5 What has not been assumed has not been redeemed

The forgotten Orthodox theological condonement of women's ordination in the 1996 Orthodox and Old Catholic consultation on gender and the apostolic ministry

Peter-Ben Smit

This chapter considers a relatively unknown case from the history of Orthodox Christianity's interaction with the question of gender. It concerns a formal consultation between Orthodox and Old Catholic theologians in 1996, which came to the conclusion that there are no theological objections to the ordination of women. This conclusion makes this consultation an interesting case. I present the consultation here in its historical context and provide an analysis of the hermeneutics and reasoning. The materials are strongly theological in nature, which must be reflected in the terminology used in the chapter. Yet, the issues at stake are of a more general hermeneutical and historical nature: they concern the manner in which Orthodox Christianity relates to and receives "tradition" as well as the question of how social issues and theology and the discourses of the social sciences and theology relate to each other.

Orthodox theology, certainly in its more official expressions, is hardly known for providing theological reasoning in favor of the ordination of women to the apostolic ministry. The same applies to official Roman Catholic theology. Their reasoning is, at its core, this: the Christian tradition does not authorize the ordination of women, given that Christ only called men to be apostles. In addition, it is frequently observed that the ordination of women to the apostolic ministry was not common practice in the early church and that men and women are different to such a degree that they must live out distinct vocations. Churches that deviate from this policy have to give an account for doing so. This demand occasioned the consultation studied here. It was part of the discernment of the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht, a communion of non-Roman Catholic Churches with backgrounds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, concerning their decision to ordain women to the apostolic ministry.[1] As these Old Catholic

Churches had been in ecumenical dialog with the Orthodox Churches between 1975 and 1987, they felt obliged to think the matter through together.

The case studied here, therefore, concerns a formal ecumenical theological consultation. It occurred with the blessing of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Bartholomew I, and under the patronage of the then Metropolitan of Switzerland, Damaskinos (Papandreou), and their Old Catholic counterparts, Archbishop Antonius Jan Glazemaker of Utrecht (the Netherlands) and Bishop Hans Gerny of Switzerland, acting as president and secretary of the International Bishops' Conference of the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht (cf. Von Arx 1994; Hallebeek 1994). After two meetings, a consensus on the possibility of female ordination was reached, which surprised even some of the members of the commission conducting the consultation. The "Common Considerations" that constitute the key output of the consultation state:

> We have reached the common conclusion that there are no compelling dogmatic-theological reasons for not ordaining women to the priesthood. The soteriological dimension of the church is decisive for us: the salvation of humankind and the entire creation in Jesus Christ in whom the new creation is being accomplished. We were especially guided by the conviction that was central to the ancient church: only that which has been assumed and united with God has been saved. It is human nature, common to men and women, that has been assumed by our Lord.
> (Von Arx and Kallis 2002a, 505)

What reasoning gave rise to these conclusions? In this chapter, I outline the process leading up to the consultation, provide the ecumenical and theological context, and analyze the argument as it is laid out in the consultation itself and in the documentation that was published along with it, both in German and in English. Overall, the chapter highlights aspects of Orthodox theologizing about gender that have been given less than the attention due to them in the past 20 years. Thus, an important part of the picture of Orthodox considerations about gender is understood better, both in terms of its contents, its emergence, and its reception. In addition, light is shed on the reception of insights from the ancient church in Orthodox theology in an ecumenical context.

Old Catholic ecumenism

Church unity and involvement in the ecumenical movement have been a core concern of the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht. Having come into existence due to conflicts among Catholics over (especially, yet not only) questions of church authority, they have sought unity with other churches since the late nineteenth century (see Smit 2011; cf. Schoon 2015). The term "old" in the name does not indicate a conservative stance, but

rather an orientation to the "early church" or the "ancient church" in order to correct wrong developments at a later date and as a source of theological inspiration, not in the least regarding church reunion. From the start, the Old Catholic Churches have looked for ecumenical partners on the basis of the conviction that being a Catholic Church means being in communion with other Catholic Churches in which their own theological identity can be recognized (cf. Von Arx 1992, 2008; Rein 1993, 1994).

