrete milieu of Christ in his Church, but also working with the living God, with the Father "who is ever active (Jn. 5:17) both in the Church and in the World"<sup>13</sup>.

If then we find that our love for God can be measured by the sincerity of our fellowship with men, dialogue between the Church and the contemporary world will be high on our list of priorities. Working from

10. Edward Schillebeeckx, "The Church and Humanity", in "Concilium" Vol. 1, No.1, p.34.

11. *ibid.* p. 36.

12. *ibid.* p.37.

13. *ibid.* p.48.

the "aggiornamento" of Vatican II; we find theologians like Raf van Kets, Professor at the Angelicum in Rome, stressing the need to make use of the opportunity "in which the diverse contacts between Church and world, between the Church and contemporary cultures, must build the bridge between time and eternity, between humanity and creator"<sup>14</sup>.

The "aggiornamento" was not simply to bring about internal Church reform, but to bring out the need for each man to love his neighbour in the context of the world community, is the conviction of Cardinal Suenens. More than ever before, the Church must listen to what is happening in the world in order that it can truly take a place within the human situation<sup>15</sup>. And here we might add that no one can really come to terms with the development of the post-conciliar period unless he appreciates the significance of Père Teilhard de Chardin's earlier contribution, for example, "We will never know all that the Incarnation still looks for from the powers of the world. We can never hope enough from the growth of human unity. Lift up your head, Jerusalem. See the immense crowd of those who search. In the laboratories, in the studios, in the deserts, in the workshops, in the vast social crucible, do you see them, these men who toil?...Come open your arms and your heart, and like Jesus, your Lord, gather in the torrent, the deluge of the strength that flows in man. Take it to yourself for without its baptism you will droop without desire, like a flower without water; and save it, since without your sun it will dissipate itself foolishly in sterile growth"<sup>16</sup>.

14. Raf van Kets, O.P., "The Dialogue between the Church and Contemporary Cultures", in "Concilium" Vol.1, No.1, Jan. 1965, p. 81.

15. Léon-Joseph Cardinal Suenens, "Co-responsibility in the Church", 1968, p.56ff.

16. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, "Le Milieu Divin" in "Oeuvres de P. Teilhard de Chardin" (1957), IV, p.201-2; English Translation: Fontana 1966 (5th impression) p.154.

The basic unity of mankind as the sparking point for Christianity to show her true transcendence through a deepening realization of immanence, can therefore be seen to be developing strongly from the lead given by Vatican II. The principal lines of advance are the following:-

1. Within the increasing awareness of the need for a genuinely biblical theology, the Catholic Church is trying to understand in ever greater depth the significance of Jesus' command "You shall love your neighbour as yourself" (Lk.10:27).
2. This brings about the realization that mankind's basic unity which merely results from being human, involves commitment to service and plans for improving the human lot. All such human activities are means of expressing the "communio" which exists among men, and can be described as having a religious character.
3. It is therefore possible that humanity may achieve salvation through being human because the Incarnation has made every human event a part of our common eschatological history.
4. This in no way alters or reduces the Church's salvific and sacramental task.

3. Dialogue with the Non-Believer.

The Council's recommendation for Christians to take seriously the "unbelief" of the majority of men today and to acknowledge the sincerity of many non-Christian positions, has met with a large response. This advance can be measured in attempts made to "see whether atheism seeks and invokes that numinous depth of human interrelations which has become manifest in the divine incarnation, with the result that all immediate relationship to God is mediated and disclosed by the love of neighbour"<sup>17</sup>.

17. Johannes Baptist Metz, "Unbelief as a Theological Problem", in "Concilium" Vol.6 No.1 June 1965, p.40.

Intellectual understanding of the tenets of Marxism are essential to sincere dialogue, says H.R. Schlette: "Confrontation with the Marxist and Western Sociological ideology-criticism will not be embarrassing to theology only if it has the courage to tackle its indeed massive objections. Time taken to study these problems will be the only way of advancing a step forward in the self-understanding of faith and unbelief"<sup>18</sup>. Concrete evidence that the Council initiated a determined effort to engage in dialogue is the fact that in 1965 there was a Conference organised by the Paulus Society, called "Christianity and Marxism Today" at which scholars from both sides were invited to speak without the normal political pressures. While it was admitted that the dialogue was only really at the stage of initiation, it was a time of mutual learning and certainly for realizing that very real differences separated the speakers - not least in their uses of terminology<sup>19</sup>.

In the following year, the influential Catholic journal "Concilium" devoted a whole issue to the theme "Christian faith meets contemporary atheism"<sup>20</sup>. This was significant in that, in a spirit of ecumenism, Catholic and Protestant writers attempted to show the way that would lead to dialogue. It is recognised that it is not antagonistic opposition or direct unbelief that opposes the Christian gospel, not an "explicit negation of faith" but rather that "contemporary unbelief sees itself as a positive and possible way of human existence"<sup>21</sup>. In this way J.B. Metz indicates that true dialogue (a confrontation on equal terms with respect for the other's positive alternatives) will be possible. Faith must take

18. Heinz Robert Schlette, "The Problem of Ideology and Christian Belief", Bulletin in "Concilium" Vol.6 No.1 June 1965, p.65.

19. "A Dialogue between Christian and Marxist Scholars" in "Concilium" Vol.7 No.1, p.87.

20. "Concilium" Vol.6 No.2 June 1966, edited by Johannes Baptist Metz.

21. *ibid.* p.3.

its partner's humanitarian claim seriously and must see to it that its own solidarity in the struggle for the endangered humanity of mankind be clearly known and expressed in action"<sup>22</sup>.

In the light of what we have so far discovered about dialogue, it would seem that Gaston Fessard, Prefect of Studies at the Collège St. Joseph, Poitiers, is taking a theological "no road" when he attempts to suggest that Communism is a distant mutation of Christianity, "an inverted theocracy"<sup>23</sup>. He suggests that through Hegelian Dialectic, historical materialism adopted the theological structures of Christianity (incarnation, original sin and redemption). Such attempts as these fail to appreciate the fact that we are concerned with dialogue and understanding between the Church and the opposing forces of materialistic Communism in the closing decades of the twentieth century. A sine qua non of dialogue is the acceptance that great differences do exist in order that some attempt may be made to come to terms with them.

The Lutheran Professor from Bonn, Jürgen Moltmann, conscientiously adopts the Catholic attempt at dialogue not only by actually contributing to "Concilium" but by carefully taking pains to distinguish the different beliefs which are covered by the blanket term "communism". He particularly concerns himself with that school associated with Ernst Bloch, Georg Lukács, and Karl Korsch. He describes this movement as "esoteric Marxism", insisting that it "goes far beyond the recognized limits of the Leninist and Stalinist systems: returning on the one hand, to the pre-Marxist sources of prophetic history, to Judaism and Christianity, and to the religious and political manifestations of the history of revolution in the West; positioning on the other, a state of things to come beyond the goal

22. *ibid.*

23. Gaston Fessard, "The Theological Structure of Marxist Atheism", in "Concilium" Vol.6 No.2 p.5 referring to Nicolas Berdyaev, "Origin of Russian Communism" (University of Michigan Press, 1960).

of a classless society"<sup>24</sup>. Clearly the opportunities for dialogue and the likelihood of progress will be greater if it is genuinely the case that the Bible, the history of the Church, eschatology and the idea of liberating man to self-fulfilment are the common heritage of both sides in this particular dialogue task. Moltmann shows a profound understanding and love for the Church when he indicates that genuine dialogue - which keeps faith with the charge of Vatican II - will provide the Church with opportunities not only to give and speak, but also to receive and listen, so that it can truly become the salt of the earth.

