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# KOINONIA

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**The Anglican and Eastern  
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*Chairman of the Committee:*

The Revd William Taylor  
St John's Vicarage  
25 Ladbroke Road  
London W11 3PD

0207 727 3539

whtaylor@btconnect.com

*General Secretary:*

The Revd Dr Peter Doll  
39 The Motte  
Abingdon  
Oxon OX14 3NZ

*Treasurer:*

David Powell  
32 Westminster Palace Gardens  
Artillery Row  
London SW1P 1RR

**Editorial**

Welcome to the first issue of Koinonia for 2005. I trust that we will be able to produce 3 journals this year to make up for the fact that there was only one issue of Koinonia in 2004.

In this issue, there is an excellent article by Colin Davey, and I am grateful to Deacon Nour Aziz for procuring this for us. Deacon Nour's piece on Christians in Iraq is, I feel, both timely and comprehensive. It should give us all food for thought.

As many will know, Fr William Gulliford has stepped down as General Secretary of the Association. He has been replaced by Fr Peter Doll, who introduces himself in the following way.

**Kevin Ellis**

**Introducing the new General Secretary – the Revd Dr Peter Doll**

To adapt the well-known adage, it is said that some are born ecumenists, some grow into ecumenism, and others have ecumenism thrust upon them. In a measure, I would want to claim all three about myself. I was born in Washington, D.C., to parents of German Roman Catholic and German Lutheran descent. If you think that such a difference would be of no account in melting-pot America, then you would not be taking into account the extent to which the fault lines of the Reformation replicated and even reinforced themselves in the United States. There were relations of my Lutheran mother who would have nothing further to do with her once she married a Roman Catholic in a Catholic church. According to the rules governing such marriages, I went to church with my Catholic father until he lapsed when I was about 7. (It remains a great sadness to me that even though I remember much about my early churchgoing, I cannot remember my first communion.) I went with my mother on those occasions when she went to church, but it was not often enough to become well acquainted with Lutheranism.

It was not until I changed schools around the age of 12 to St Albans, the Episcopal Cathedral School for boys in Washington, that the faith really got hold of me. Regular attendance at chapel, the presence of chaplains in school, and the proximity and beauty of the immense gothic-revival Washington Cathedral, then still under construction, indelibly marked me. I became a chorister in the cathedral and church quickly became

central to my life. Like many converts, even quite young ones, I tended to look down on the denominations I'd left behind and to exult in the things that made the Anglicanism I now embraced *different*: the beauty of the Cranmerian language of the Book of Common Prayer; the sober dignity of its (middle-of-the-road) worship; the tradition of English choral music. It took me many more years than I would like to admit to cease regarding these things as essential in themselves to my faith – to see that tradition is not a matter of adhering to fixed forms but of entering into the living, breathing, moving life of the Spirit in the Church.

My growing into ecumenism for a long time was a matter of growing into the breadth of the western church. As an undergraduate at Yale and as a trainee financial analyst in New York City, singing in choirs provided me with essential spiritual sustenance. A deepening acquaintance with Bach's liturgical music also enabled me to own and appreciate the Lutheran side of my background.

In 1986 I came to Oxford as a graduate student in history at Christ Church. Working on a thesis on Britain's ecclesiastical policy in North America around the time of the American Revolution (since published as *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795*) I immersed myself in the eighteenth-century Anglicanism which has been an intellectual and spiritual inspiration ever since.

Coming to England not only gave me a place to hear the call to priesthood, it has also given me a wife and family and a home. Helen and I met at Christ Church and were married in 1988. She is an epidemiologist in Oxford, and we have four children: Emily (14), Andrew (12), Nicholas (7), and Eleanor (5).

After preparation for ordination at Cuddesdon, I served my title in the parish of Cowley St John in East Oxford. I then became chaplain of Worcester College, Oxford, which is where I was fortunate enough to have ecumenical involvement with Orthodoxy thrust upon me. During my chaplaincy was the three hundredth anniversary of the 'Greek College' established there between 1699-1705 for the education of Greek Orthodox students from the Ottoman Empire. Organising the commemorative conference in 2001 woke me to the inspiration Orthodox theology and spirituality has given to Anglicanism as well as to the affinities that exist between us. It also filled me with a desire to be able to do something else to encourage better understanding between Anglicans and Orthodox.

Having subsequently returned to parochial ministry, looking after two churches within the parish of Abingdon, I am delighted and honoured to have the opportunity to have a part in encouraging growth in fellowship and understanding with Orthodox Christians as general secretary of the AECA. In a time of increased fragmentation both among and within the churches of Christendom, I believe it is of the utmost importance that Christians of different traditions should search out and strengthen the bonds of fellowship that unite us. Christ's calling us into unity with one another is no optional extra to Christian faith; it is of the essence of our vocation. May our Lord never cease to waken us to our need for one another in him.

Peter Doll

#### **The Garden of Eden and its Living Stone: Christians in Iraq: a review**

Churches and monasteries in the Orient attract pilgrims in search of spiritual nourishment. Events of the early part of the 1990s posed a spiritual challenge to us all. I embarked on a spiritual tour to visit Wren's Churches in the City of London and I, unexpectedly, came across an Assyrian cuneiform plate, a very familiar sight from Nineveh, Iraq, feeling sorry for itself under the element in the courtyard of St Vedas Church, Foster Lane. I wondered at the possible link and learned that one of St Vedas's parishioners fifty or so years ago donated this invaluable Assyrian tablet. This incidence coincident with the much-publicized discovery of another Assyrian relief in a tuck shop of a school, where General Sir Peter De La Billiere happened to be a member of the board of Governors. An auctioneer's hammer broke the sales record of any antiquity ever; this unexpected symbolic compensation brought a smile to the face of the victorious General. The Vicar-in-Charge was alerted to the presence of a neglected stone at St Vedas and its potential in such a lucrative market of Assyrian antiquities, at the time when those lovely Wren Church buildings were facing the imminent axe of the Tomlinson report that may allow the sacrilege of those churches by sharks from the City.

My knowledge of cuneiform is nothing to write home about but this Assyrian plate from Nineveh must have been handpicked for its Biblical connection. What is well known is that as soon as the cuneiform

inscriptions were deciphered, the Assyrian sculptures and reliefs started to arrive from Mesopotamia and fill museums and galleries in London, Paris and Berlin, surge of publications appeared to reflect the new and important added knowledge to Biblical History.

Although events in Nineveh, Babylon and Ur cities in Mesopotamia, the land of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans are enshrined in the Bible, preachers often tend to chose topical verses. Among the Minor Prophets, Jonah is commonly used in mission circles when they are faced with a reluctant missionary, but one would expect to hear now more sermons, which reflect on the increasingly topical scriptures of Nahum. It is Micah that often takes the lion's share. The subjects and events of Micah overshadowed for centuries those in the constituency of Jonah and Nahem. Consequently, Christianity in Iraq was relegated to the blind spot of historians and decision makers of our global village.