This course of action was established firmly after one of the major conflicts leading to the emergence of the Old Catholic Churches: the First Vatican Council (1870) that turned papal infallibility and universal jurisdiction into dogmas. Gatherings such as the 1871 Munich Conference of (Old) Catholics, a subsequent series of (Old) Catholic Congresses, and in particular, the Bonn Reunion Conferences of 1874 and 1875 played a key role in this. Soon, a programmatic approach was developed that looked for ecumenical rapprochement on the basis of the faith and order of the early church (Von Arx 2008; cf. Küry 1982). Key elements were the reception of the faith and order of the seven Ecumenical Councils (notably, the canon of the Holy Scriptures and the Christological and Trinitarian doctrines), an episcopal-synodal ecclesiology (i.e., with both a bishop and a synod), and a sacramental life in continuity with that of the early church.

In the first few decades following the First Vatican Council, this approach led to a principle of tri- or quadrilateral dialog with those partners in which the churches continuing the Catholic tradition following the Council could recognize the same Catholic faith and order: the Church of Utrecht, Anglican Churches, and Orthodox Churches (see Schoon 2004; Von Arx 2008; Smit 2011, 180–199). Communion with the first was formalized in 1889, establishing the Union of Utrecht of Old Catholic Churches, with the second in 1931, and with the third it was established theologically in 1987, but the Orthodox Churches have not confirmed this yet.[2] Further dialog partners were added to these three in the course of time. With this broader background, the Orthodox–Old Catholic dialog itself can be sketched.

Orthodox–Old Catholic dialog

The dialog between the Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches dates back to the earliest phase of Catholic reorientation following the First Vatican Council (cf. Von Arx 1989b). In particular, at the Bonn Reunion Conferences of 1874 and 1875 (cf. Reusch 2002), a common basis was found to work toward unity between Orthodox, Anglicans, and Old Catholics. As a background to the consultation of 1996, the course of this process is surveyed here.

The years 1871–1888, prior to the establishment of the Union of Utrecht in 1889, can be considered as the first and foundational period. Subsequently, a more formal dialog took place—by correspondence— between theological commissions based in St. Petersburg and Rotterdam

(cf. Von Arx 1989b). The commissions exchanged memoranda with questions and answers about the theological identity of both churches, leading to a statement by the St. Petersburg commission (1912) with the approval of the Holy Synod that all Orthodox questions had been answered satisfactorily (cf. Küry 1982). This dialog lasted until 1917, when political changes in Russia made further dialog impossible.

Following a shift in Orthodox agency and initiative from Moscow (and St. Petersburg) to Constantinople due to changed political circumstances, the next, third, phase of the dialog lasted from 1920 to 1960. It had at its core a meeting in 1931 in Bonn, three months after the Anglican–Old Catholic meeting in the same city that had led to the Bonn agreement. The meeting itself was promising, as no dogmatic obstacles to ecclesial communion could be identified. However, the Orthodox reception turned out to be disappointing: the Anglican–Old Catholic communion was suddenly and unexpectedly seen as an obstacle to Orthodox–Old Catholic communion (Von Arx 1989b, 15–16).

From 1960, the dialog received new impetus and a fourth phase commenced, lasting until 1975. Preparatory diplomacy led to a statement of the Pan-Orthodox Conference that underlined the commitment and self-obligation of the Orthodox Churches to dialog with the Old Catholics (Von Arx 1989b, 16–17; cf. Smit 2016, 197–218). The Old Catholics submitted a formal statement of their faith (*homologia*) to the ranking Orthodox hierarch, the Ecumenical Patriarch, in 1970, which also helped to clear the way.

The envisioned "dialog of truth" began in 1975 and lasted until 1987; it constitutes the fifth phase of Orthodox–Old Catholic ecumenical relations. During it, the joint commission, consisting of members appointed by all autocephalous/independent Orthodox (14) and Old Catholic Churches (8), worked its way through the entirety of the Christian faith, producing something close to a shared and agreed survey of dogmatic theology, phrased in the language of the early church and the Church Fathers, on whose thinking the dialog had agreed to base itself.[3] Upon its completion, the commission concluded that, according to its view, agreement in the faith existed, which could be the basis for ecclesial communion.

