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Catholicity and Catholicism

Avery Dulles, S.J.

I am unable to gauge how a Lutheran audience will react to the theme of the present essay! The whole subject might strike such an audience as an alien one, since Lutherans presumably look upon themselves not as Catholic but as Protestant. On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that the Augsburg Confession of 1530 three times asserts that Lutheranism is in full agreement with the doctrines and ceremonies of the Catholic Church.² Philipp Melanchthon, who called the Augsburg Confession a "catholic" document (*Apol.* 14.3), considers Lutherans as belonging to the Catholic Church, namely, "an assembly dispersed throughout the whole world" whose members "embrace and externally profess one and the same utterance of true doctrine in all ages from the beginning until the very end."³

A long line of Lutheran dogmaticians from Johann Gerhard to Wilhelm Stählin have continued to insist on the Catholic character of Lutheranism. In their recent textbook Eric Gritsch and Robert Jenson describe Lutheranism as a theological movement within the Church catholic.⁴ Thus it cannot be taken for granted that Lutherans wish to be anything other than Catholic Christians.

In the twentieth century it has become necessary to distinguish between "Catholic" with a lower-case and an upper-case "c," the former being associated with the noun "catholicity" and the latter with "Catholicism." In the present essay I shall attempt to illumine this distinction and at the same time to show the close affinity between the two meanings of the term "catholic." In the concluding part of my essay, I shall give some indications of the relationship between Catholicism and Roman Catholicism.

I. Catholicity

Practically all Christians confess in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church," and in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, "I believe. . . in the Church, one, holy, catholic, and apostolic." These statements, rather than anything in the Scriptures, provide the direct foundation for the doctrine of the catholicity of the Church. Etymologically the term "catholic" means "according to the whole" (*kath' holou*), hence universal, entire, complete. In the theological tradition catholicity has come to

connote the absence of barriers, unboundedness, transcendence. Whatever restricts or hems in is opposed to catholicity. But since there are many types of barriers or limits, there are also many types of catholicity. I like to speak of four, which I characterize under the rubrics of breadth, length, depth, and height.

A. *Breadth.* The dimension of catholicity most prominent in modern theological discussion is the quantitative or geographical. The Church is broadly inclusive because it is spread across the face of the globe and open to people of every race, nationality, language, and social condition. It comprises young and old, men and women, rich and poor, learned and unlettered.

Catholicity in this sense is opposed to every kind of sectarianism or religious individualism. Catholic Christianity is not the religion of an elect few, an elite, a heroic group of saints, and still less a master race. The gospel, according to the Catholic view, is intended to be believed and lived by ordinary human beings, including the great masses of humanity. Augustine repeatedly made this point in his tracts against the North African sectaries of his day, the Donatists. In our generation, Jean Daniélou has made a similar point. In his little book, *Prayer as a Political Problem*, he warns against the current tendency to exalt personal at the expense of sociological religion and to interpret the Christian community as a select vanguard of privileged souls. It is quite possible, he observes, for certain highly gifted and motivated individuals to swim against the stream and practice a kind of private religion with a minimum of social supports, but this cannot be the Catholic vision. For Christianity to function as a universal religion accessible to the weak, the poor, and the uneducated, institutional and cultural supports are needed. In the long run faith and culture cannot be at odds with each other.⁵

The theme of catholicity, therefore, brings us face to face with the complex problem of inculturation. The separation of religion and culture, according to Pope Paul VI, is one of the most serious problems of our time.⁶ The problem has been aggravated by the secularization of Western culture and by the need of Christianity to find a home in many non-Western cultures that remain largely untouched by Christian influences. The pluralism of cultures is seeping into the Church itself, so that Christianity is acquiring distinct expressions in each major sociocultural region, as was in fact recommended by Vatican II in its Decree on the Church's

Missionary Activity (AG 21-22).⁷ According to the council, the Church is not bound in an exclusive way to any one culture, but can enter into communion with various cultures on their own terms (GS 58).