That the spirit of the Council has been increasingly apparent in the years that followed is witnessed in the existence of many recent Catholic studies made of the different forms which atheism assumes (e.g. that of J.P. Sartre and M. Merleau-Ponty, Julian Huxley and Freud). It is to be hoped that the Church will use these opportunities to the full and as a means of growth. For instance, it might be that if the Church took more seriously the work of Sigmund Freud there would be not only sincere dialogue but also a learning process concerning the precise nature of sanctification and divinisation. If this idea of John Bamberger O.C.S.O., were in fact shown to contain some approximation to the truth, he would consider that "This achievement would create within the cultural climate of our times an area of freedom where faith and religious experience could sink deep roots and reveal from within, the richness of life in Christ"<sup>25</sup>.

Official Catholicism, while it has greeted with enthusiasm the present mood of dialogue with atheism, has displayed a certain caution

24. Jürgen Moltmann, "Hope without Faith: An Eschatological Humanism without God", in "Concilium" *ibid* (translated by John Cumming) p.14.
25. John Bamberger, O.C.S.O., "Religion as illusion? Freud's Challenge to Theology", in "Concilium" *ibid.*, p.45.

in its approach. For instance, the Secretariat for Non-Believers has revealed no precipitous rush towards discussions, in the belief that significant progress will take longer than many optimistic theologians have led us to believe. The work undertaken by the Secretariat is concisely expressed by Cardinal Koenig: "Quittant sa position de combat, d'opposition, de comportement entièrement négatif, l'Eglise s'est transformée en interlocuteur qui pose des questions, qui veut comprendre, qui cherche des liens. Mais qu'est-ce qui relie l'Eglise avec les incroyants? Qu'est-ce que le catholique a en commun avec l'athée? La seule chose et en même temps la plus profonde, c'est d'être des hommes. Au premier abord le dialogue ne peut donc pas être théologique, mais humain. C'est un dialogue d'une grande nécessité mais très difficile"<sup>26</sup>. However, despite the fact that the progress of dialogue (at its radical level) is painfully slow, "tragique...un acte, une drame, une praxis, un combat". J.F. Six leaves us with the optimistic statement that it is the young people, with their profundity of spiritual values, who will carry on this important work, at least, "Tel est notre souhait, telle, est notre esperance"<sup>27</sup>.

In what respects do we find an advance on the Council?

1. While the Council Fathers were extremely progressive in their abandonment of previous current if not always official views that to be an atheist was to incur moral guilt, subsequent writings have shown genuine acceptance of atheism as a positive way of life.
2. The Council accepted that there are different types of atheism and specifically mentioned the "sceptical, agnostic and positivist"

26. Cardinal Koenig, at the first meeting of the Secretariat for Non-Believers (January 1967). sic. Jean François Six: "Du Syllabus au Dialogue" Paris, 1970. p.89.

27. Six. *ibid.* p.263.

varieties. Marxism is alluded to, although not by name - in other words there has been a noticeable development to reach the point where various types of Atheism are mentioned specifically.

3. Vatican II's hopes that intellectual study of the claims of atheists would be made have been realized in the plethora of articles and studies which represent the Christian study of atheistic humanism.
4. It has been further recognized that the Church, as a test of genuine dialogue, will find that it provides occasions for self-criticism, growth and learning.
5. A by-product of dialogue between Christianity and Atheism is a closer relationship between Catholics and Protestants.
6. Finally, we have to record the disappointment of many Catholics (more than hinted at in the work of J.F. Six and demonstrated by the widespread reports of disallusionment among Catholic Clergy and Religious) with the cautious approach of the Official Catholic Church. While on the one hand this official attitude of caution could be a sign of careful change, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to hold back and refuse to implement whatever changes that will speed the cause of dialogue may equally be displaying a very human fear and lack of trust in the loving concern of God.

#### 4. Dialogue with Judaism.

The Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions encouraged brotherly dialogue between Catholics and Jews, denying all charges of deicide and deploring all forms of persecution and hatred. Clearly many theologians have been inspired by the momentum of the Council's work. Abbé Laurentin, a Council Reporter, described the achievement as "beautiful", if not quite as beautiful as it might have been but for the final revisions<sup>28</sup>. The editor of "Der Christliche

28. Abbé Laurentin, "Le Figaro" 15th October 1965.

Sonntag", Manfred Plate, in his book, "The Council as a World Event" describes the advance in relationships with the Jews as the core of the Council and "a very concrete mandate for the reform of preaching, catechetical work, of piety. Every motive that could in some manner or other beget Jew-hatred must be totally extirpated"<sup>29</sup>. Nor has the post-Conciliar period been one merely for pious platitudes but there has been a development of a positive theology of the Old Testament for its own sake. Vatican II has not only moved Catholics in this direction, but others too as with the former Secretary of the W.C.C., Dr. W.A. Visser't Hooft, just before the vote on the final draft, said in public: "a clear expression of the biblical truth which has been obscured in all Churches, namely that it is through the Jewish people that the divine revelation has first come to men, and that the deep bond which thus exists between Jews and Christians must not only be a memory but a present reality. Anti-semitism therefore is a denial of the Christian faith itself"<sup>30</sup>. The rejection of anti-semitism by the General Assembly of the W.C.C. in New Delhi (1961) and the statement of Vatican II seem to him indubitable witness of the new movement in which all the Churches will reshape their attitudes to the Jewish people and makes some amends for the past.

We rely on John Oesterreicher for the provision of two essays by authors he considers to have advanced and made fruitful the task set by the Council<sup>31</sup>. The first is by Joseph Hoffman when, in a special issue of "Esprit" he describes the statement on the Jews as part "of that movement which humbly places the Church under the authority of God's word so that she may in all things that make up her most intimate and

29. Manfred Plate, "Weltereignis Konzil: Darstellung - Sinn - Ergebnis" (Freiburg im Br., 1966) p.293.

30. Reported in the New York Herald Tribune 15th October 1965.

31. John Oesterreicher, "Yes, No and Nevertheless", in "Concilium" Vol. 4 No.3 April 1967, pp.78-79.

essential life find herself again"<sup>32</sup>. Dialogue between Christianity and Judaism, he stresses, will not be so much a confrontation, so much as mutual study of a common inheritance based on absolute loyalty to the living God who reveals himself to man. He pin-points what is a common bond between them, as the provision of "a common testimony to the insufficiency of the world and the absoluteness of God"<sup>33</sup>.

This is supported by the second essayist, Dr. Kurt Schubert, Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Vienna, when he emphasizes that the new developments in Christian-Jewish relationships do not reduce the message of the Gospel, but tend very much to deepen it<sup>34</sup>. Schubert, however, goes so far as to place Judaism within the Ecumenical movement which is not really helpful to dialogue in that it blurs the real issue and denies the very real differences which exist between Christian and Jew - differences to be witnessed in two separate bodies of worship and prayer. Indeed, we are both "founded upon the same covenant and the same promises" but surely the existence of the new covenant makes it impossible simply to say "The Jewish religion is therefore not a non-Christian religion like any other"<sup>35</sup>. It would be more favourable to the cause of dialogue, while admitting the common patrimony, the common waiting for the overcoming of sin, death and sickness, together in an "ecumene" of hope, at the same time to state quite realistically the differences between the Jewish and Christian life of faith.

32. Joseph Hoffman, "Vatican II et les Juifs", in "Esprit" 34, June 1966, p.1169.

33. Oesterreicher, *ibid* and Hoffman, *ibid.*, p.1170.

34. Kurt Schubert, "Die Erklärung des 2 Vatikanischen Konzils über der Juden", in "Bibel und Liturgie I (1966), p.16.

35. *ibid.* p.20.