Following this fifth phase of the now completed dialog, the achieved theological results were received by the churches involved. This sixth phase is still ongoing, rather slow, and characterized by a number of paradoxes (cf. Kallis 2006; Von Arx 2009). For instance, following the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Iron Curtain around 1990, the Orthodox Churches in formerly socialist countries saw a remarkable revival. However, this was usually less ecumenically minded and frequently of a nationalist theological outlook, and therefore, hesitant vis-à-vis rapprochement to churches that were seen to represent Western culture. During the same period, Old Catholic Churches moved to ordain women to the apostolic ministry, much to the dislike of many Orthodox Churches (despite the consultation that is the focus of this chapter). From 2004 onwards, a joint working party

has been tasked by the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Utrecht with furthering theological conversations and encounters between the members of Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches. A significant expression of these continuing close ties was the official visit of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Bartholomew I, to the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands in 2014 (see Hasselaar and Smit 2015) and the participation of the Archbishop of Utrecht as an observer in the Pan-Orthodox Council of 2016.

The Orthodox–Old Catholic consultation on the ordination of women to the apostolic ministry

The most prominent discussion in Old Catholic theology in the latter part of the twentieth century concerned, on the surface, the ordination of women to the apostolic ministry. Under the surface, however, other questions were also at stake (cf. Von Arx 1999; Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland 1999; Vobbe 2005; Berlis 2008, 2018, 2019; Smit 2011, 389–419). These concerned the theology of ministry as such, societal developments (i.e., women's rights), the nature of tradition as well as theological anthropology and theological understanding of gender. Moreover, the issue of how one should reach a decision to begin with was also crucial: to whom would one be accountable? Here, I present the discussion and its eventual outcome in terms of what this meant for the Old Catholic understanding of the appeal to the early church and to tradition. This helps to clarify how the 1996 consultation could reach the conclusions that it did.

From the late 1960s onwards, prompted by ecumenical relationships—including relations with the Roman Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council, preparations for dialog with the Orthodox Churches, and involvement in the broader ecumenical movement—and social developments, Old Catholic Churches and their theologians saw the need to engage in renewed study and reflection on a number of interrelated questions. These concerned the significance of and the appeal to the early church, the theology of ministry, and the admission of women to the apostolic ministry. The latter two questions proved to be catalysts for addressing the former, as a repristination of a theology of ministry was called for in the new theological and social setting.

The ensuing discussion led to a consensus at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s that an (unqualified) appeal to the undivided church of the first millennium was no longer tenable. Instead, a different view was needed. It was expressed representatively by the 1981 International Old Catholic Theologians' Conference, a body that meets usually annually as a key theological "think tank" within the communion of Old Catholic Churches:

> The Church (…) should be an ongoing process of discerning truth and decisions, and of common action, involving all members. Ensuring the participation of all is the calling of the ministry in apostolic succession.

> In this manner, the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht be-
> lieve that they continue the tradition (life and calling) of the undivided
> church of the first millennium in a manner appropriate with regard to
> contemporary challenges.
>   (International Old Catholic Theologians' Conference 1983,
>   67–68, translated by the author)[4]

The appeal to the early church is, therefore, a plea both in terms of form
and content. The faith of the early church should be discerned in a manner
that does justice to the order of the early church. It has to be a form of
"reception-in-communion," in which all members play a role (cf. Visser
1996). This approach is also apparent in a statement by a consultation of
theologians in 1995.[5] In line with the general development of Old Catholic
theology, this conference stressed in its conclusion a synodal and conciliar
style in processes of discernment. Decisions need to be made in a church
by all its members (synodality) in consultation with other churches (concil-
iarity). Therefore, the question of the ordination of women to the apostolic
ministry was not "just" a discussion about the place of women in church
or about the nature of ministry as such, but one that touched upon a key
fundamental theological issue: the understanding of tradition and its recep-
tion and continuation (cf. Suter 2016). Moreover, it was not just a matter
of the Old Catholic Churches. On the contrary, they needed to talk with
those close to them to do justice to the notion of "conciliarity," of being "in
council" with each other.