Does this multiple inculturation impair the catholicity of the Church? In earlier generations it might have seemed that the expansion of Christianity was indissolubly linked to the dissemination of the Christian culture of the West. But Vatican II marked an end to this cultural monism. The council emphasized that the riches of all the nations are to be brought to Christ, and that the legitimate differences between regional churches could contribute to the unity of the Church as a whole, rather than being a hindrance (LG 13). "The variety of local churches with one common aspiration," said *Lumen gentium*, "is particularly splendid evidence of the catholicity of the undivided Church" (LG 23).

To speak of internal differentiation being a contribution to unity could appear, initially, as a paradox. But on reflection it becomes apparent that unity is often enhanced by inner diversity. The unity of a complex organism, such as the human body, is deeper and more resilient than that of an amoeba or that of an inorganic mass of homogeneous matter. Even the atom, physicists tell us, owes its inner stability to the mutual attraction of opposed parts, such as the proton and the electrons. Theology tells us that God, who stands at the highest level of reality, is an indivisible union of mutually opposed relations, as students of the Trinity well know.

It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that the Church is a communion of variously gifted individuals and communities, bound together by relationships of mutual openness and complementarity. The capacity of the Church, with its profound inner unity, to break down the barriers between different peoples is repeatedly celebrated in the New Testament and in early Christian literature. Paul and his disciples speak eloquently of the Church as forging a community of love and compassion between rich and poor, free and slave, male and female, Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian. This does not mean that biological, economic, and sociocultural differences cease to exist, but only that these are taken up into a higher unity that prevents them from becoming divisive. From this perspective we can easily see why certain types of liberation theology, which exalt class warfare as the prelude to the classless society, have aroused suspicions among

Catholic churchmen and theologians. Wherever differences between groups in the Church become divisive, breeding suspicion, hatred, and violence, the catholicity of the Church is impaired.

The spatial or geographical catholicity of the Church, we may conclude, is a kind of reconciled diversity. It does not eliminate human and cultural differences, but harmonizes them as elements of a higher unity. Since the time of Ignatius of Antioch, theologians have frequently compared the Church to a choir of many voices, each bringing its particular pitch and quality to the whole, but striving not to create discord by singing out of tune.

The Church's catholicity in breadth is, of course, limited. Even if the Church is rather broadly defined to embrace all Christians, it still includes only a minority of the human race and, granted the present demographic tendencies, a diminishing minority. This fact constitutes an objection to the argument from catholicity found in many of the apologetics textbooks, but it helps to illuminate the true nature of catholicity, as understood in doctrinal theology. Catholicity is not a static possession to be measured by empirical statistics. The geographical or spatial catholicity of the Church is a dynamic reality, incompletely realized within history, and destined to be complete only at the eschaton. What can be said of the Church at any point in history is that it is capable of extending itself to other peoples and that it has an inherent tendency to do so.

B. *Length.* Catholicity in breadth, as I have been calling it, must be taken in conjunction with the other three aspects of catholicity. I therefore turn now to the second, catholicity in length. From the time of Augustine to the end of the Middle Ages theologians regularly spoke of catholicity in time, and Melancthon echoes this idea. Thomas Aquinas, not untypically, states that the Church began with Abel and will last to the end of the world and, beyond this, into eternity. Understood in this way, catholicity puts Christians of each generation in communion with their forebears and descendants. They are linked with the apostles and, in a certain sense, with the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament. The classical theologians insist, likewise, that the Church will not cease to exist even at the parousia. It will simply change its form and become the heavenly, or triumphant, Church, the definitive communion of saints.

Vatican II recovered this dimension of catholicity for the Church in our generation. In *Lumen Gentium* it distinguished four stages of the Church's existence. Prefigured from the beginning of the world, preparation was made for it in the history of Israel, and it was constituted after the coming of Christ. At present it looks forward to its glorious fulfilment in eternity (LG 2).

Catholicity in time, since it establishes communion between different ages, involves a certain continuity. To assert such catholicity is to imply that the Holy Spirit is present to the People of God in every generation and, hence, to reject the extremes of archaism and modernism. Conservative Protestants, especially as represented by the sects, have tended toward archaism, idealizing the apostolic age and taking the Bible as the sole decisive norm. Liberal Christians have tended toward modernism, looking upon the present or the future alone as decisive. Catholicity, holding the middle position, looks upon tradition as continuously normative, so that the Church is able to speak and act authoritatively in every generation.