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert (Director of the Anit-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) has successfully achieved this balance when he writes that "we have a responsibility to achieve mutual esteem and understanding" (notice that it is yet to be achieved) "through discussion and study, through knowing who you are and trying to understand what you believe"<sup>36</sup>. The existence of very real differences - and who are Christians to tell Jews what is the content of their religion? - is specifically noted by some Jewish leaders. For instance the question of deicide may be settled in some Catholic minds by the statement of Vatican II but certain (if minority) views in the Jewish world have expressed dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms: "The Vatican Council has found various evasive doctrinal formulations but in all of them the Jew remains the killer of God. You are trying to give evidence of you new-won tolerance by making strenuous efforts to push the Jewish crime into the background of antiquity. You mean to be magnanimous and subtle but we Jews feel like the innocent who has been forgiven a crime he never committed and we thoroughly resent and reject such Christian forgiveness". It is significant for the study of dialogue to indicate his closing remarks, "Rather we want Christianity to clean itself! I am not speaking against Christianity but for it"<sup>37</sup>.

A further indication of the need to face seriously the existence of a very real differences between the two faiths is given by Rabbi Eisendrath: "Though hopeful that even the weakened Schema on the Jews may warn many parish priests of the sinfulness of anti-semitism, for synagogues scrawled with the crooked cross of the swastika, for Jewish cemeteries desecrated, for discrimination and even of persecution yet manifesting itself in Europe, in South America and even in some parts of our

36. John Oesterreicher, "Jewish Comments on the Conciliar Statement Concerning the Jews", in "Concilium", Vol.8 No.3 October 1967, pp.50-56.

37. "An Open Letter to the Pope" by Rabbi Julius J. Nodel of S. Louis, on the occasion of the Pope's visit to the United Nations.

own country...we must hold responsible still those who utter such inflammable phrases as did Pope Paul when in his Lenten Day sermon of April 4th last, he lashed his hearers into habitual Holy Week fanaticism by reminding them that the Jew "predestined to receive the Messiah, not only does not recognize him but fights him, slanders him and finally kills him"<sup>38</sup>. The Pope's pre-Conciliar language was unfortunate and although Rabbi Eisendrath found himself very much in isolation on account of his extremist views, this kind of evidence should be a warning against those Christians who are cheerfully over-optimistic or short-sighted with regard to the true state of affairs existing between Jew and Christian.

Again it is a great contrast for one theologian to speak of Ecumenism with Judaism while another feels compelled to note in 1968 that "there has been no official recognition of the Church of Judaism for what it is and such as it defines itself"<sup>39</sup>, and yet another feels that Roman Catholic (and indeed all Christian) theologians are still baffled concerning the status of Jews<sup>40</sup>.

So we are able to conclude this section by assessing the post-conciliar avenues of advance:-

1. There is sufficient documentary evidence available to make it abundantly clear that dialogue, such as the Council inaugurated, is taking place between Christianity and Judaism.
2. Efforts are being made towards an official recognition of Judaism by the Church, as a living faith with intrinsic spiritual riches.
3. The movement towards mutual trust and friendship finds part of

38. Rabbi Eisendrath, "The State of our Union", 48th General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, San Francisco, California. 14th November 1965.

39. Jean-Paul Lichtenberg, O.P., "Strength and Weakness of the Declaration on the Jews", in "Concilium" Vol. 5 No.4 May 1968, p.73.

40. Ben Zion Bokser, "Vatican II and the Jews", in "The Jewish Quarterly Review" 1968 59(2) p.150.

its resources in the new positive approach to an Old Testament Theology.

4. There is a need for a more honest assessment of each other's beliefs. The danger of the Church assuming that a patronizing and forgetful attitude of mind is a basis for radical dialogue must be recognized. Genuine dialogue starts from the recognition of the great differences that exist between the two parties.
5. However, while there is much that divides Jews and Christians, recent progress in relationships gives reason for hope especially on account of the discovery of many aims and basic religious beliefs held in common.

5. Dialogue with the World Religions.

Nostra Aetate was limited in its scope and mentions by name Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam (apart from Judaism) expressing briefly a positive and genuinely high opinion of the life and spirituality of these people. It is doubtful that we shall find that the basic presupposition offered by the Fathers of the Council has altered in these few intervening years. However, dialogue has been taking place.

Immediately after the Council and the ensuing creation of the Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions, several prominent Hindu scholars made it publicly known that they would be willing to engage in dialogue with the Church. The suggested basis was that the world is so disastrously split on so many issues that Christians and Hindus should proclaim that the "one unifying principle...is the belief in a Supreme Reality, the source and author of all things"<sup>41</sup>. The advance on the

41. J. Britto Chethimattam C.M.I. Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Bangalore) "The Scope and Conditions of a Hindu-Christian Dialogue" in "Documentation Concilium" Vo.3 No.1 March 1965, p.83.

Council can easily be seen here, for whereas the Fathers merely stated that Hinduism has faith in "God", here we actually have the Hindu response on the very same issue. Probably this response was nurtured by the Secretariat being able to show that it was not part of that inflexible dogmatism that marked much of pre-Conciliar official relations between Catholics and Hindus, nor concerned to attract and absorb into its fold all who come within its influence. Dialogue admits the radical differences between the partners but the Church has come to a fuller realization of what it means to believe (as has always been the case) that the Church must never deny the working of grace anywhere in the world. In other words as Christians do not consider the Hindus are separated from grace, "there is every reason to express in everyday life this unity of all in the quest of the one Absolute, and to seek to strengthen this union in every possible way"<sup>42</sup>. It has also been seen to follow that common prayer between Christians and Hindus must be practised as one way of removing misunderstandings, together with a common coming to terms with problems in social, cultural, economic and political fields.

The Council, recognizing that Buddhism is a term which covers a wide variety of beliefs, alluded to the common path by which Buddhists attained absolute freedom or a supreme enlightenment (N.A.2). Subsequently theologians have been seen to have stopped drawing exclusive boundaries and begun to learn about the faith of Buddhists. Mgr. George Siegmund, Professor of Theology at Fulda, Germany, has proposed that the Buddhist metaphysical principle of "absolute nothingness" could be used as a point of discussion regarding Christian and Buddhist attitudes towards spirituality<sup>43</sup>. When facing Buddhists in dialogue it will be no

42. *ibid.* pp.92f.

43. George Siegmund, "The Encounter with Buddhism - Longing for God as a general basis for dialogue", in "Documentation Concilium" (ed. Gen. Secretariat) Vol.9 No.3 November 1967, pp.63-69.

use the Westerners declaring a state of spiritual bankruptcy, as if the Church had nothing to contribute in this field. Dialogue requires two equal partners; Christian and Buddhists possess a common experience of the interior way and also see the need to work for better social conditions and the causes of world peace.

These examples serve to show that the real progress since Vatican II with regard to non-Christian religions has been the implementation of what had previously been unofficial and fragmentary, on the basis of the encouragement of the Council Fathers.