   Accordingly, the discussion about ministry in general and about the or-
dination of women in particular took the shape of a conversation in com-
munion, both within the communion of the member churches of the Union
of Utrecht and with ecumenical partners, notably the churches of the An-
glican Communion, the Orthodox Churches, and the Roman Catholic
Church (cf. Von Arx 1999; Berlis 2008). The Roman Catholic position left,
at this point, relatively little room for discussion, given the publication of
Ordinatio sacerdotalis in 1994 (preceded by *Inter insigniores* in 1976).[6]
No additional discussion was therefore pursued. With Anglican partners,
the theology of ministry was discussed in general, as it was with Orthodox
partners, leading to joint statements on a shared and renewed view of min-
istry (cf. Rein 1993), but not yet to a definitive position on the ordination
of women.

   As Anglicans were generally moving toward ordaining women, inter-
communion was not threatened by its introduction on either side of the
relationship.[7] Therefore, the conversation with the Orthodox Churches
was seen as of particular interest. It was used to test the viability of the
ordination of women to the apostolic ministry as an ecumenically recog-
nizable faithful reception of the faith and order of the early church. Also,
the consultation was seen as a further deepening of the common theology
of ministry that had been expressed during the formal dialog (1975–1987)

and that included the statement, "[e]xcept for the as yet not fully under-stood arrangement of deaconesses, the undivided church did not permit the ordination of women" (Von Arx 1989a, V/7).

The "common considerations" of the consultation

The consultation took place in 1996 involving two meetings. The results which, despite their publication in English and German, have remained some-what hidden, came at the time as a surprise to many.[8] The joint consultation reached the unanimous conclusion that there were no theological objections to the ordination of women to the apostolic ministry. Both the results of the consultation as such and their line of argument as they appear in the "Com-mon Considerations" summarizing the conclusions of the consultation are of interest here. Together, they show how an appeal to the early church factually functions and how a faithful reception of the faith and order of the early church has its place in (an ongoing search for) ecclesial communion.[9]

The consultation consisted of contributions to the following topics, as outlined in the introduction to the documentation (direct quote):

1　The role of women in the early church:
  • Women and ministry;
  • Patristic bases for a theological anthropology, viewing women as human beings and women in their difference from men;
  • The distinction between the basis of a continuing valid tradition and traditions that are conditioned by time and changeable.
2　The gender aspects of the creation from a theological, Christological, and soteriological perspective.
3　The Adam-Christ and Eve-Mary typologies:
  • Their relationship to one another;
  • The Eve-Mary typology in theology and the status of women in con-temporary society;
  • The emancipation of women as a challenge to the church.
4　Presidency at the Eucharist in the context of the theology of icons; questions about the ecclesial representation of Christ through the priesthood.
5　The question of ordination of women in regard to the communion of churches; developing theological criteria for the question of what con-sequences the practice of women's ordination might have for the church community.

In addition to these five topics, two additional topics were added to the agenda of the consultation:

6　Analysis of the ordination of women question from the perspective of depth psychology.

7   The ordination of women question in the eyes of an Orthodox woman.
(Von Arx and Kallis 2002b, 497–498).

It would go beyond the limits of this chapter to discuss the various contributions to the meeting in detail. Therefore, the focus shifts to its conclusions, as documented in "Common Considerations of the Orthodox–Old Catholic Consultation on the Role of Women in the Church and on the Ordination of Women as an Ecumenical Issue" (Von Arx and Kallis 2002a). These "Common Considerations" begin with preliminary remarks by the editors, Orthodox theologian Anastasios Kallis and Old Catholic theologian Urs Von Arx. In this preface, Kallis and Von Arx note how the participants in the consultation agreed that in the earliest history of the church "tendencies not to treat men and women differently based on gender, as both are viewed as parts of Christ's body, allowed for multiple ecclesial ministries, even for what we would nowadays call leadership positions" (501–502). This changed, however, the more the church was influenced by gender norms prevalent in Greco-Roman imperial society, leading to the exclusion of women from priestly roles. The overall effect was that "[t]his state of affairs, initially caused by socio-cultural conditions, has become surrounded with the aura of holy tradition in the course of the church's pilgrimage to its destination in the doxa of God" (502). Recently, however, another social development has given cause for reassessing women's position:

> This was to be confronted with the (admittedly socio-culturally conditioned) movement that evolved in modern Europe and North America advocating equality for women, and with the realization that various traditional cultures are characterized by the phenomena of patriarchalism and androcentrism. This raised the question as to whether there are inevitable and dogmatic reasons for excluding women from being priests.
>
> (502)