It has been objected that the Catholic position runs afoul of the fact of change. Catholic apologists of the Counter-Reformation, such as Caesar Baronius and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, undoubtedly exaggerated the element of continuity, but their positions, in my judgment, rested on an inadequate concept of catholicity. In speaking of the spatial or geographical aspect, I have suggested that catholicity is not homogeneous but heterogeneous, that it is a unity in difference. Just as the Church's synchronic catholicity is enriched by the variety of cultural forms, so her diachronic catholicity calls for a responsiveness to the times and the seasons, all of which, as we remind ourselves in the liturgy of Holy Saturday, are subject to Christ as Lord of history.

Carrying this thought a stage further, one might speculate that each major period of church history has a special task or vocation of its own. The apostolic age laid the foundations once for all, but left many things unfinished. The patristic period established the basic structures of the Church's ministry, dogma, and sacramental life. The Middle Ages worked out with great subtlety and completeness the applications of the Christian faith to a given culture, that of medieval Europe. The modern period, taking up a broader missionary task, carried Christianity to all the continents. Our own age, it would seem, has the assignment to in-

carnate the gospel in the cultures of diverse peoples of non-European stock. Each age builds on the achievements of its predecessors but also has a distinct task that could not have been performed earlier. Thus the temporal catholicity of the Church, like its spatial or geographical catholicity, involves a unity in variety. The two catholicities differ insofar as time, unlike space, is unidirectional and irreversible.

C. Depth. The two types of catholicity thus far considered pertain to the extensiveness of the Church. The third aspect of catholicity, to which I now turn, is a matter of depth. Catholicity would lack something essential if it were only superficially received, like an external veneer or gloss. According to the classical tradition, beginning with Cyril of Jerusalem, the Church is catholic in part because of her capacity to save and transform human nature in all its aspects. It heals every ill, whether spiritual or bodily. It reaches the mind and the emotions, the will and the feelings. Christian faith would not be fully catholic unless it could permeate human nature and human culture. Catholic Christianity venerates the true, the beautiful, and the good. As a humanism, it fosters music and the arts, science and philosophy. The philistinism and bigotry of sectarian Christianity is the reverse of catholicity. Catholicity respects human freedom and the aspiration of humanity to rise to communion with the divine. It is prepared to find traces of holiness and grace even in paganism and infidelity.

To be catholic, in this third sense, is to favor a symbiosis of grace and nature, faith and reason, divine sovereignty and human freedom. The same God is recognized as creator and redeemer. Christ, the first-born of the dead, is also the first-born of all creation, the one in whom the whole of creation has its focus and meaning. Catholicity in depth makes contact with the natural and bodily aspects of creation and brings them back to God. It has implications not only for ecclesiology but for the theology of culture, for anthropology, and for cosmology.

D. Height. In surveying the three dimensions of breadth, depth, and length, I might seem to have exhausted the theme of catholicity, but I have omitted the most important feature of all. I have not even raised the question of whence the Church derives its wonderful capacity to extend itself to all peoples, to all historical eras, and to all aspects of human life. According to the Catholic understanding of Christianity, the source lies in God's self-communication through the twofold mission of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The catholicity of the Church, like its other properties (oneness, holiness, and apostolicity), eludes the grasp of empirical sociology. It is a mystery, having its source and completion in God, who is by nature absolute and transcendent. As I have mentioned, God is an interiorly diversified unity—a full communication of the divine nature from the Father to the Son, and from both, as one co-principle, to the Holy Spirit.

The Church has its universal unity from above. Its catholicity is a participation in the unlimited vitality of God himself. The divine life comes to the Church, in the first instance, through Christ. In him, the first-born of all creation, the divine plenitude is present in bodily form. He can penetrate all things, and be penetrated by them, because all things subsist in him as their origin and end, their Alpha and Omega.

If catholicity means fullness or wholeness—significations certainly present in the root-meaning of the term—it is closely connected with the recurrent biblical theme of fullness (*plērōma*). Teilhard de Chardin, one of the pioneers of twentieth-century cosmic Christology, made much of this biblical term. Reflecting on Christ as *plērōma*, Teilhard contended that the whole of creation comes to its completion by receiving the Christic energies of love.