#### 6. The Missions after Vatican II.

When the Council had stated that without full and persistent missionary activity the Church is meaningless, it was to be expected that there would be considerable time devoted to working out the Church's missionary commitment in the years that followed. Before the Council, the missionary had a difficult if clearly defined task but since Vatican II there has come out into the open a great heart-searching concerning missionary work. E. Hillman quotes Fr. G. Naidenoff as saying, "the geographical notion of the missions, founded on the distinction between the evangelising countries and those being evangelised, is being erased with each passing day and simply marks a stage in the spiritual impregnation of the universe"<sup>44</sup>. While the pre-Conciliar task of the missionary was difficult enough, the new ideas are proving more demanding still although this may be offset by the larger proportion of the Church's energy that will be devoted to this work in the future. More and more the Church is realizing that it is only true to its-self - as stated in "Lumen Gentium" - when it is raising up a sign among those who do not yet believe and through the clarity of that sign inspiring those people to

44. Eugene Hillman C.S.Sp., "The Church as Mission", London and Melbourne 1966, p.20.

go out and raise up a similar sign for others.

There is the ever increasing awareness that a Church of static concepts which raise up defences to exclude non-believers is utterly mistaken. Instead it must be constantly pushing out new frontiers - evangelised areas will require pastoral attention but this must never hinder the "raison d'être" of the Church which is mission. From this point of view it is quite valid to endorse the statement of Père Charles that "the missionary is not charged to save souls but to install a visible Church where it did not exist before"<sup>45</sup>. There has been such a clean break with previous missionary ideas that Karl Rahner is able to write that the old missionary techniques were "facts of cultural history rather than theology"<sup>46</sup>.

How does contemporary mission theology relate God's will that all men should be saved (I Tim.2:4) to the fact that some men never have the gospel preached to them? No longer arrogating to itself all the roads to God, the Church finds it impossible to believe that God reveals himself in whatever way of faith and in whatever stage of the human condition each man finds himself. (cf.2 Cor.6:2)<sup>47</sup>. God presents himself to a man at the moments of inner decision made within a man's own conscience, at the time of testing when each man "proves himself before God or he perishes"<sup>48</sup>. This renewed emphasis on the "prior gift of grace"<sup>49</sup> means that we can describe the call to salvation as coming from within a man in the events of his daily existence during which he responds, "Yes" or "No". Also it seems reasonable to add that any succession of these

45. *ibid.* p.53, quoting Père Charles in "World Mission" 1960, Vol.11, No.4, p.9.

46. Karl Rahner, "The Christian Commitment", Sheed and Ward, 1964, p.31.

47. Hillman, *ibid.* p.76.

48. *ibid.*

49. *ibid.* p.86. Schillebeeckx, *ibid.* p.179.

responses will constitute a "modus vivendi". The stability of a way of life would therefore depend on whether a man responded to grace once or; frequently or perhaps never. The advantage of this theory of salvation, endorsed by Edward Schillebeeckx in "Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God"<sup>50</sup>, is that being based on the common unity of man it applies equally to Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans or anyone.

While this "ordinary and universal mode of the bestowal of grace" is attractively simple and lucid, it might be argued that it does away with the need for the Church and is in fact in direct opposition to the maxim, "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus". However "grace" and "salvation" are not identical. Throughout our study we have stressed that the Church does not deny the prevalence of the former within all human situations - it does however require positive response to embrace salvation. Modern missionary theories are not advocating indifferentism. Indeed, while the mediaeval theologians, including St. Thomas are excused their rigidity in stating that the Church was the only visible community within which salvation was to be found, being naturally bound by the geographical knowledge of their time, neither they nor modern theologians would need to be excused for regarding "heretical" bodies as rejecting grace and therefore salvation. In the present mood of new missiology it is easier to be lulled into a forgetfulness that while God wills the salvation of all men, it is by no means therefore an automatic process. Just as it is possible to answer "Yes", it is often just as easy, if not easier, to answer, "No". Despite this, it is plainly an indication of genuine advance that the Church realizes that the possibility of salvation exists "not only within the visible Church and not only within the hearts of men; but also in the world of non-Christian religions"<sup>51</sup>. In the light of

50. Edward Schillebeeckx, "Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God", New York 1963, p.3.

51. Hillman, *ibid.* p.96.

this, "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus", used without a spirit of polemic, is not to be rejected. For whoever responds to God's grace, in whatever way, is joined in some degree to a community of witnessing Christians. This should not reduce the effort to achieve individual numerical conversions but it shows that the Church can never measure the totality of human potential for salvation and must instead be prepared to make a stand on behalf of all mankind so that "Christ is sacramentally present once and for all among each people"<sup>52</sup>. It is valuable here to refer back to the insight of Henri de Lubac who wrote, "When a missionary proclaims Christ to a people that does not yet know him, it is not only those men or their descendants that hear his preaching, who are concerned with the success of his mission. It is also, and it can be said in more than one sense, their ancestors. Indirectly, but really it is the whole nameless mass of those who, from the beginning of our race, have done their best in that darkness or half light that was their lot. And so it is that God desiring that all men should be visibly saved, but not allowing in practice that all should be visibly in the Church, will nevertheless that all those who answer his call should in the last resort be saved through his Church". ("Catholicism", p.117). The value of glancing back to de Lubac's work in the 1940's is first that we can see that Vatican II was a crystallizing out of ideas already seminal among some Christians, and secondly as an assurance that the line of development through the Council and into some on the seemingly "avant-garde" theologies of mission in the later period is genuinely Catholic and a part of the continuing tradition.

It is because the Catholic Church has not reduced, but rather expanded the faith which has always been its heritage, that "Extra

52. *ibid.* p.138.

*Ecclesiam Nulla Salus*" is as true now as before the Council. The new insights of the Church have not denied the truth but have rather replaced a negative by a positive attitude which regards the Church as the sacrament of God's salvific will<sup>53</sup>. While the Church is struggling to get beyond the stage where it regards pagan religions as "Legitimate" in a grudging way, there is the necessity to stress that this legitimacy is only provisional - it remains until Christ is fully revealed to the pagans. While many are not ready to receive the Church at a given moment in time, it is the will of God that through the ministry of the People of God that time will come. We are right therefore to heed the concern of Vatican II for the Church to engage her greatest resources in missionary activity.

The paradox of Mission and Dialogue must be held together and this is done extremely successfully in the article on "Missions"<sup>54</sup> in the recently published "Sacramentum Mundi". Those who find themselves within the Church must be made to feel that they are there because they already have some knowledge of who they are but that they must seek no superiority over those "who have not yet clearly realized what in the depths of their life they are, it is to be assumed, already accomplishing"<sup>55</sup>. Karl Rahner neatly summarizes it as follows: "In preaching Christianity to 'non-Christians', therefore, the future Christian will not so much start with the idea that he is aiming at turning them into something they are not, as trying to bring them to their true selves"<sup>56</sup>. This will cause resentment among non-believers who do not regard the Church as a promise or themselves as on the way to becoming the Church, and also among some loyal Catholics who regard the new theology as mere indifferentism. It

53. cf. Jan Kerkhofs, (editor) "Modern Mission Dialogue", introduction by F. de Graeve S.J., p.xiii.

54. John Masson, "Missions", 'Sacramentum Mundi' Vol.4 1969.

55. Karl Rahner, "The Christian of the Future" 1966, pp.85f.

56. *ibid.*

remains to be seen how these problems will resolve themselves within the post-conciliar movement and how far in fact the official Catholic sanction will be given to some of the developments described here.