The reason for reconsidering the witness of the early church is, therefore, social and contextual. However, as will become clear, the argument itself is not determined by discussions concerning social justice, but is based on discourses regarding early Christian soteriology and the theological anthropology inherent to it. Prior to making this argument, a matter of method is clarified:

> The answer to this question cannot simply be taken out of the history of the church, as long as that history is identified as the "holy tradition." In other words, it does not make sense to take statements of church fathers, made in specific historical and cultural contexts, and apply them to the questions that have emerged from the spiritual needs of people today in our own cultural context. Rather, a hermeneutical consciousness is required.
>
> (502)

A number of reasons why it is not possible to ordain women to the apostolic ministry follow:

> Among the objections to the ordination of Christian women raised by churches in the East and the West alike, there are some that claim to be independent of time or specific sociological context. The male gender of priests is derived, according to these arguments supposedly not conditioned by culture, from an indispensable connection between the function of the priest to represent Christ (or his "Christ–iconicity") and his male sex and gender. These reasons are ultimately untenable. The same applies to the arguments with Christ-Adam and Eve-Mary typologies when they are used to explain a gender-specific difference that would make the ordination of women impossible.
>
> (502–503)

The traditional character of these arguments is acknowledged, yet also relativized with reference to another strand of tradition: "Although the patterns of both arguments reflect formal-patristic thought, they do not correspond to the tradition, since they ignore the universal salvific significance, inclusive of both men and women, of the incarnation of God's Logos" (505). Thus, particular aspects of tradition that can be seen as primarily sociocultural in nature are, here, investigated in relation to the theological core of the tradition of the early church: soteriology and its implied anthropology. Similar reasoning is applied in the "Common Considerations" as well.

Von Arx and Kallis then acknowledge the complexities of the discussion surrounding gender difference and equality, noting that:

> The tradition of the early church, whose founders articulated their faith in different socio-cultural environments from ours, can provide us with neither general basic guidelines nor explicit guidance for each and every case. However, they provide something of a foundation (…) when they speak of the incarnation of God's Logos—in which Jesus Christ took the common nature of men and women—and of the restoration of the image of God (cf. Gen. 1:27) that men and women alike find in him.
>
> (503)

Subsequently, the factor "culture" is again stressed as one that largely determines the possibility (or impossibility) of admitting women to the apostolic ministry. Kallis and Von Arx (503) also note that, referring proleptically to the findings of the consultation as a whole, no "compelling dogmatic or theological reason" was found "for not ordaining women to the priesthood." Therefore, "the ordination of women could not fundamentally call into question or destroy the communion and unity of the church or the moves toward restoring broken communion and unity" (503).

   In the subsequent "Common Considerations," some of these arguments return. Yet, it is worth outlining them in sequence, so as to do justice to the statement's coherence. Thus, having positioned the conversations in the context of an ongoing dialog and discernment of the Gospel (which implies the discernment of the unity of the church), the Considerations begin with a declaration of a common view of tradition, which builds on the insights of the official Orthodox–Old Catholic dialog (1975–1987):[10]

> In faithfulness to the treasure of tradition, we discern tradition as a process, directed by the Spirit of God, of the dynamic contextualization of the faith for the life and the witness of the church in its ever-changing contemporary situation. This provokes questions concerning the appropriate way of dealing with the tradition (the hermeneutical problem).
>
> (505)

Next, an ecclesiological observation is made: the consultation observes "that today churches justly emphasize the dignity of the laity and especially of women, and that they appreciate the fact that these people occupy an appropriate place in the mission of the church" (505). As a next step, the consultation reports that it has researched the tradition of the early church based on the above-mentioned understanding of tradition. Particular attention was paid to:

> the historical data which was brought forward as a rationale for the "male character" of the priesthood: the maleness of the incarnate Son of God, Jesus Christ's choosing of men in the circle of the twelve, the exclusive appointment of men to the priestly office of the church, as well as the corresponding argumentation with regard to typologies (e.g., Adam-Christ, Eve-Mary) and with ideas of the priest being the image or representation of Christ.
>
> (505)

On the basis of a consideration of these various traditions and arguments, the authors state:

> We have reached the common conclusion that there are no compelling dogmatic-theological reasons for not ordaining women to the priesthood. The soteriological dimension of the church is decisive for us: the salvation of humankind and the entire creation in Jesus Christ in whom the new creation is being accomplished. We were especially guided by the conviction that was central to the ancient church: only that which has been assumed and united with God has been saved. It is human nature, common to men and women, that has been assumed by our Lord.
>
> (505)

In the document, allowance is made for the role of sociocultural (i.e., non-theological) factors in church decision-making. These, however, are seen to not infringe upon the validity of the theological view. Supported by the conclusion, Old Catholic Churches formally proceeded with the ordination of women from 1998 onwards.[11]

Conclusion

When analyzing the discussion concerning gender and the ordination of women in the Orthodox–Old Catholic dialog, the following issues can be observed. First, it is apparent that the consultation was not only concerned with gender, the role of women, or the shape of ministry. The issue of the ordination of women touched on a fundamental theological question: the manner in which tradition (including Scripture) is to be received. In clarifying this matter, the articulation of the relationship between theology, history, and the social sciences played an important role.

Second, in its approach to tradition and its reception, the consultation opted for a middle way between "copying and pasting"—which would be inherently anachronistic and thus unfaithful to the sources of the faith—and surrendering entirely to contemporary demands and questions. Rather, both ancient and modern contexts were considered in order to critically analyze them and to provide a distinctly theological answer to the question at stake. This answer would be based on key insights from the early church, but would also do justice to the manner in which such insights may receive new meanings and raise further questions in new contexts.

Third, the approach taken was contextually sensitive in two ways. It was sensitive to the contextuality of the sources of the faith and sensitive vis-à-vis questions raised by the life of the church in the twentieth century. In both cases, attempts were made to focus on theological rather than cultural arguments. This is an imperfect but nonetheless useful distinction, as the consultation's soteriological focus provided an important hermeneutical key for dealing with contextual theologies, both ancient and modern.

Fourth, the consultation process provides an interesting (and inspiring?) example of theologizing in communion or rather, theologizing in search of communion. This, of course, has its own hermeneutical implications. It encourages critical reflection on one's own tradition and analyzing the sources anew, prodded by the other with whom one seeks to be in communion.

Finally, the consultation may hold some promise for the future—even 22 years after its occurrence. This pertains to the chosen hermeneutics and the manner in which it was used, with a focus both on avoiding anachronisms and on applying key theological convictions, the "deep structures of the faith" as it were, as ancient resources for addressing contemporary challenges. It also pertains to the orientation toward communion that permeated the entire consultation. Furthermore, the consultation constitutes a

continuing reminder of the space that exists, theologically speaking, for the ordination of women: even if, or rather especially if, one wants to remain faithful to the tradition of the early church.

Notes

1 For the history of the Old Catholic Churches, see Smit (2011) and Schoon (2015).
2 On the communion between Old Catholic and Anglican Churches, see Rein (1993, 217–231) and Smit (2012, 112–117). On the communion between Old Catholic and Orthodox Churches, see Aldenhoven (1989) and Von Arx (1989b).
3 For the full documentation, see Von Arx (1989a).
4 "Die Kirche muss (…) ein fortwährender Prozess der Wahrheits- und Entscheidungsfindung und des gemeinsamen Handelns sein, an dem alle beteiligt sind. Diese Beteiligung aller zu ermöglichen ist die Aufgabe des Amtes in Apostolischer Sukzession. Die Altkatholischen Kirchen der Utrechter Union glauben, dass sie damit die Tradition (Leben und Aufgabe) der ungeteilten Kirche des 1. Jahrtausends in einer den heutigen Problemen angemessenen Weise weiterführen."
5 For a report of this conference, see Nickel (1996); for the conference statement, see International Old Catholic Theologians' Conference (1996).
6 Though it should be noted that the ordination of women to the apostolic ministry was no hindrance for the initiation by the Vatican authorities of what would prove to be a serious Roman Catholic–Old Catholic dialogue from 2003 onwards.
7 For example, the Episcopal Church in the USA had been officially ordaining women to the priesthood since 1976.
8 The documents of the consultation have been published in German in *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (Von Arx and Kallis 1998) and in English in *Anglican Theological Review* (Von Arx and Kallis 2002c). Here, I refer to the English language documentation.
9 In this respect, the approach comes close to what would later be outlined in the Anglican–Orthodox Cyprus Agreed Statement (see Anglican–Orthodox Dialogue 2006).
10 For a discussion on the Old Catholic understanding of tradition, see Smit (2007).
11 In fact, the Old Catholic Church of Germany took this step earlier in 1996.