To redress some balance and fairly cover the broad and colourful spectra and the witness of Christianity in Iraq, chart successfully through this ancient and complex territory and fill the literature vacuum, we will need a much larger span than this article may offer. However, hopefully, this attempt may serve at this critical juncture as a timely reminder that Christianity "is still alive and kicking" in Iraq today and worthy of care and attention.

#### Glance at the first two Millennia

If at Antioch the disciples were first called Christians (Acts 6:26), it's in Mesopotamia where Christianity was sustained and has flourished for the last two millennia. Mesopotamia would not have won its reputation as being the "Cradle of Mankind and Civilization", without exhibiting an astonishing ability and tolerance to nurture a colourful and delicate mosaic of faiths and ethnicity that exerted synergy and harmony to form contemporary Iraqi society.

At the dawn of the first millennium, Jews who had a continuous existence since the Captivity, and gentiles, dominated Iraqi society. The Good News was first to reach Mesopotamia from the returning Magi "Wise Men from the East" (Matt 2:1), who saw the baby of Bethlehem, worshipped him and were the first Gentiles to believe (Matt 2: 1-12). Furthermore, Christian of Iraq can justly claim they are a Biblical people: they trace their origin to the day of the first Pentecost; there were people from Parthia, Media, Elam and Mesopotamia among the crowd in

Jerusalem (Acts 2:9). However, not until the apostles were mandated and embarked on their mission, (Matt 28:18-19, Mark 16:15), did Christian groupings start to be organized among the Aramaeans communities in Iraq.

The rising Christianity found its safe heaven and natural eastern expansion platform in this part of the East, known as the land of the Aramaeans, the land of Abraham (Gen. 11:26-25) strategically located at the eastern flank of the Roman Empire. This was part of the Fertile Crescent and down stream land from Antioch, where the Syriac/Aramaic, language, the vernacular of Jesus Christ, was influential at an early stage as the *lingua franca* used by the Assyrians.

This *Syriac Corridor*, along the Tigris and Euphrates valley of upper and lower Mesopotamia was inhabited by the well-placed Syriac/Aramaean speaking, indigenous communities which comprised then the main demographic blocks of Iraqi society. Fairly prosperous professional communities lived in the cosmopolitan urban centres and its rural environs on the ancient incense and trade route of the Orient. They adopted Christianity during its first century and have acted ever since as a well-protected conduit for Christian mission to the Gulf, Persia, India, China and Korea.

Ancient Syriac tradition tells us that after the exchange of letters with Abgar V (4BC-AD 50) the King of Edessa. Christ promised that after his Ascension He would send one of his disciples to cure and preach the Gospel to his people. St. Thomas the Apostle sent his twin brother Addai one of the seventy-two disciplines, (Lk.10: 1) to the court of Abgar's at Edessa, upper Mesopotamia. Addai cured Abgar and converted him and his people to Christianity. Addai and his apostle Mari evangelized among the Mesopotamian indigenous Aramaian communities who shared their language. Addai probably planted the first seed of Christianity in the fertile Iraqi plain. St. Thomas around 50AD on his way to India passed through, stayed and evangelized in many urban Mesopotamian cities within the *Syriac corridor* along the River Tigris.

The pagan house in Mosul city centre where St Thomas resided during his stay in Mosul-Nineveh eventually became the Church of St. Thomas, which is currently the oldest functioning Syrian Orthodox church in Iraq. The Church of St. Thomas became a worldwide pilgrim destination when the relic of St. Thomas was discovered there during renovation in 1963.

The other city was Tikret where St Thomas evangelized the Persian garrison. Addai and Mari evangelized and made many converts, built churches and monasteries. At the end of the apostolic mission Addai allegedly was buried at Edessa and Mari at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Addai and Mari were venerated as the holy apostles of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia.

Its geo-strategic location and abundant human and natural resources made Iraq a very interesting *musical chair* for many belligerent empires, Roman, Byzantine, Arsacid or Parthian (247BD-224AD) Sasanid (208-651) and many other power ever since and fulcrum of their expansion in the region. Whoever had the patronage of Mesopotamia interfered in the religious affairs of its inhabitants. The general political situation east of the Euphrates remained unsettled due to challenge to peace that was imposed by the horses of Trajanus (249-251) and his successors which were roaming Mesopotamia for the next two centuries attacking the Persian, Lakhmid Kingdom of Hira (380-602) and the Arab Kingdom of Hatra, burning or pillaging principal cities like Edessa, Nisibis and Babylon and others.

Christianity in Mesopotamia continued its growth, in spite of the unsettling situation, apostolic churches were formed, bishops consecrated, priests were appointed, parishes were organized, churches and monasteries were built and filled with monastic communities. The jurisdiction of the East was given to the See of Antioch. A Catholicos was appointed to assist the Patriarch of Antioch, overseeing the spiritual needs of the thriving church in Mesopotamia and the administrative role of the vigorous and spreading missionary church in the East and Far East. The Catholicos resided in Iraq at the Cetsiphon the Capital of the Parthians Empire. The see at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, was the most important Christian centre outside the Roman/Byzantine Empire.

Christendom happily steered the path of Christian unity for almost 400 years before it hit, within one generation, two Ecumenical icebergs, shattering the unity of the Council of Nicaea (325), with consequences that lasted until the twenty first century. It is not until the East Roman Emperor Theodosius II (408-450) convened the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431), which was presided over by Cyril of Alexandria (430-463) to deal with the controversy of Nestorius the Patriarch of Constantinople (428-431). The council excommunicated Nestorius the Bishop of Constantinople without trial, splitting the indigenous Syriac Christian communities in Iraq in the middle, into Ephesian Churches and

the pre-Ephesian Churches and sending his followers to lick their wounds at the doorstep of the Sasanid Empire. The party of Nestorius eventually seized, with the help of the Sasanids, the Catholicosate of the East at Seleucia-Ctesiphon and re-organized itself to form in due course the Ancient Church of the East which, in effect, became the established Church of the Sasanids Empire.

Within one generation, a mere twenty hard years the East Roman Emperor Marcian (450-457) convened in 451AD another ecumenical Council this time at Chalcedon; Chalcedon has been and still is, the most controversial council in the tradition of Eastern Christendom. It resulted in another lasting unhappy schism of the church, which further undermined the Nicæan spirit and Christian unity. Chalcedon proved to be a *step too far* for Christian Unity rapprochement. The Ephesian Churches were split in the middle again to the churches who were invited and attended the Council, ratified its definition and resolutions. Those churches grouped under a new banner as the Chalcedonian Churches, or the party of the Emperor.