Before drawing general conclusions at the end of the first part of this chapter, we must briefly point out the main lines described in this section:

1. In the light of all the present emphasis on understanding and Dialogue, the Church is increasing her missionary efforts.
2. New attitudes towards mission are not evidence of increasing indifferentism but present a more exacting task.
3. If it were considered that the Church, by allowing the positive value of other religions were accepting a peripheral role at the edge of contemporary society, this would be the exact opposite of the truth.
4. By becoming more immanent in the world, the Church is in fact deepening its theological understanding, in that only by adopting a more profound view of the prevalence of grace, can a satisfactory attempt be made as solving the dichotomy between God's will that all men should be saved and the situation as it appears in reality.
5. The real strength of the Church lies in its being able to show that it believes the maxim, "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus". This could be achieved by those who explicitly bear witness to Christ showing a real will to learn from and to respect unbelievers, appreciating that God reveals himself to them in ways that are appropriate, and at the same time always hoping that unbelievers may be led to a full and explicit knowledge of Christ.

## 7. Conclusions.

The points of development in the post-conciliar period are:-

- a) Vatican II's spirit of openness had rapidly turned into a positive

approach to the unbeliever with a willingness to believe that it is possible to have a genuine faith other than explicit Christianity.

- b) The banishment of complacency, officially encouraged at the Council has been put into practice in the years that followed with the result that the People of God truly show signs of becoming a servant of the world.
- c) The new developments have been shown to stem from a new awareness of the significance of well-known Biblical teaching.
- d) The emphasis on the community of man and a deeper understanding of grace have made it possible to begin the search for a balance between Dialogue and Mission.
- e) The maxim "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus", while no longer used in apologetics to the unbeliever, provides the essential keystone to an understanding of the recent theology of salvation.

PART TWO: THE SALVATION OF THE NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN.

1. Introduction.

There is a sense in which under the strict terms of reference of this thesis - namely whether or not salvation is only to be found within the Catholic Church - this second part of the post-conciliar discussion ought not to be written at all. For the Council openly recognized that salvation was to be found within non-Catholic Christian Communities and showed a willingness to address at least some of them as Churches. However, we shall briefly delineate some of the main areas of subsequent discussion and points of particular importance without attempting detailed accounts which would lead us into the field of ecclesiology.

Those who have set themselves the task of making plain the paths towards unity opened up by the Council are conscious that it is a slow painstaking one although it becomes easier with experience: "It is the same as in the case of a door which is fastened by ten nails. It is 'more open' if even one nail has been extracted, for this will give us hope that we shall remove all, especially as our technical skill in drawing out the nails will also increase"<sup>57</sup>. A lesson which has therefore been learnt by those most experienced in this work is that the rate of progress must be low if mistakes are to be avoided. For instance G. Philips<sup>58</sup> reminds us that the present tensions are part of the persecutions and afflictions which are the Church's lot: "Si nous sommes ses témoins, le Concile, dans un avenir que nous ne savons pas déterminer, fera la preuve de sa fécondité et de sa victoire durement remportée, assaillie, meurtrie parfois, et pourtant finalement irrésistible. Mais

57. Karl Rahner: *Grace in Freedom*, Burns & Oates; Herder & Herder (New York and London) 1969. (Translated by Hilda Graef from "Gnade als Freiheit: Kleine theologische Beiträge", Herder, Freiburg, 1968). p.96.

58. G. Philips: NRT 1969 June-July pp.561-579, "La Mise en application de Vatican II".

nous voulons témoigner notre tâche ne fait que commencer"<sup>59</sup>.

## 2. The People of God.

It is clear from all that has preceded that the idea of the Church as People of God, while little used as a description before Vatican II, has been greatly developed both during and after the Council. To a large extent the fact that this is a Biblical phrase is responsible for its development. The Council has produced a great deal of renewed Biblical study which is important to the Catholic Church's relationship with Protestants.

Beyond this there is nothing new to add.

## 3. Reflections on "Unitatis Redintegratio".

Lorenz Cardinal Jaegar is one of the theologians who has started from the actual text of the Council's Decree on Ecumenism in order to see where future developments will lie<sup>60</sup>. He was concerned that Rome was still standing on a pedestal and that the Catholic Church must work out its ecclesiological terms if it does not want to meet a continual barrage of opposition. This is not to say that he expects the Catholic Church to cover up the description which it would use itself so as to appear conciliatory. Already enough has been learnt to show that dialogue only has a chance to take place where two parties accept each other's differences<sup>61</sup>.

59. *ibid.*, pp.578f.

60. Lorenz Cardinal Jaegar: "A Stand on Ecumenism: The Council's Decree", Translated by Hilda Graef, London and Dublin 1965, pp.64-66.

61. *ibid.*p.78

The theme of "communio", certainly important in the dialogue between all men of different religions, ought to go without saying in the relationship between Christian groups. Bishop Butler and T. Stransky both develop the Council theme of a hierarchy of truths (added to U.R.11 during the fourth session) by developing the idea of a communion in truth. The basic idea of this is that while all doctrines are equally necessary, they are not all equally important, but many Christian bodies share in common those that are most important<sup>62</sup>. Hans Kung has raised the same point and pointed out that all that is common among the Churches must be recognized as "the broad basis of the unity which has already been found, which has indeed been given to us"<sup>63</sup>.

To analyse the commentaries on the Council documents is not our present task but we may conclude this note by referring to Cardinal Suenen's plea in this "new climate of rediscovered brotherhood" for Christians to base their hopes for unity on the common prayer, "Our Father"<sup>64</sup>.

#### 4. Apostolic Succession and Ministry.

Vatican II made it clear that "elements" of the Church were to be found in Christian Churches other than the Roman Catholic Church. This has been widely received and developed in the post-Conciliar discussions within the context of the nature of Apostolic Succession and the validity of non-Catholic Orders. There has been a revival of

62. cf. Bishop Christopher Butler, "The Theology of Vatican II", The Sarum Lectures 1966, Darton, Longman and Todd 1967. Passim and p.139, quoting T. Stransky, "The Decree on Ecumenism, A New Translation with a commentary" p.64, n.30.
63. Hans Kung, "The Church", Burns and Oates, London 1968. (A translation of "Die Kirche" Herder, Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 1967 by Ray and Rosaleen Ockenden) p.285. (cf. U.R.3).
64. Léon-Joseph Cardinal Suenens, "Coresponsibility in the Church", Herder & Herder, New York 1968 (Translated from "Co-responsabilité dans l'église d'aujourd'hui", Bruges, Desclée De Brouwer, 1968), pp.36f.

interest in the question of Anglican Orders - declared null and void by "Apostolicae Curae" (1896) which is evidence once again for the need to accept clearly and honestly the points of contention which exist between parties in dispute. Prolonged discussion of these topics is the work of experts in these fields; we shall merely remark that the very nature of the research conducted by the former Jesuit Francis Clarke, W. Van de Pol (Dutch Catholic Theologian and former Anglican) and Frans Jozef van Beeck (Dutch Jesuit) and J.J. Hughes (former Anglican) shows the actuality and delicacy of the work in this domain, to mention but a few. The stage has now been reached when there is a possibility to explore more thoroughly the actual ecclesiological details of the individual Christian traditions.

These Dialogues show continuity with the Council by their Biblical and historical bases which serves as a common ground of all Christians within which discussions can be anchored. For example, Hans Küng, in a discussion centred on the need to do away with rigidly narrow interpretations of Apostolic Succession, writes: "the Body of Christ sees itself as one, holy, catholic and apostolic. These four attributes or dimensions are far from being exclusive...On the other hand, it is clear that these four dimensions are not random ones, but four essential dimensions of the Church, demanded of it by the New Testament"<sup>65</sup>. Again, there is a tremendously high Biblical content in the articles on "Apostle" and "Apostolic Community" in "Sacramentum Mundi", the encyclopedia published between 1968 and 1970. Also "Word" and "Spirit" concepts only recently taken to heart by Catholicism, are described with all their Biblical background - this openness to the example set by the Council itself has allowed a freshness of outlook to come over the Catholic Church as well as successfully excluding any possibility of

65. Küng, "The Church", p.359.

careless apologetic through misuse of scripture.