The catholicity of the Church, grounded in that of Christ himself, is derivative and instrumental. The Church unites its members to one another because it gives them a participation in the union between the divine persons. So intimate and sublime is this union that it may be called “mystical.” The Church is the mystical body of Christ, his Bride, and, according to another biblical metaphor, draws its life from him as do branches from a vine-stalk. Just as Christ is the fullness of God, so the Church is the fullness of Christ. In a certain sense it completes or fills up what is lacking in the individual humanity of Christ, extending his existence to many peoples and generations. The Church is, in the phrase of Teilhard de Chardin, “the consciously Christified portion of the world.” The mystery of Christ provides the norm of its catholicity, but because Christ really communicates his life to the Church, this norm is not simply extrinsic. The Church possesses within itself the norm whereby it is to be judged.

Illuminated from one side by the mystery of the Incarnation, the Church must also be contemplated in the light of Pentecost. As breathed forth from the risen Christ, the Holy Spirit is deeply infused into all the members and draws them together into communion without violating or infringing on their freedom and personal distinctiveness. The grace of the Holy Spirit penetrates our humanity and thereby elevates it so that we are made, in New Testament terminology, "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet. 1:4). The members of the Church are drawn into a mysterious union that derives from the Holy Spirit, the bond of love within the godhead.

In the last analysis the catholicity of the Church cannot be explained either by Christ or by the Holy Spirit without reference to the other. The explanation must be comprehensively trinitarian. The triune God, who communicates himself in the Incarnate Word and in the Holy Spirit, is the source and ground, the norm and exemplar, of all catholicity.

In summary, then, there are four dimensions of catholicity: height, depth, breadth, and length. We may apply to it, by analogy, what Paul in Ephesians says of the love of Christ—that we must strive to comprehend its breadth, length, height, and depth even though it will always remain incomprehensible (Eph. 3:18-19). Even though catholicity, as a mystery hidden in God, surpasses human understanding, we must prayerfully seek to meditate upon its various aspects and dimensions.

II. Catholicism

Since the eighteenth century it has become common to contrast two main types of Christianity, the Catholic and the Protestant. Catholicism in this context is the type of Christianity that makes much of visible continuity in space and time and of visible mediation through social and institutional structures. Catholic churches are distinguished by three types of structure: creedal, liturgical, and governmental. *Creedal* structures include not only formal creeds and confessions, but all approved teachings and authoritative texts, such as dogmas, magisterial pronouncements, and canonical Scriptures. Under *liturgical* structures authors discuss authorized forms of prayer and worship, including particularly the sacraments. *Governmental* structures include the ministry of supervision (*episkopē*), which is preeminently exercised by

bishops as the office-holders who ordain and assign pastors, make laws, issue commands, judge offenses, and impose penalties. According to the Catholic view, the community is governed by a priestly hierarchy who, as successors of the apostles, rule with divine authority according to the maxim, "whoever hears you hears me" (Luke 10:16). Protestant churches, in this schematization, are those which emphasize not the visible social structures but the direct and immediate relationship of the individual believer to God. They tend to stress justification by faith alone and the freedom of the Christian to follow the inspiration of the Holy Spirit even at the price of conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, whose powers are seen simply as a matter of human institution.

As many authors have noted, no church is exclusively Catholic or exclusively Protestant in this sense. Every church has both Catholic and Protestant elements, but some churches are conspicuous for the attention they give to one or to the other. The more "Catholic" churches would be those which particularly insist on the ancient creeds, on apostolic succession in the episcopate, and on the seven traditional sacraments. In this perspective the Roman Catholic may be viewed as the most Catholic of all Churches because of its strong institutional features. It has a greater body of defined dogmas and more centralized forms of government than any other comparable community. The Orthodox churches are also reckoned as Catholic in this sense. Anglicanism and Lutheranism, especially Scandinavian Lutheranism, are seen as bridge-churches combining some features of both Catholic and Protestant Christianity. The most "Protestant" churches, according to this schematization, would be those of the radical Reformation, such as the Anabaptists, and certain modern denominations and sects of the "low-church" variety, such as the Baptists.