The other groups were Ephesian Churches, who adhered the teaching of Severus I (512-538) the Patriarch of Antioch and to the formula of Cyril of Alexandria at Ephesus; they were at the time out of favour with the Byzantine Emperor. They felt it unable to attend the council either due to differences in theological perception or for political reasons, or most likely due to the fact that they had not been invited in order to be excluded from the Council. Naturally those churches having had no part in the discussions and proceedings of the Council, could not agree or ratify its resolutions nor accept the Chalcedonian definition, later they also refused the Tome of Leo (457-474). Consequently, those churches who comprise large communities of pre-Chalcedonian Christians who were living in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Ethiopia and India, had to leave the centre stage of Christendom and endure oppression, prosecution and labelled, to this day, as non-Chalcedonian Churches.

The Christians in Iraq, after two decades of being at the forefront of the Christian divide, defended the faith of Nicaea and Ephesus on behalf of Christendom. They were confronting a bitter and bloody dispute with their brothers of the Syrian church of the Sasanid Empire, fighting, in effect, the cause of the Roman Empire and the Sasanid Empire.

The same generation who witnessed, after the Council of Ephesus, how politics and state interference replaced the Christian unity of Nicaea with

animosity, were accusation and counter accusations between those two belligerent East and the West Syriac communities in Mesopotamia. After the Council of Chalcedon they found themselves, this time alone, sandwiched between the might of two belligerent empires. Therefore, it is safe to say that no other group of Christians in the entire Christendom suffered directly the aftermath of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon as much as the Syriac Christianity in Iraq.

In the seventh century, at the time of the advent of Islam and Arab conquests, Iraq was a part of two belligerent Empires: the Persian and the Byzantium. Syriac was the language of the majority of the Christian population. Certain Christian tribes, originally from Northern Arabia, like the Ghassanid, Lakhmids, Taghlib, Tanukh, Tay who inhabited East Syria and west Mesopotamia spoke Arabic; they were mostly members of the Syrian Church of Antioch and used Syriac in their liturgy. The adherents to the Syrian Church who were prosecuted by the Sasanids Empire and since the council of Chalcedon by co-religionist who were allies of the Byzantine Empire considered the advancing Arab Muslim as liberators. They primed themselves to welcome and support the army of faithful Arab and opened the gates of their cities to avoid bloodshed and start a new chapter. Soon to learn that those Arab faithful belief in a new monolithic religion which is a special way of life, imposing new type of tax "Jezia" or Poll Tax and set of rule to govern all there relations with their Abrahamic cousins, the Jews and the Christians and call them "Ahle Al-Kitab", "People of the book". Christians were considered useful tax paying citizens, posing no danger to the newly developing Islamic state. Muslim did not differentiate between Christians or pay any attention neither to their persuasions nor to the fact that they were pre-Ephesians, Ephesians or Chalcedonian Christian. Naturally, this nondiscriminating attitude was very welcomed by the Syrian Orthodox and the Ancient Church of the East. Muslim, Christians and Jewish relations reached its zenith during the classical age of Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258). The harmony of inter-faith and the fortune of the archetypal Jews and Christians communities declined together with those of the Caliphate in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion and a dawn of uncertainty began for the churches in Iraq.

For two hundred years the land came under the patronage of a variety of non-Arab Muslim rulers This was crowned by the fall and subjugation of Byzantium in 1453 at the hand of the Ottomans, ushering yet a new era, centuries of the Ottoman-Turk rules and their policy of Turkification and eventual implementation of their Millet System that governed the relations of non-Muslim subjects.

The relations of Churches and their leaders fluctuated according to the policies of individual rulers and their sycophants, often with a considerable loss to their membership. To protect their flock and cushion those centuries of uncertainty and isolation, the church fathers had to "be wise as serpents and innocent as doves!" (Mt 10:16). It is apparent that the Muslim populations of Iraq also suffered from their rulers, this is reflected in the writing of an Arab intellectual from Mosul, "Our ancestors used to say in the past: if we were assured that only one prayer will be answered, we would wish for a righteous sultan, for righteous sultans make for righteous Muslims".

The waves of Crusades added insult to injury to the situation of the Christians in Iraq and the Middle East. In general it precipitated inter-Church and inter-faith religious sentiments and a lasting bone of contention. Before the Crusades there were in the Middle East only Pre-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian Churches. The Crusades compromised the existing balance by adding further division, by introducing the Latin Church and later the different Catholic Uniate, they also called ritual churches. These churches retained the original tradition and liturgical language.

The crusaders attracted the Roman Catholic Church attention to the present in Iraq of substantial communities that survived the Council of Chalcedon and realized the potential of missionary work among them.

In 1551 Mar Shim'un V the Catholicos of the Ancient Church of the East died, he was survived only by one eight-year-old nephew. Three of his metropolitans together with like-minded clergies and notables at Mosul, who were dissatisfied with the hereditary succession to the church office including the Catholicate were determined to break with the tradition, rebelled and refused to take part in the consecration of the new young Catholicos. They chose, Yuhanna Sulaqa, the Abbot of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Mosul to be their new catholicos. With the help of Franciscan friars at Jerusalem, Solaqa and one notable arrived in Rome on November 1552. After the examination and satisfaction of the commission that was appointed by Pope Julius III (1550-1555). On 20<sup>th</sup> February 1553 Abbot Sulaqa made a public profession of his catholic belief and promised to submit to the jurisdiction of the see of Rome. History was made on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1553, Pope Julius consecrated him as a Bishop and bestowed on him the title of Mar Shim'un Yohanna Solaqa "the Patriarch of Mosul". In effect Pope Julius consecrated the first indigenous Iraqi Catholic Bishop and Patriarch and established the first

Catholic Church in Iraq under the jurisdiction of Rome. In spite of the opposition of the Ancient Church of the East, Mother Church, and the Ottoman authority, Patriarch Yohanna Solaqa resided initially in Amid and consecrated few metropolitans for his newly formed church. To give the new church a Mesopotamian historical dimension Pope Paul V (1605-1621) at the beginning of the seventeenth century called the new church "The **Chaldean Church**" Eventually, the See of Babylon was established and the title of the Patriarch of Mosul was replaced by the Patriarch of Babylon.

The flurry of Latin missionaries' activities stepped up among the Syrian, Armenian and Greek Orthodox in Turkey, Syrian and Mesopotamia. Many individuals were converted, some bishops also switched allegiance and joined Rome and eventually accepted officially, a palium were sent from Rome and new Uniate Churches of those communities were establishing.

Iraq was ear marked by the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith to be a destination and home for Roman Catholic (Latin) missions for centuries. Capuchins mission established in 17<sup>th</sup> century and has been maintained continuously since. Then by the permission of Pope Benedicts XIV (1740-1758) in 1750 a mission of Dominican Fathers and numerous Nuns took over.