5. The Ecclesial Reality of other Churches.

Whatever doubt or hesitation existed in the minds of Catholics before the Council concerning the ecclesial reality of non-Catholic Eastern Churches, was dispelled by the documents and no one could add anything at all of significance in the period that has followed.

With regard to the Protestant Churches, Catholics affirmed their belief in the reality of these communions at the Council. Since then there have been many studies made to find out what is common in the various heritages. Kung notices that whereas the Catholic Church has often failed to give sufficient weight to Holy Scripture, many other Churches have an excellent record in this respect<sup>66</sup>. For this reason the Catholic Church must be the pupil of the other Churches, while testing everything and holding to what it finds good (I Thess.5:21). There is evidence that this learning process has actually been put into practice in that a whole issue of "Concilium" was devoted to the central important points of discussion<sup>67</sup>. The content of these articles is important, of course, but for our thesis it is more significant to be able to record that eminent Protestant and Eastern theologians were actually invited to contribute side by side in a Roman Catholic publication. Each is accepted as holding the Christian faith in common without reference to denominational arguments.

One very significant criticism that has been levelled against progress in this field concerns the attitude of Rome. It is felt by some that "There is a tendency to look in the other Churches for those elements

66. Hans Kung, "Other Christian Churches - do we know them?", in "Concilium" Vol.4, No.2 April 1966, p.3.

67. "Concilium" Vol.4, No.2, April 1966.

which correspond to the faith of the Roman Catholic Church...a tendency which is still too definitely centred on Rome"<sup>68</sup>, The Council, while producing very definite results for Ecumenism, was still very much Rome-centred but we have seen evidence already which indicates a radical reorientation of Catholic thinking. Surely, it is already the case that "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" no longer puts the Roman Catholic Church and "the rest" in two compartments of thought but rather "the Church" and "the unbeliever" - and "unbeliever" as has been seen, has changed in content and significance over the last few years. The criticism is really a confusion of two separate things. The one is the actual change of heart of the Catholic Church and the second is the actual process of implementation of this change of heart at all levels. Any such widesweeping change is bound to take many years to implement in such a vast organisation as the Roman Catholic Church. So we are confident that Cardinal Bea is not merely being rhetorical when he says, "Rome favours the putting into practice of the 'Decree on Ecumenism' at the highest level and the start of a dialogue on equal footing, not centred on Rome, Geneva or Constantinople but on the person and the work of Christ, based on Holy Scripture in truth and charity directed towards such unity as Christ wills and by the means he wills it to the glory of the Father"<sup>69</sup>.

The tendency we are finding in our examination of post-Conciliar Ecumenism is for the Biblical points highlighted in the documents to be developed through study and meditation from all sides. Further signs of this sincerity comes from Gregory Baum, "Protestants are engaged in the

68. Maurice Villain, S.M., "The Debate about the Decree on Ecumenism", "Concilium" Vol.4, No.2, 1966, p.65.

69. "Recontre oecuménique à Genève". Addresses by Cardinal Bea, Pastor Boegner, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, Professor N. Missiotis and Professor O. Cullmann, in "Collection Oecuménique" n.4 (Labor et Fides, 1965) cited by Villain, *ibid.* p.68.

same quest for a contemporary expression of the Gospel as the Catholic Church"<sup>70</sup>. In other words Catholics, as much as Protestants, feel that there must be learning from both sides which is clear enough as an equal and mutual recognition of Ecclesiality. There are those who push on to the logical conclusion that if Rome is really sincere in what she says about the equality of other Churches, she must undertake to reconsider her doctrine of the Papacy. One of these is Michael Novak, a philosopher: "It is indispensable in the years ahead to think concretely about the various ministries of the Church...Suppose the title "Vicar of Peter" - for so many centuries the Pope's title - were to be restored, and the title of "Vicar of Christ" applied, more properly to the whole Church...since the whole Church, not the Pope is Christ's Body"<sup>71</sup>. Clearly the doctrine of the Papacy must feature in all future discussions on the possibility of organic unity between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Any vestiges of the Church as an empire or power complex must fade in the communal search of the Churches for "a collective Church...a truly fraternal community, poor and serving, a Communion"<sup>72</sup>.

The cause of Ecclesial Reality of the other Churches has advanced on these fronts:-

1. Theologians have expanded on the Council documents, and especially the Biblical themes.
- 2, Ecclesial reality has been visibly expressed by a willingness on the part of Rome to learn from other Churches.

70. Gregory Baum, "The Protestant Response to the Council", in "Journ. Ecum. Stud." Vol.3, No.2 Spring 1966, p.361.

71. Michael Novak, "Jour. Ecum. Stud" Vol.3, No.2 Spring 1966, p.368.

72. Henri-Marie Féret, O.P., "Brotherly Love in the Church as the Sign of the Kingdom", in "Concilium" Vol.9, No.3 November 1967, p.17.

3. It has been recognized by the frontier theologians that the practical process will be slow to work itself out.
4. A basic assumption taken from the Council and assimilated throughout this period is that "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" could never again be used to exclude the non-Catholic groups of Christians for they are in every way entitled to describe themselves as "Churches" if they so wish.

6. The Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Commissions<sup>73</sup>.

The conversations between experts in their various fields mark a further stage of development in the process of unity. From the Anglican point of view it is especially pleasing to be part of "a serious dialogue founded on the Gospels and on the ancient traditions", which "may lead to the unity in truth for which Christ prayed"<sup>74</sup>. The scholars involved found that they had indeed many "elements" in common and that some, more than others would merit serious study. The Commission agreed on these areas of dialogue:-

- a) The Anglican "internal and external communion" and Vatican II's "Full and partial communion".
- b) The Anglican idea that some dogmas are fundamental and that others are not, and Vatican II's "hierarchy of truths" (U.R.11) "revealed truths" as against "the manner in which they are formulated" (G.S.62), and the fact of diversities in theological tradition being often "complementary rather than conflicting" (U.R. 17).

73. "The Report on the Anglican-Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission", first published in "Tablet" 30th November 1968, secondly in the December 1968 "Herder Correspondence" and at present discussed from "One in Christ" 1969 Vol.5 (1) pp.26ff. meetings have taken place as follows:-  
 GAZZADA 9-13 January 1967.  
 HUNTERCOMBE MANOR 31 August - 4 September 1967.  
 MALTA 30 December 1967 - 3 January 1968.

74. The Report A.R.C.J.P.C., (2).

Clearly, besides these points there will be some discussion of Anglican orders mainly because of the traditional judgement of the Roman Church. An indication of the different rates of progress of different voices within the Church comes when we compare the difficulties just expressed with reference to the Commission and the personal opinion of Karl Rahner, who in an interview in 1971 was able to say, "The invalidity of Anglican orders (is not)...a dogma of the Church, but simply a ruling of Pope Leo XIII which could therefore be changed"<sup>75</sup>. But it is not the place to become engaged in detailed comment on any particular doctrine discussed by the Commission. The significance for our thesis is that once having accepted the ecclesial reality of other Churches, the Catholic Church is to be found engaging in official theological conversations with these Churches. The published report on these conversations is not a statement of common agreement but allows us to see that progress is being made on the lines of the Church, Authority, Ministry and Eucharist<sup>76</sup>.