In my own opinion, already indicated, there should be no dichotomy between Protestant and Catholic if the terms are used in this sense. A church can properly be both. The visible structures of mediation, when they function properly, do not prevent or replace personal faith and piety but, on the contrary, foster them. They facilitate and intensify personal communion with the Holy Spirit and, at the same time, assure that the gifts of individuals and groups contribute to build up the whole body in faith, hope, and charity.

III. Catholicity and Catholicism

We are now in a position to address the question raised at the beginning of this paper: What is the relationship between catholicity and Catholicism? I am personally convinced that without the structures commonly called Catholic (and, thus, without Catholicism), it is scarcely possible to manifest or maintain what in the first half of this lecture has been called catholicity. I shall even contend that the structures specific to Roman Catholicism are a signal aid to catholicity. To some extent this thesis has already been defended by the American Episcopalian scholar, John Knox. In *The Early Church and the Coming Great Church*⁹ he argued that the Catholic movement of the second and third centuries was necessary to preserve the identity and unity of the universal Church under the double stress of persecution from civil authorities and internal heretical movements such as Gnosticism. He emphasized especially four structural elements produced through this movement: the canon of Scripture, the creeds, the episcopate, and the liturgy. Christianity, Knox contended, could not have survived as a distinct, internally united religion without these institutional elements. For any conceivable united Church of the future, he concluded, these or equivalent structures would be indispensable. I fully agree with Knox and would wish to make one further point: the episcopate cannot normally perform its unitive function for the universal Church unless it has a center of unity, namely, the Petrine office, which has been institutionalized as the papacy. If Knox had carried his investigation beyond the first three centuries, this additional point could hardly have been avoided. I shall now apply these assertions concerning Catholic structures more specifically to the question of how catholicity in its four aspects or dimensions is to be maintained.

A. *Breadth.* The Church in any period of history cannot be a universal community transcending social frontiers without unified leadership. The representative heads of local or regional communities have to be in communion with one another. A distinctive feature of the episcopal system is that the responsible leaders of local communities serve also as a kind of governing board for the universal Church. As the Church becomes more international and heterogeneous, the ministry of unity becomes more demanding. In our own time Christianity is becoming, for the first time in history, vitally incarnated in non-Mediterranean and non-European cultures. The various continents and subcontinents are devel-

oping their own ways of expressing the faith, worshipping the Lord, and practicing the Christian life. This pluralism is an enrichment, but it creates the risk that the Church might break up into cultural and political units that would for all practical purposes be autonomous and self-contained.

These factors, combined with the general turbulence of our times, create an increased need for strong structures of government to maintain the bonds of communion. In Roman Catholicism this is done through the collegiality of the bishops under the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, a leader whose office is enhanced by the promises of Christ to Peter. No other group of churches—such as the Anglican Communion, the Lutheran World Federation, or Orthodox Christianity—possesses anything comparable to the close-knit international communion that binds together Roman Catholics of every nation. No other communion has a living magisterium capable of committing the entire group in a definitive way, as the early church was committed by the councils.

B. Length. The firm structures of mediation characteristic of Catholicism are vitally important for maintaining a sense of continuity through historical change. Without them Christianity could well be a movement, but it would scarcely be an enduring society of believers who continue to profess and practice the apostolic faith. Catholics today are bound to the Church of apostolic times by approved forms of prayer and worship, by sacramental liturgy, by confessional formulas, by canonical scriptures, and by enduring structures of ministry, especially the episcopacy. Roman Catholics look particularly to the see of Rome as a historic and symbolic link to the apostles Peter and Paul. Thanks to its adherence to these visible forms, the Church can remain recognizably one community of faith in spite of the radical cultural shifts that have occurred. Catholicity in time is today imperilled by the acceleration of change, which threatens to erode the sense of unity with the past. The Catholic structures are more needed today than ever to maintain the apostolicity of the Church and of its faith.