However, a Dominican father Henry Amanton appointed as a Nuncio to represent Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) and the Vatican in Mesopotamia, Armenia and Persia arrived on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1858 and resided in Mosul. The Nuncio was usually a French man as the delegation was supported with a considerable estate that was bequeathed in the eighteenth century by a French lady on the condition that the Papal representative should always be a Frenchman. The Nuncio on the suggestion of a Dominican father brought with him to Mesopotamia the first Arabic printing machine. Considering the state of isolation that the Ottoman authority imposed on the Arabic speaking provinces, the Nuncio's printing house was most welcomed by Christians and Muslim alike. Catholic missionary also established Schools, hospitals and other institutions that contributed to the education and health of population.

The Latin missionaries were making more gains. Enlisting the help of successful French ambassadors at the port to establish separate millet for the Oriental converts to Catholicism was not successful. During the pontificate of Pope Innocent XIII (1721-1724), Sultan Ahmed III (1703-

1730) issued *firman* on 14 September 1722. He forbade conversions to Catholicism, ordering that all Ottoman subjects in the Christian millets must remain there. Anyone violating the regulations would be subject to arrest as a traitor. The indigenes Christian welcomed and celebrated this *firman*, which coincided with the festivity of the feast of the cross.

Only the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox (officially represented all Oriental Orthodox) and Latin Catholic were granted independent Millet status. This state of representation lasted until the efflorescence of the reform movement *Tanzimat* by Mahmud II (1808-1839). This reform developed in tandem with Rashid Pasha the Ottoman able Grand Vizier and Sir Stafford Canning the British Ambassador at Constantinople during the successive sultan. On 18<sup>th</sup> February 1856 to coincide with end of the Crimean War and the meeting in Paris of representative of the powers of the day, the Ottoman administration produced the second most important fruit of the *Tanzimat*, the *Hatti humayun* offering equality to the Christians. The document stated that "all the privileges and spiritual immunities of the churches would be respected and that individual Christians would enjoy all civil rights on the same level as Muslims, previously a *firman* was issued on 6 May 1855 cancelling the poll-tax. Consequently, the recently formed Protestant Christian communities in the empire gained their Millet status and then the Syrian Orthodox Church was the last ancient indigenes Christian communities to gain its independent Millet status after centuries of vulnerable independence.

Following the end of the First World War, the Peace Conference which was held in Versailles 1919-1920, culminated by the Treaty of Sevres 1920 which dealt with division of territories and indigenous demography of the former Ottoman Empire. Followed by the Cairo Conference which was convened in March 1921 by Winston Churchill, the British colonial secretary. A decision was made to establish a Kingdom of Iraq initially only of two Provinces, Basra and Baghdad under British mandate. After the Treaty of Lausanne 1923, the League of Nation settled the fate of the province of Mosul by its resolution on 16 December 1925 and gave the province of Mosul as a Christmas present to Iraq. The refusal of the Turkish government to accept the Mosul award was a potential threat to peace as well as the future stability of Iraq.

Deacon Nour Aziz

### The Sketch of the Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue in the XIXth Century

The Anglican Church, the Reformed Church with her inner diversity, and Eastern Orthodoxy unchanged for centuries, where the saving Truth is confessed "with one heart and with one mouth", represent two dramatically different mentalities. Attempting to understand each other was not easy. Yet the Church of England was the only Western Church with whom the Orthodox seriously discussed the question of Reunion.

Sympathies with the Eastern Church always were and are present in the Anglican Church. The Armenian and Caroline divines such as Archbishop William Laud, Lancelot Andrews, Thomas Ken and others craved to strengthen in Anglicanism everything that made it Apostolic and often appealed to Eastern opinions<sup>1</sup>. This appeal was connected with the dream of all true Christians about the Unity of Christendom as well as with the efforts of Anglican divines to define the nature of the Church of England and to find its place in the Christian world. The history of relations between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches goes back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century when, as a result of growing contacts, the first face-to-face meetings took place. They were episodic but included many interesting moments (such as friendship of the British Ambassador in Constantinople Edward Barton and Patriarch Meletiy, and an increasing interest in Anglicanism of the Constantinople Patriarch Cyril Lucaris in the 17<sup>th</sup> century etc.).

The first attempt at Reunion with the Orthodox Church took place in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, undertaken by Non-jurors bishops who called themselves "a British remnant of the Catholic Church"<sup>2</sup>. The Anglican plan suggested full intercommunion while retaining the following differences: Anglicans would not acknowledge authority of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, veneration of icons and saints, the Mother of God and would not regard the decisions of the Councils as equal to the Scripture. The Sacrament of the Holy Communion was interpreted on the principals close to Calvinism<sup>3</sup>. The reply was made by the Patriarchs

<sup>1</sup> The Rt. Revd J. Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates Oxford., 1902 p.6-10

<sup>2</sup> Williams G. The Orthodox Church of the East in the 18 century L., 1868

<sup>3</sup> Образцов П. О попытках к соединению англиканской епископальной церкви с православно-восточной. // Православное обозрение 1866

of Jeremy Constantinople, Athanathius of Antioch and Chrisanf of Jerusalem. They greatly appreciated the desire for unity but refused to discuss disputable questions in a very resolute way. In their joint answer of 1723 they firmly stated: "the dogmas of our faith were carefully investigated in the days of old ... and it is not possible to take away or to add to them, therefore anyone who wishes to be in Communion with us ... should with simplicity submit himself to what was defined and stated by the Holy Ecumenical Councils"<sup>4</sup>. This answer of the Orthodox hierarchies to the Anglican bishops is regarded by historians of the Church as the most important theological text in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the authority of which is very significant: such was and is the position of the Orthodox Church in the dialogue with other Churches<sup>5</sup>.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century opened a new era in relations between the Churches as well as between the nations: the world became much narrower after the Napoleonic wars. The Orthodox Church was still "almost as much unknown to us, English people, as the other side of the moon"<sup>6</sup>. But the time came, as Anglican periodical "*Christian Remembrancer*" defined it, for the "opening of the East"<sup>7</sup>. First of all, this was the time of direct intercourse, particularly after the Church of England opened bishoprics of Jerusalem and Gibraltar (1841, 1842). In 1840 Rev. George Tomlinson<sup>8</sup>, secretary of the S.P.C.K., presented a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Ecumenical Patriarch that was the first official declaration of the Anglican Church concerning her relations with

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. P.45-52

<sup>5</sup> Уляхин В. Русская Православная Церковь и экуменическое движение 19-20 вв. // Ежегодная Богословская Конференция 1997 г. - A further meeting of the Orthodox theologians and Anglican bishops was arranged in St. Petersburg, but did not happen because of the sudden death of the Russian Emperor Peter the First, who was the chief sponsor of the dialogue at that time. And there was another reason to stop further negotiations. The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, let the Orthodox know that Non-jurors were in schism with the Anglican authorities and did not have a right to represent the Church of England, although he expressed the desire that the dialogue between the Churches should continue.