#### 7. Reaction to Post-Vatican II Ecumenism.

As we have stressed already several times the most significant point - the assent to ecclesial reality in non-Catholic Churches - was actually at the Council. The post-Conciliar period has been a time for the development of the themes put forward in the documents and for exploring the nature of ecclesiality in greater depth. We would disagree with the judgement of H.E. Fey<sup>77</sup> that since the Council the Ecumenical Movement has lost momentum. What in fact he is noting is the great

75. Karl Rahner in an interview with the London "Times", February 23rd 1971.

76. The Venice Conversations of the A.R.C.I.C., published in "Theology" Vol. LXXIV Feb. 1971 No.608, pp.49-67.

77. Harold E. Fey (ed.) "The Ecumenical Advance. A History of the Ecumenical Movement" Vol.II 1948-1968. London 1970.

contrast between the excitement of the Council with its tremendous reform of attitudes and the recognition of ecclesiality and the period of more diffused and gradual implementations of the Council decisions. Naturally there will be tensions and delays - while we are being called by the Holy Spirit to urgent reassessment of our entrenched and traditional ideas, there is no reason to assume that the same Spirit cannot work quietly and efficiently through the Church that exists. A rapid succession of violent changes would only serve to harrass and confuse the majority of the faithful; it is surely much better that the reforms are allowed to work their way through the Church at all levels in ways suitable to differing situations. Local situations must be taken into account - the historical circumstances, the political background, the attitude of the bishop as well as of the congregations in the parishes.

Fey is favourably impressed with the working relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches and he is right in pin-pointing the joint discussion of social ethics as a genuine advance and one which is in direct accord with the direction of the Council which explicitly stated that social needs of every kind should be the common care of all the Churches (U.R.12). Examples of such discussion include the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva (1966), the creation of a Pontifical Commission for justice and peace, in 1967, a Conference in 1968 on the Church's responsibility in the problems of development, at Beirut, and in 1968 the W.C.C. and the Roman Church made a joint appeal in view of the threatened famine in India. In the light of this, Fey's anxiety that, deeply interested in Ecumenism, the Church will forget to look outwards, seems unjustified and especially given the importance of Ecumenism for the Missionary cause, has already been noted.

It will be worth making a few points about the state of Ecumenism in the United States. For convenience we may regard R. Ruether, a

lecturer at Howard University, Washington, as a spokesman for a large number of Americans<sup>78</sup>. A lack of depth of approach has created an atmosphere of suspicion, impatience and intolerance, which seems hardly appropriate to the discussion of reconciliation. Miss Ruether keenly criticizes the influence of Pope Paul VI on the post-Conciliar period. He looks back on the Council, she states, as a time of "arcadian serenity". Whatever her source of information, it would appear to be in contrast to the recorded words of Paul VI at the time of the Council. For instance in his Allocution of 29th September 1963, the Pope said, "...The Council is to be a new spring, a reawakening of the mighty spiritual and moral energies which at present lie dormant. The time has now come...when the truth regarding the Church of Christ should be examined, co-ordinated and expressed"<sup>79</sup>. None of this rings true as a description of "Arcadian serenity". It is blatantly untrue to say that the words of Vatican II relating to ecumenism have not been implemented, though we would endorse her plea for an ever-increasing attention to the Bible and especially the sayings of Jesus and the significance of the Gospels. Miss Ruether is however entirely opposed to ecumenical activity taking its natural course within the Church - she would rather the Church adopted the guise of the "New Left". This together with the complete abandonment of "Apostolic Succession" as known previously, would not be truly the Church, or truly Catholic development but would be rather a throwing over the traces without any direction or purpose. Her sentiment that in the period after the Council the Church must abandon all institutionalism so that the whole people of God can pray together "Thy Kingdom Come,

78. Rosemary Ruether, "A Perspective on a Radical Ecclesiology", in "DIALOG": 1969 8 (3) p.209.

79. Paul VI, quoted from Floyd Anderson (ed.) "Council Daybook: Vatican II Sessions 1 and 2" Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference. 1965, pp.146f. Cited B.C. Pawley, *ibid.* p.54f.

They will be done"<sup>80</sup> is splendid in theory but bears little relation to the concrete situation in which we find ourselves which is the milieu in which Ecumenism is to be effected. This is because the principle of dialogue that we have seen to be the only genuine one is that which takes the parties involved for what they are and brings about exchanges on the basis of equals accepting the other side on its existential reality. A final comment ought to be that while Miss Ruether (and the mass of people that her views represent) is to be commended for her enthusiasm, it must be clear-minded theological thinking rather than the heady emotionalism of the revolutionary that will achieve a fully Catholic Ecumenism that strikes to the roots of the Church's existence.

On the other hand we are indebted to Hébert Roux, a Minister of the Reformed Church of France, Secretary of the International Protestant Centre in Paris, and expert on Ecumenism, for pointing out that Ecumenism will not just happen without great efforts to implement the Council's measures<sup>81</sup>. "...no renewal in the Roman Catholic Church - and this applies in different ways to the Reformed Churches also - can take place without clashes, without fits and starts, without sometimes agonizing struggles"<sup>82</sup>.

## 8. Conclusions.

1. At the outset of this section we acknowledged that within the terms of reference of our thesis the Council had fulfilled what we were seeking - namely the admittance that non-Catholic Churches have ecclesial reality.

80. Ruether, *ibid.* p.213.

81. Hébert Roux, "A Renewal in the Roman Catholic Church", in "The Reformed and Presbyterian World" 1969 30 (6) pp.251-256.

82. *ibid.* p.265.

2. Since there is no longer one Roman Catholic position (in the sense that we felt able to say so in chapter one) we find that developments and advances are varied in value. It might even be said that some of the most valuable work for the ecumenical advance is done through unobtrusive study of the facts of ecclesiality.
3. Although the fact of real ecclesiality made it clear that salvation was available through all the Churches there is an ever deepening awareness of this as a result of careful study of the Bible.
4. A lesson which needs to be learned at its deepest level is that dialogue involves the meeting of both parties for what they are, without seeming to be different for the sake of a false conciliatory appearance.
5. We have defended what many have regarded as unnecessary delay on the part of Official Catholicism on the grounds that it is here that the responsibility to generations still to be born rests. It is the Church's duty to be true to her own self-consciousness and to reform herself in the light of the on-going Catholic tradition.

CONCLUSION.

The examination of material in this thesis has many omissions but a sufficiently representative sample has been discussed to show the main stream of thinking. Whereas in the period which ended with the Second Vatican Council the phrase "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus" excluded everyone from <sup>the security of</sup> salvation who was not a Roman Catholic in Communion with the Pope, it is now used in a positive sense which allows that salvation is available through other "Churches" or Ecclesial groups. A man might previously have been considered to have an individual possibility of finding salvation despite his communion with some other body than the Roman Catholic Church; now it is realized that God works in many varied and appropriate ways throughout the world. Having traced and documented this "aggiornamento" of official Roman Catholicism in which the private opinions of many individuals have become common ground, our terms of reference are fulfilled. It is a matter of speculation as to where these developments will lead and for how long the Catholic Church will still find it necessary or meaningful to reiterate "Extra Ecclesiam Nulla Salus".