C. Depth. Catholicity, as we have noted, requires that Christianity save and sanctify the human in all its dimensions. This is ordinarily accomplished through linguistic, artistic, liturgical, and sacramental forms that affect people at a level below that

of reflective consciousness. The characteristically Protestant concern with the Word of God, when played off against sacrament, and with hearing as opposed to seeing and feeling, can result in an intellectualistic impoverishment of Christianity.⁹ Catholicism, with its social and sacramental structures, provides for what we may call the evangelization of nature, art, culture, and society. Where Christianity is severed from its cosmic and corporeal embodiments, the natural and the human tend to assert themselves in disruptive ways. Thus Puritanism (which tends to reject the natural) and neo-paganism (which exalts it) have given rise to one another. Catholicism, harmoniously uniting the extremes of spirit and matter, better assures what I have called Catholicity in depth. By retaining the symbolic and liturgical forms that open up new worlds of affectivity and meaning, Catholicism has rich resources for sustaining the devotional and comtemplative aspects of life. It prevents the Church from degenerating into a mere system of ideas or into a human coalition held together by pragmatic considerations.

D. *Height.* Finally, Catholicism helps to achieve and preserve communion with God as he makes himself present through Word and Spirit. According to the Catholic understanding, there can be no authentic mysticism, no effective ascent to the divine, that is not mediated through the Incarnation, with its human and bodily dimensions. God comes to us through the humanity of Jesus Christ, and that humanity is perpetuated and made accessible through the visible, institutional Church. The Church presents us with the inspired Scriptures, which have century after century demonstrated their power to kindle faith and religious commitment. She also proclaims Christ through her ministry of word and sacrament. The preaching office and the priestly ministry by no means replace Christ. Present in the power of the Holy Spirit, he himself is at work through his ministers. By receiving the word, the sacraments, the pastoral guidance from the Church we receive Christ himself, and are thus brought into communion with God.

In a longer essay it would be necessary to discuss a further point to which I can only allude very briefly—the dangers inherent in Catholic institutionalism. The structures can become rigid and oppressive; they are subject to abuse. Dogma can be used to coerce assent; sacraments can be understood in superstitious and magical ways; hierarchical authority can be tyrannically exercised. The Roman see, commissioned to promote and safeguard Catholic

unity, can be either too permissive or too restrictive. Against such possible deviations Catholic-type churches, including Roman Catholicism, must provide remedies. Vatican II spoke of the Church as being in continual need of reformation, and it called attention to the resources for reform and renewal within the Catholic heritage. Thanks to the Scriptures, prayer and sacramental life, a vivid Christian sense can permeate the whole body of the faithful, and the Holy Spirit can raise up in the Church charismatically gifted individuals filled with the authentic spirit of the gospel. Such saintly and prophetic figures have rarely been lacking to the Church.

It will be for my audience, rather than for me, to judge to what extent Lutheranism is and wills to be "catholic" with a large or small "c." Lutheran churches, some more than others, retain many of those doctrinal, sacramental, and ministerial structures that are commonly called Catholic. Like all other churches, however Protestant or Catholic they are thought to be, the Lutheran community and mine face essentially the same problem: that of making the institutions better manifest and sustain the qualities that should always distinguish the Church of Christ—one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

ENDNOTES

1. Many of the ideas of the present lecture are expounded more fully in my recently published book, *The Catholicity of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford, 1985).
2. See Avery Dulles, "The Catholicity of the Augsburg Confession," *Journal of Religion*, 63:4 (Oct. 1983), pp. 337-54.
3. Philipp Melancthon, "De Appellatione Ecclesiae Catholicae," *Postilla Melanthoniana*, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, 24, cols. 398-9. Cf. *Apology* 7-8:10
4. Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), pp. vi and 207.
5. Jean Daniélou, *Prayer as a Political Problem* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967), chap. 1.
6. Paul VI, *On Evangelization and the Modern World* (1975), no. 20.

7. Documents of Vatican Council II are referred to in parentheses by their abbreviated Latin titles:
AG: Ad Gentes, Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity.
GS: Gaudium et Spes, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.
LG: Lumen Gentium, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church.
8. Émile Rideau, *The Thought of Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 597.
9. John Knox, *The Early Church and the Coming Great Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1955).
10. Paul Tillich wrote: "The lack of the arts of the eye in the context of Protestant life is, though historically understandable, systematically untenable and practically regrettable." *Systematic Theology*, 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963), p. 201.
11. In the closing pages of my article, "The Essence of Catholicism: Protestant and Catholic Perspectives," *Thomist* 48 (1984), pp. 607-33, I consider how Vatican Council II attempted to guard against heteronomy and other distortions to which Catholicism is subject. See especially pp. 627-33.

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