<sup>6</sup> The Christian Observer 1861 P.609

<sup>7</sup> The Christian Remembrancer 1857 V.33 P.200

<sup>8</sup> Later Bishop of Gibraltar, Patron of the Eastern Churches Association.



the Orthodox Churches<sup>9</sup>. It was written in the letter that the Anglican Church had no desire to make conversions at the expense of the Orthodox, but wanted to develop brotherly relations between the two Churches. Historians of the Church emphasise that relations between these communities (except on very rare occasions) were never shadowed by rivalry or proselytism<sup>10</sup>.

To a decisive degree the interest in Orthodoxy was connected with the Oxford movement. The revival of interest in traditions of the Primitive Church and the teaching of the Fathers made tractarians pay more attention to the Orthodox Church. According to the "Branch Theory" of the Oxford divines the three Churches, which preserve the Apostolic Succession (Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Anglicanism), are essentially one. Different jurisdictions simply represent different expressions of one and the same faith of the Catholic Church. "We are the English Catholics," – said Newman<sup>11</sup>.

Initially tractarians were preoccupied chiefly with the Roman Church, "the mother by whom our spiritual infancy was nursed"<sup>12</sup>. But the better they understood that nothing would come out of the idea of Reunion with Rome (especially after Newman's secession in 1845), the more they spoke about the Christian East. Thus, Pusey wrote: "We make but a poor appearance over against the Romish Communion... Here I think we might take refuge under the shadow of the Greek Church ..."<sup>13</sup>, "Why should we direct our eye to the Western Church alone which, even united in itself would yet remain ... sadly short of the Oneness, she had in her best day, if she continued severed from the Easterners"<sup>14</sup>.

On the stage of early Tractarianism the interest of Anglican divines in Orthodoxy was mostly academic and theoretical. The only exception was a courageous attempt by Deacon William Palmer of Magdalene College to apply the "Branch Theory" in practice. This "ecclesiastical Don

<sup>9</sup> Shaw P. The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church M., 1930 P.145

<sup>10</sup> Journal of Moscow Patriarchate 1956 P.38

<sup>11</sup> Palmer W. Notes of a Visit to a Russian Church. Ed. by J.Newman L., 1882 P.V

<sup>12</sup> The British Critic July 1841 P.135

<sup>13</sup> Pusey House MSS. E.Pusey to J.Newman 31.12.1839

<sup>14</sup> Idem. Letter to Dr.Jelf Oxf., 1841 PP.184-185

Quixote"<sup>15</sup> came to Russia in 1840 and claimed his right to receive Holy Communion in the Orthodox Church because, as he explained, considered himself to be a member of the Holy Apostolic Catholic Church, one of the branches of which was the Russian Church. The claim was met with great astonishment<sup>16</sup>, although the highest authorities accepted the Anglican guest.

"The Church should be perfectly one in belief," – the Metropolitan of Moscow contended<sup>17</sup>. Palmer interpreted the 39 articles in the 'Catholic' sense and did his best to prove that the Anglican Church had the same doctrine on the questions of primary importance. Having read the articles themselves Russian theologians refused to believe that Palmer represented the whole body of the Anglican Church and that the Church of England was not Protestant<sup>18</sup>. Yet there was readiness on the Russian side to inaugurate negotiations: "if your bishops would write to the Synod, the Synod will show every disposition to correspond with them"<sup>19</sup>. "It is our duty to do what we can for you, as Unity is the duty of the Church and we all pray for it"<sup>20</sup>.

Palmer's visits to Russia (1840, 1842) bore fruitful results. "We knew here, in Russia, very little about your Church, you have done a great thing in opening the way to a better acquaintance," – said the Ober-Procurator and promised to welcome in Russia other English theologians who would follow Palmer's example<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Firovsky G. The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement...// A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517 – 1948 Ed. By R.Rose and S.Neil L.,1954 P.198

<sup>16</sup> Palmer W. Op.cit. P.115

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. P.395

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. P.124

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. P.542

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. P.124

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. P.550 Palmer left Russia, but continued to be in touch with his friends. Thus a correspondence between William Palmer and a famous philosopher (Slavophil) Alexis Khomiakov was started. It was published in England in 1895 and became one of the most important sources of information for those interested in the Eastern Orthodoxy. (E.g. William Gladstone read and spoke about it with sympathies, Bishop of Salisbury recommended his ordination candidates to study this correspondence.)

Cardinal J. Newman became an editor of Palmer's account of his travels to Russia<sup>22</sup>. He found his friend's journal most interesting. For it was his first opportunity to learn more about the Orthodox Church: "It gives a vivid ... picture of the Russian Church and if it has the same effect on others which it has upon me, it will make them not only know Russia, but feel love, interest and tenderness towards it and its people<sup>23</sup>. Newman found that Palmer was "certainly most kindly received" and he was especially struck by the fact that the Tsar invited Palmer to dine with him<sup>24</sup>. It was Prime Minister William Gladstone who inspired Cardinal Newman to write to Russia and to establish links with those who remembered Palmer<sup>25</sup>.

Almost contemporary with Palmer, though a man of more solid achievement was John Mason Neale, an excellent patristic scholar from Cambridge. He introduced Orthodox thought and spirituality to the people of England by his translation of Eastern hymns and liturgies, "a huge treasure of divinity<sup>26</sup>". The Neale's book "*A History of the Holy Eastern Church*" (L., 1847-73), Palmer's "*Dissertations on subjects relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern Catholic' Communion*" (1853) as well as Stanley's "*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*" (1861) were the first significant books on Orthodoxy in England.

In the second half of the century Orthodoxy was in fashion. "Nothing can show the increasing interest which attaches to the Eastern Church more than the fact that the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford has chosen it for the subject of his lectures<sup>27</sup>". Certainly the Broad Church principles of Professor Arthur Stanley were irreconcilable with the Orthodox teaching. Nonetheless he believed that one could learn many lessons from studying the history of the Orthodox Church, as "it stands on the grounds to us so untrodden, and alternatively cuts across the narrow prejudices both of Protestantism and Catholicism<sup>28</sup>". Stanley's ideal was a national, comprehensive Church serving to create harmony

<sup>22</sup> The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman Ed. By Ch. Dessain Vol. 29 P. 99

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. Vol. 30 P. 68

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. P. 109

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. P. 170

<sup>26</sup> The Christian Remembrancer 1859 V. 37 P. 292

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 1862 V. 42 P. 224

<sup>28</sup> Stanley A. Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church L., 1876 P. 45

in the nation. It is from this point of view that he was particularly interested in the Church of Russia. Stanley found in the Russian identification of nationality and creed a wonderful parallel to "the national character of our religion, which is at once our boast and our reproach"<sup>29</sup>.