Bibliography

Aldenhoven, Herwig. 1989. "Charakter, Bedeutung und Ziel der Dialogtexte." In *Koinonia auf altkirchlicher Basis: Deutsche Gesamtausgabe der gemeinsamen Texte des Orthodox-Altkatholischen Dialogs 1975–1987 mit französischer und englischer Übersetzung*, edited by Urs Von Arx, 27–44. Bern: Stämpfli.

Anglican–Orthodox Dialogue. 2006. *The Church of the Triune God: The Cyprus Statement Agreed by the International Commission for Anglican–Orthodox Theological Dialogue.* London: The Anglican Communion Office.

Von Arx, Urs. 2009. "Evaluation of the Orthodox–Old Catholic Dialogue (Consultation on Dialogues between Orthodox and other Member Churches of CEC Pullach, Germany, 23–25 June 2008)." *Reseptio* 1: 76–98.

Von Arx, Urs. 2008. "Der kirchliche und ökumenische Auftrag der Altkatholischen Kirchen der Utrechter Union: Wie weiter in die Zukunft?" *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 98: 5–49.

Von Arx, Urs. 1999. "Die Debatte über die Frauenordination in den Altkatholischen Kirchen der Utrechter Union." In *Gleichstellung der Geschlechter und die Kirchen: Ein Beitrag zur menschenrechtlichen und ökumenischen Diskussion*, edited by Denise Buser and Adrian Loretan, 165–211. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.

Von Arx, Urs. 1994. "Der Ekklesiologische Charakter der Utrechter Union." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 84: 20–61.

Von Arx, Urs. 1992. "Was wird bleiben? Ein Rückblick auf ein Grundanliegen von Eduard Herzog." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 82: 206–232.

Von Arx, Urs, ed. 1989a. *Koinonia auf altkirchlicher Basis: Deutsche Gesamtausgabe der gemeinsamen Texte des orthodox-altkatholischen Dialogs 1975–1987 mit französischer und englischer Übersetzung.* Bern: Stämpfli.

Von Arx, Urs. 1989b. "Kurze Einführung in die Geschichte des Orthodox-Altkatholischen Dialogs." In *Koinonia auf altkirchlicher Basis: Deutsche Gesamtausgabe der gemeinsamen Texte des orthodox-altkatholischen Dialogs 1975–1987 mit französischer und englischer Übersetzung*, edited by Urs Von Arx, 11–26. Bern: Stämpfli.

Von Arx, Urs, and Anastasios Kallis. 2002a. "Common Considerations of the Orthodox–Old Catholic Consultation on the Role of Women in the Church and on the Ordination of Women as an Ecumenical Issue." In "Gender and the Image of Christ," edited by Urs von Arx and Anastasios Kallis, translated by Duncan Reid. *Anglican Theological Review* 84 (3): 501–506.

Von Arx, Urs, and Anastasios Kallis. 2002b. "Editors' Introduction." In "Gender and the Image of Christ," edited by Urs von Arx and Anastasios Kallis, translated by Duncan Reid. *Anglican Theological Review* 84 (3): 491–500.

Von Arx, Urs, and Anastasios Kallis, eds. 2002c. "Gender and the Image of Christ." Translated by Duncan Reid. *Anglican Theological Review* 84 (3): 489–755.

Von Arx, Urs, and Anastasios Kallis, eds. 1998. "Bild Christi und Geschlecht: Gemeinsame Überlegungen' und Referate der Orthodox-Altkatholischen Konsultation zur Stellung der Frau in der Kirche und zur Frauenordination als ökumenischem Problem. Levadia (Griechenland) und Konstancin (Polen) 1996." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 88: 65–348.

Berlis, Angela. 2019. "Restoring the Female Diaconate in the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht." In *Towards Just Gender Relations: Rethinking the Role of Women in Church and Society*, edited by Gunter Prüller-Jagenteufel, Sharon Bong, and Rita Perintfalvi, 47–60. Göttingen: V&R unipress.