## AN INDEX OF REFERENCES TO VATICAN II TEXTS MADE IN

## CHAPTER TWO

<u>Lumen Gentium</u>	Articles: 8,9,10,14,15,16,17,23,28,68,69.
<u>Dei Verbum</u>	Articles: 8,14,15,16,22,25.
<u>Gaudium et Spes</u>	Articles: 19,20,21,22,40,58,90,91,92,93.
<u>Christus Dominus</u>	Articles: 11,13.
<u>Presbyterorum Ordinis</u>	Article: 14.
<u>Ad Gentes</u>	Articles: 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,11.
<u>Gravissimum Educationis</u>	Articles: 11,12.
<u>Nostra Aetate</u>	Passim.
<u>Dignitatis Humanae</u>	Articles: 1,2,3,5,10,11,14.
<u>Sacrosanctum Concilium</u>	Articles: 35,38 and Appendix.
<u>Unitatis Redintegratio</u>	Passim.
<u>Orientalium Ecclesiarum</u>	Passim.
<u>Apostolicam Actuositatem</u>	Articles: 27,28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following is a list of the principal works referred to in the thesis. Journal references and more incidental references are to be found in the footnotes to the text.

ABBOTT, Walter M.

(ed.) The Documents of Vatican II, London, 1967.

ANGLICAN-ROMAN CATHOLIC

Joint Preparatory Commission Report, 1968, Published in "One in Christ" Vol. 5, 1969.

ACTA APOSTOLICAE SEDIS,

Commentarium Officiale.

BAUM, Gregory, O.S.A.,

"That they may be one. A Study of Papal Doctrine (Leo XIII-Pius XII)".  
London 1958.

BEA, Augustin, Cardinal, S.J.,

The Church and the Jewish People. (Translated by P. Loretz S.J.),  
London, Dublin and Melbourne 1966.

The Unity of Christians. London 1963.

BILLOT, Ludovico, S.J.,

Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi, Rome 1898.

BUTLER, Christopher, (Bishop),

The Theology of Vatican II. The Sarum Lectures 1966. London 1967.

CAPÉLAN, Louis,

Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles. Essai historique. 1912,  
revised Toulouse 1934.

CATHOLIC DICTIONARY,

William Addis, Thomas Arnold, Revised Thomas Scannell, London 1971,  
9th edition.

## CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA,

An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church. Edited Charles G. Herbermann et al. in 15 Volumes. London 1908 edition.

## CONGAR, Yves Marie Joseph,

Chrétiens en dialogue: contributions Catholiques à l'œcuménisme. Paris 1964.

Divided Christendom: a Catholic Study of the Problem of Reunion. London 1939.

The Mystery of the Church. London 1960.

"Hors de l'Eglise pas de Salut" in Sainte Eglise, Unam Sanctam 41, Paris 1963.

## DANIELOU, Jean,

Salvation of the Nations. London 1962.

## DE LUBAC, Henri, S.J.,

Catholicisme. Lesus Aspects sociaux du dogme. Unam Sanctam 3. Paris 1947.

The Splendour of the Church, translated by M.Mason from the 2nd. edition of "Meditation sur l'Eglise", London 1956.

## DENZINGER, Heinz Joseph Dominicus,

Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum 1854. Revised by A. Schönmetzer (34th Edition) 1967.

## DICTIONNAIRE APOLOGETIQUE

de la Foi Catholique. Edited D'Ales (4th Edition) Paris 1911.

## DICTIONNAIRE DE THEOLOGIE CATHOLIQUE,

Contenant l'expose des Doctrines de la Theologie Catholique leurs preuves et leur histoire: A. Vacant and E. Mangenot. Paris 1903.

## EUSEBIUS,

History of the Church. Early 4th century.

## FENTON, Joseph Clifford (Monsignor),

The Catholic Church and Salvation - In the Light of Recent Pronouncements by the Holy See. 1958.

FEY, Harold E. (ed.)

The Ecumenical Advance. A history of the Ecumenical Movement.  
Volume II (1948-1968), London 1970.

FRANZELIN, Ioannes Bapt. (S.J.),

These de Ecclesia Christi. Rome 1907.

HILLMAN, Eugene, C.S. Sp.,

The Church as Mission, London and Melbourne 1966.

JAEGAR, Lorenz, Cardinal,

A Stand on Ecumenism, The Council's Decree. Translated by Hilda  
Graef. London and Dublin 1965.

KAISER, R.

Inside the Council, London 1963.

KERKHOF, Jan (S.J.) (ed.),

Modern Mission Dialogue, Shannon 1968.

KING, J.J.

The Necessity of the Church for Salvation in selected theological  
writings of the past century. A dissertation submitted to the  
Catholic University of America. Washington, 1960.

KUNG, Hans,

The Changing Church: reflections on the progress of Vatican II,  
Translated by C. Hastings, London 1965.

The Church. Translated from Die Kirche (Freiburg - Basle - Vienna  
1967) by Ray and Rosalëen Ockenden, London 1968.

LE GUILLOU, M-J, O.P.,

Christ and the Church. A theology of the Mystery. Translated by  
Charles E. Schaldenbrand, New York, Tournai, Paris and Rome 1966.

LEEMING, Bernard, S.J.,

The Vatican Council and Christian Unity. A Commentary on the Decree  
on Ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council together with a  
translation of the text. London 1966.

LOMBARDI, Riccardo, S.J.,

The Salvation of the Unbeliever. Translated from "La Salvezza di chi non ha fede" by Dorothy M. White, London 1956.

McAFEE BROWN, Robert,

The Ecumenical Revolution, London 1969.

McBRIEN, Richard P,

Do we need the Church?, London 1968.

McNAMARA, Kevin, (Ed.)

Vatican II: The Constitution on the Church. A Theological and Pastoral Commentary. London 1968.

MIGNE, J.B. (Ed.)

Patrologia Graeca (Paris).

Patrologia Latina (Paris).

PAWLEY, Bernard C. (Ed.)

The Second Vatican Council. Studies by Eight Anglican Observers. London, New York and Toronto 1967.

RAHNER, Karl,

Grace in Freedom. Translated by Hilda Graef from "Gnade als Freiheit: Kleine theologische Beiträge" Freiburg 1968.

London 1969.

Mission and Grace. London 1963-1967.

Obedience and the Church, London 1969.

The Christian of the Future, Freiburg and London 1967.

Theological Investigations. Esp. Vol. VI concerning Vatican II.

Translated by K-H and B. Kruger. London 1969.

RYNNE, Xavier,

Letters from Vatican City. First session of Vatican II. London 1963.

SACRAMENTUM MUNDI 1968 - 1970.

St. JOHN, Henry, O.P.

Essays in Christian Unity 1928-1954. London 1955.

SCHLETTE, Heinz Robert,

Towards a Theology of Religions. Translated by W.J. O'Hara.  
Questiones Disputatae 14. London 1965. (A translation of "Die  
Religionen als Thema der Theologie" Freiburg 1963).

SIX, Jean François,

Du Syllabus au Dialogue. Paris 1970.

SMITH, G.D. (Ed.)

The Teaching of the Catholic Church. 2nd Edition. London 1952.

TANQUEREY, Adolf,

Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae Fundamentaliss. Rome 1937.

THILS, Gustave,

Le Decret sur l'oecumenisme du deuxième Concile du Vatican.  
Paris 1966.

L'Eglise et les Eglises: perspectives nouvelles en oecumenisme.  
De Brouwer 1967.

TILLICH, Paul,

Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions. American  
Bampton Lectures, 14. New York and London 1963.

TROMP, Sebastiano S.J.,

Corpus Christi quod est ecclesia III - de Spiritu Christi anima.  
Rome 1960.

VORGRIMLER, (Ed.)

Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II. In 5 Volumes. London 1968.

WESTOW, Theodore,

Introducing Contemporary Catholicism. London 1967.

WILHELM, Joseph, and SCANNELL, Thomas B.

A Manual of Catholic Theology. (Based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik")  
Volume II, 4th edition, revised. London 1935.

ZAPELENA, Timotheus,

De Ecclesia Christi. Rome 1940.