Stanley visited Russia twice: at first as an Oxford Professor in 1857 seeking face-to-face meetings with the Orthodox Church and then as the Dean of Westminster in 1874. Memories of the Crimean War were still so fresh in 1857 that any Englishman at first was met with a cold reception. But few Russians could resist Stanley's interest in all that they most valued. Stanley's reminiscences about his visits to Russia were very enthusiastic<sup>30</sup>. Like Deacon Palmer, Stanley was strongly impressed by the personality of Moscow Metropolitan Philaret. In 1868, after the death of the Metropolitan, Dean Stanley wrote a sympathetic article about this outstanding representative of the Russian Church history<sup>31</sup>.

During the period of the Oxford movement the Eastern Church ceased to be a matter of indifference. "At present very lively interest taken by Englishmen generally in Russian affairs or in the state of religion in particular. Every now and then we have a sensational book, written by some one who had scampered over part of the country, or spent a few weeks in St. Petersburg or Moscow<sup>32</sup>". Such people as Cardinal Newman, Prime-Minister Gladstone, Dean Stanley, Primate of the Episcopal Church in Scotland Robert Eden<sup>33</sup>, canon Liddon<sup>34</sup> and other well-known Englishmen of that time either had an interest in Orthodoxy or had to react to the ongoing dialogue. There were three main reasons for this interest: 1) the growing influence of Russia and constant political rivalry in the East closely connected with the religious controversy in that region; 2) cultural interest, to some degree inspired by the reforms of Alexander II; 3) a party in the Anglican Church anxiously looking for

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. P. 51

<sup>30</sup> CRO DSA 80/8 A. Stanley to Lousie Stanley 27.08.1857; 06.09.1857

<sup>31</sup> Macmillan's Magazine 1868 V. 17

<sup>32</sup> Month 1872 V. 16 P. 77

<sup>33</sup> Eden R. Impressions of a Recent Visit to Russia L., 1867

<sup>34</sup> Cannon Liddon was accompanied to Russia by Deacon Dodgson (the author of the popular "Alice in Wonderland"). He rebuked his young companion who was more interested in Russian culture than in her religion and preferred theatres to lengthy Orthodox services. - The Russian Journal. A Record Kept by H.P. Liddon of a tour taken with C.L. Dodgson in 1867 N.Y., 1995

closer relations with the Orthodox Church. The Russian Church, being the most numerous of the Orthodox Churches, was considered by the High Church party as one of their main partners<sup>35</sup>.

The pro-orthodox High Church theologians, whose main periodicals were the "*Christian Remembrancer*" and "*Guardian*", considered that the roots of the Anglican Church were in the East, and that it was therefore natural for her to apply to the faithful successors of the great and holy bishops of antiquity<sup>36</sup>, and "the more the clergy are educated, the more sure is this view to make its way with them"<sup>37</sup>. The future Union was supposed to be not "the unity of the ultramontane with a compulsory uniformity of ecclesiastical institutions", "not the vague negative, meaningless unity of the Evangelical Alliance ... which ignores the framework of the Church", but "the Unity of the Church such as it exhibited itself in the Primitive Church, not uniformity, but federal union"<sup>38</sup>. The Orthodox Churches adequately represented this federal Unity.

The Low Church Party was not happy with the increasing interest in the Eastern Churches. The "*Christian Observer*" stated that "there was an anti-Protestant Party within the Church which forced corruption of the faith by sympathies towards the Oriental Churches"<sup>39</sup>. Attacking the Eastward movement, "*Christian Observer*" did not write much on the theological foundations of the Orthodox faith, primarily describing the present situation in those churches. The main stress was put on ignorance and moral degradation. Many examples were given to illustrate the fact that "from the Patriarch downward everything through every gradation and rank ... is bought and sold in the Greek Church"<sup>40</sup>. The conclusion was very simple: "The Eastern Churches are worse than Rome now"<sup>41</sup>. The Russian Church was introduced as "fraught with superstition, theatrical show, and nonsense"<sup>42</sup>.

Such a description of the Russian Church in the darkest colours was due not only to "ultra-Protestantism". That was quite in line with the feelings of utmost hatred between Russia and England during the period of the

<sup>35</sup> Reunion with the Eastern Church L., 1851 P.19

<sup>36</sup> The Christian Remembrancer 1864 V.47 P.464

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 1866 V.51 P.168

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 1860 V.39 P.175

<sup>39</sup> The Christian Observer 1854 P.68

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. P.259

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. P.262

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 1867 P.139

Crimean War. In 1854, the Conservative "*Blackwood's Magazine*" called Russia "an empire of slaves where religion was used as a tool in the State policy"<sup>43</sup> and tried to prove that Russia did not have a right to consider herself the natural Protector of the Christian communities of the East. The political rivalry and enmity influenced relations between the nations as well as between the Churches. However, different views, as well as there were different political groups, did exist.

We find sympathetic articles about Russian culture and religion in "*Good words*", "*London Quarterly Review*"<sup>44</sup> and other Liberal periodicals. The article from "*Edinburgh Review*" by a liberal journalist E. Freeman was utterly friendly both to Orthodoxy and the Russian Church. After careful consideration, Freeman rejected all accusations of the Eastern Church in schism and corruption. He stressed how much Russians were devoted to their national Church. "Holy Russia" – the ideal of Russians for centuries – was easy to mock but the very phrase, as Freeman wrote, showed how deeply the religious and the national feelings were blended together<sup>45</sup>. He saw in them a kind of opposition to the tyranny of Rome and the greatest witness to the principle that national independence and religious intercommunion were in no way inconsistent.

In the 60-ties, the leaders of the Oxford movement ceased to be satisfied with only academic interest in Orthodoxy and wanted to go beyond theoretical researches. In 1863 the Russo-Greek Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury was established. Many distinguished bishops - C Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, S. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, W. Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury and others - supported the project. The Committee had very limited power but it was the first official body authorised by the Establishment to promote relations between the Churches.

In 1864 E. Pusey, J. Keble and H. Liddon supported the initiative of J. Neale, G. Williams and W. Denton to create an Association of Eastern Churches which would promote friendly contacts between the Churches<sup>46</sup>. The Association had 282 members. Among the patrons

<sup>43</sup> The Blackwood's Magazine 1854 V.75 P.287

<sup>44</sup> Good Words 1862 V.3 P.455; 1877 V.18 P.15, 92; The London Quarterly Review 1855 V.5 P.125

<sup>45</sup> The Edinburgh Review 1858 V.107 P.344

<sup>46</sup> The main tasks of the Eastern Churches Association were: 1) to inform the English people about Eastern Christianity; 2) to make known the doctrines and principles of the Anglican church to the

there were 16 eminent bishops of England and America and also Archbishop Michael of Belgrade, Metropolitan of Serbia<sup>47</sup>. The range of activities was very wide. One of the most important fields was publication of literature and help to Orthodox Churches in need, sending them either books, money or in some other ways<sup>48</sup>.