Berlis, Angela. 2018. "Die Tradition weiter denken: Die Einbeziehung von Frauen in das Amt der Kirche in den alt-katholischen Kirchen der Utrechter Union." In *Frauen in kirchlichen Ämtern*, edited by Margit Eckholt, Ulrike Link-Wieczorek, Dorothea Sattler, and Andrea Strübind, 192–204. Freiburg: Herder.

Berlis, Angela. 2008. "Women's Ordination in the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht." In *Women and Ordination in the Christian Churches: International Perspectives*, edited by Ian Jones, Kirsty Thorpe, and Janet Wootton, 144–154. London: T&T Clark.

Hallebeek, Jan. 1994. "Canon Law Aspects of the Utrecht Union." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 84: 114–127.

Hasselaar, Jan Jorrit, and Peter-Ben Smit, eds. 2015. *An Ongoing Conversation: The Green Patriarch in the Netherlands.* Amersfoort: Oud-Katholiek Boekhuis.

International Old Catholic Theologians' Conference. 1996. "Resolution." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 86: 15.

International Old Catholic Theologians' Conference. 1983. "Erklärung der Internationalen Altkatholischen Theologentagung 1981." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 73: 65–69.

Kallis, Anastasios. 2006. "Erfolgreicher Dialog ohne Folgen: Zur Rezeptionsproblematik im Hinblick auf die altkatholisch-orthodoxe Gemeinschaft." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 96: 1–8.

Küry, Urs. 1982. *Die Altkatholische Kirche: Ihre Geschichte, ihre Lehre, ihr Anliegen*. Revised and edited by Christian Oeyen. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk. (Unrevised Version First Published in 1966.)

Nickel, Edgard. 1996. "Die Berufung auf die Alte Kirche als Hilfe auf dem Weg in die Zukunft." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 86: 1–15.

Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland. 1999. *Ambt in de branding*: Herderlijke brief *van de bisschoppen van de Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland bij het besluit tot het openstellen van het ambt voor vrouwen*. Amersfoort: Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland.

Rein, Harald. 1994. *Kirchengemeinschaft: Die anglikanisch-altkatholisch-orthodoxen Beziehungen von 1870 bis 1990 und ihre ökumenische Relevanz 2.* Bern: Peter Lang.

Rein, Harald. 1993. *Kirchengemeinschaft: Die anglikanisch-altkatholisch-orthodoxen Beziehungen von 1870 bis 1990 und ihre ökumenische Relevanz 1.* Bern: Peter Lang.

Reusch, Franz Heinrich, ed. 2002. *Bericht über die 1874 und 1875 zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen*. Bonn: Alt-Katholischer Bistumsverlag. (First published in 1874–1875.)

Schoon, Dick. 2015. "The Union of Utrecht among the Christian World Communities: A Comparative Perspective." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 105: 91–103.

Schoon, Dick. 2004. Van bisschoppelijke Cleresie tot Oud-Katholieke Kerk: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Nederland in de 19e eeuw. Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers.

Smit, Peter-Ben. 2016. *Vrienden in het bisschopsambt: De correspondentie tussen Andreas Rinkel en Urs Küry (1955–1970)*. Sliedrecht/Amersfoort: Merweboek/Oud-Katholiek Boekhuis.

Smit, Peter-Ben. 2012. *Tradition in Dialogue: The Concept of Tradition in International Anglican Bilateral Dialogues*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Smit, Peter-Ben. 2011. *Old Catholic and Philippine Independent Ecclesiologies in History: The Catholic Church in Every Place*. Leiden: Brill.

Smit, Peter-Ben. 2007. "The Old Catholic View on Scripture and Tradition: A Short Story of a Theological Organism." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 97: 106–123.

Suter, Adrian. 2016. "Altkatholische Kirchen." In *Konfessionskunde*, edited by Johannes Oeldemann, 247–274. Leipzig/Paderborn: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt/Bonifatius.

Visser, Jan. 1996. "Die Alte Kirche als hermeneutisches Prinzip." *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 86: 45–64.

Vobbe, Joachim. 2005. *Brot aus dem Steintal: Bischofsbriefe*. Bonn: Alt-Katholischer Bistumsverslag.