In 1868 the first Lambeth Conference was held. Under the influence of the High Church Party an Encyclical letter was written to the Patriarchs and Hierarchs of the Orthodox Churches with brotherly greetings<sup>49</sup>. In 1868 the first step towards practical intercommunion between the Churches was made. Upon the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory VI entitled Orthodox clergy in his diocese to bury members of the Church of England in Orthodox burial grounds and to celebrate a funeral service for them<sup>50</sup>. Although the other important question – that of giving Holy Communion to members of the Anglican Church – was not settled. In 1874, the Ecumenical Patriarchate entitled the Orthodox clergy to accord to members of the Anglican Church the services of Baptism and Marriage<sup>51</sup>. It was very convenient for the numerous Englishmen who lived in places where it was difficult to find an Anglican chaplain.

The most important events in Anglican-Orthodox relations in the last decades of the century were the visit of Archbishop Alexander Lycurgus to England in 1870 and the Bonn Conferences of 1874-1875.

The official purpose of visit of the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos was to consecrate the New Greek Church in Liverpool. But also on the request of the Patriarch he intended to learn more about the Anglican

Christians of the East; 3) to take advantage of all opportunities for intercommunion with the Orthodox Churches; 4) to assist the bishops of the Orthodox Churches in their efforts to promote the spiritual welfare and education of their flocks. - The Eastern Churches Association. Rulers, adopted November 1869; The Reports of the Eastern Churches Association L., 1866-74 Vols. I-X

<sup>47</sup> The Reports of the Eastern Churches Association L., 1866-74 Vols. I-X

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. V. I P. 8; V. II P. 11; V. IX P. 8

<sup>49</sup> The Reports... V. 3 1868 P. 6

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem; The Occasional Papers of the Eastern Churches Association V. 16

<sup>51</sup> The Reports... V. 9 P. 6

Community. In those days the presence of an Orthodox hierarch of such rank in England was very rare. A Conference was organised at Ely where all points of agreement and disagreement between the two communities were surveyed<sup>52</sup>. At Oxford and Cambridge the Archbishop was honoured with degrees – a Doctor of Law and a Doctor of Divinity. The last degree was usually never conferred upon anyone outside of the Anglican Church. It was exceptionally conferred upon Archbishop Alexander, as on an occasion 170 years before it had been conferred upon another Orthodox Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Philippolis during his visit to England<sup>53</sup>. In 1870 the Archbishop wrote that "the English people manifested towards the Orthodox Church extraordinary and to him unexpected feelings of honour and respect<sup>54</sup>". The highest honour given to Archbishop Lycurgus was the dinner with Queen Victoria, which must have been due to Mr. Gladstone's influence<sup>55</sup>.

The decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870, introducing the dogma of Papal Infallibility, made a considerable group of Old Catholics secede from the Roman Church and, on the other hand, upset the plans of those Anglicans who hoped for Reunion with Rome. Both Old Catholics and Anglicans appealed to the Orthodox Churches, and the former started while the latter continued their negotiations with the East.

The conferences held in Bonn in 1874 and 1875 were without precedent in the history of the Christian Church. For the first time Christian divines of different traditions met for impartial discussions on the main tenets of their faith, and "the East has never been so ably represented in the West, not even at the Council of Florence<sup>56</sup>". The Bonn Conferences were "the most intelligent, determined and uncompromising protest

<sup>52</sup> Report of His Grace the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos in His Journey to England L., 1871 P. 12

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. P. 13

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. P. 1

<sup>55</sup> Archbishop Lycurgus and Prime Minister Gladstone became friends and kept in touch till the death of the archbishop. About the Gladstone's views on the Orthodoxy see Soloviova T. Gladstone's Interest in Reunion of Christendom in the "Gladstone Umbrella" Ed. by P. Francis Monad Press 2000

<sup>56</sup> The Orthodox group included prominent theologians appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarch and by the Churches of Greece, Russia and Romania - The London Quarterly Review 1876 V. 46 PP 60-79

against the Papacy made since the Reformation<sup>57</sup>. Attention was directed mainly to the doctrine of the Eternal Procession of the Holy Spirit and to the question of the validity of Anglican Orders.

Most of the delegates came to the conclusion that the Church of England and the Churches derived from it had maintained unbroken the Episcopal Succession and recognised the validity of Anglican ordinations. However, Russian delegates doubted "whether a sufficiently high estimation of the grace of Orders is entertained in the Anglican Church"<sup>58</sup>.

The most controversial point was the question of Filioque, "the miserable and most fruitful source of schism between the two great Churches"<sup>59</sup>. After a long debate it was agreed that the clause had been inserted irregularly, and that it was highly desirable to find a way in which the original form of the Creed could be restored<sup>60</sup>.

The general feeling was that the Conferences had succeeded in providing a basis for agreement on many questions. The "Guardian" stated that the Bonn Conferences "made a breach in the wall that stood between the Occidental and Oriental faith"<sup>61</sup>. One of the main reasons for the success was "the general wish of the Churches concerned for Union" in an atmosphere of infidelity and atheism. The "London Quarterly Review" wrote about "the call for the Church to prepare for the approaching life and death struggle"<sup>62</sup>.

The resolution adopted by the Third Lambeth Conference in 1888 stated that the Anglican Church rejoiced greatly in the friendly communications with the Eastern Churches<sup>63</sup>. In the same document it was stated that "it would be difficult for us to enter into more intimate relations with that Church so long as it retains the use of icons, the invocation of the Saints and the cult of the Blessed Virgin"<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. P.79

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>59</sup> The Christian Remembrancer 1864 V.48 P.469

<sup>60</sup> The Occasional Papers... V.19 P.4

<sup>61</sup> The Guardian 1875 P.1081

<sup>62</sup> The London Quarterly Review 1876 V.46 P.72

<sup>63</sup> Florovsky G. Op.cit. P.209

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem.

On the other hand, more Anglicans were coming to understand that the Eastern Church retained what the Anglican had lost. A good example of such a pro-orthodox Anglican theologian was William Birkbeck, a well-known writer, Fellow of Magdalene College at Oxford. He considered that the Church of England lacked three very important points: 1) the doctrine of the Communion of Saints as necessary to a right conception of the Church; 2) the doctrine of icons as focused in the dogmatic decree of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Birkbeck studied the iconoclastic controversy thoroughly and he approved the veneration of icons); 3) devotion to the Mother of God as the great bulwark of the true faith in the Lord's Humanity<sup>65</sup>. The Orthodox Church, Birkbeck believed, correctly kept all these vital aspects of the Christian faith on the level of dogma<sup>66</sup>. It should be mentioned that a hundred years later, in 1984, when the "Dublin Agreed Statement" was being issued, the Anglican theologians did not find any cause for disagreement with the Orthodox teaching on icons as "an important means whereby we confess and appropriate the mystery of the Incarnation"<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Birkbeck and the Russian Church. Ed. by A. Riley L, 1917 P.VIII

<sup>66</sup> Birkbeck was a leading figure in Anglican-Orthodox relations at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> - at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He was a master of many languages including Russian and Slavonic, also a musician with a deep knowledge of Russian ecclesiastical music. His special interest was the Russian Church and he spent much time in this country, where was welcomed by many friends among whom were Tsar Nicholas II and members of the Imperial Family<sup>66</sup>. He "devoted his life to the cause of Christian Unity and did more than anyone had ever done to bring the two Churches together". Birkbeck knew the Eastern, Roman and Anglican communions equally well, but Anglicanism was his spiritual home<sup>66</sup>. He believed that the hopes of the Church of England lay in gradually approaching the Eastern Church and in eventual Union with her as the guardian of true Catholic tradition whilst keeping occidental and national customs. His book "Russia and the English Church During the Last Fifty Years" (Ed. by W.Birkbeck L., 1895) was highly appreciated by such people as Nicholas II and Prime Minister Gladstone.)

<sup>67</sup> Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue. The Dublin Agreed Statement N.Y., 1985 - As the participants of the Moscow ( 1975) and Dublin (1984) Conferences noted, many agreements were reached thanks to increasing contact with the Orthodox and a fuller knowledge of their tradition.

The year of 1888 became an important date in the history of relations between the Church of England and the Russian Church. That year Russia celebrated the nine-hundredth anniversary of her conversion to Christianity. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Edward Benson) sent an official letter of congratulation and good wishes to the Metropolitan of Kiev. Of all the Western Churches, the Anglican Church was the only one to take any notice of the Kiev festival. The sincere congratulations of the Anglican Archbishop made a profound impression on Russians<sup>68</sup>. The Anglican delegation led by Birkbeck was met very warmly.

In his reply, Metropolitan Platon unexpectedly raised the question of formal Reunion and asked the Archbishop upon which conditions they considered the Union would be possible<sup>69</sup>. The Archbishop implied intercommunion in Holy Sacraments and the recognition of Anglican Orders as the two main points. He did not consult specialists on Orthodox teaching, for whom the defects of his reply were obvious. "The suggestion that Communion in Sacraments should come before the Unity of doctrine would seem to the Easterners to imply an insufficient sense of the importance of the faith," - wrote Birkbeck<sup>70</sup>.

The last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the highest level of contacts between the Anglican and the Russian Churches. In 1896 Bishop Creighton of Peterborough attended the Coronation of Nicholas II as the official envoy of the Church of England<sup>71</sup>. In 1897 Archbishop Anthony Vadkovsky of Finland went to England to represent the Russian Church at the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria<sup>72</sup>. That was the beginning of regular reciprocal contacts and visits between the leading authorities of the two Churches. These visits belonged more to the history of relations between the two great nations rather than between the Churches. This was the time of a new political situation when England and Russia were growing closer to each other and international

<sup>68</sup> Russia and the English Church During the Last Fifty Years Ed. by W. Birkbeck L., 1895 P.11

<sup>69</sup> Lambeth Palace MSS. Plato, Metropolitan of Kiev. Correspondence on Exchange of Greetings 80ff.219-74

<sup>70</sup> Birkbeck and the Russian Church... P.16

<sup>71</sup> Lambeth Palace MSS. Creighton, Mandell, Bishop of London. Correspondence and papers on the attendance at the Coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, 1896 148 ff.112-99; ff.283-8

<sup>72</sup> Correspondence on the attendance of the Archbishop of Finland at Queen Victoria's Jubilee Celebrations, 1897 4ff.200-4; 7ff.275-81

diplomacy was helping relations between the Churches. Nevertheless, they strengthened brotherly feelings between Anglicans and the Orthodox.

In 1897 Archbishop Maclagan came to Russia. The visit of the Archbishop of York, unofficial but very significant, was the culmination of the relations between the two Churches. The Archbishop visited St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the Holy Trinity Monastery and was "more than satisfied at the extraordinarily warm and sympathetic welcome"<sup>73</sup>.

It was not by chance that the visit of an Anglican Prelate of such high rank happened at that time. In the middle of the 1890-ties Russian divines were following with interest discussions of Anglican Orders in Rome and the final repudiation of their validity. The Response of the English Archbishops was officially communicated to all Orthodox bishops. The opinions of Orthodox theologians on this question differed. Both in the Russian and the Greek Church on one side there was a strong opposition to recognising validity of Anglican orders. On the other side some theologians criticised the papal bull and concluded with the suggestion that Anglican Orders could be recognised on the principle of Economy if appropriate explanations were made by the Anglican authorities<sup>74</sup>.

In 1903 the Patriarch of Constantinople Joakim III applied to all the Orthodox Churches and asked them to convey to him their opinions on the relations with the other Churches. In their reply, the Synod of the Russian Church as the other Churches approved the dialogue with Anglicans. It was pointed out that in future Reunion could be achieved if the whole of the Church of England not only the High Party showed a desire to be united with the Orthodox Church, however at that time Calvinistic influence was unfortunately prevailing<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Birkbeck and the Russian Church... P.108

<sup>74</sup> The position of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church became clear in 1903 when upon the request of Archbishop Tikhon of America the question of receiving Anglican priest into the Orthodox Church was discussed. The Synod decided to reordain them until the final decision of all the Orthodox Churches - The Orthodox Catholic Review N.Z., 1927/6 P.35

<sup>75</sup> The Reply of the Holy Governing Synod to the Ecumenical Patriarch / The Church News SP., 1903 P.782

The Sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1918 supported the dialogue with the Western Churches, separately naming Old Catholic and Anglican Churches as those with whom Unity could be achieved in near future. The twentieth century witnessed unprecedented achievements in discovering how much in common there is between the Churches on the most vital questions of Christian faith<sup>76</sup>. The Anglican-Orthodox dialogue has become an official policy approved and blessed by the spiritual authorities of the both Communities. And although there were moments when any further negotiations seemed impossible<sup>77</sup>, the dialogue is still going on. The latest Jubilee Bishop's Council of the Russian Church (August 2000) did approve further ecumenical dialogue<sup>78</sup>, in which the Church of England is recognised as 'traditional' partner. The forthcoming century is unlikely to bring any further theological 'breakthroughs'. However, as we can see from the experience of the past centuries, just friendly contacts of hierarchs and prelates, personal relations on 'the grass root level' and collaboration in deeds of charity (while retaining the differences imposed by centuries of separation and learning more about them) is meaningful and important work for Christian Unity that brings its fruits in due course.

#### **An Anglican-Orthodox Encounter at Lambeth Palace 14 – 15 July 1623**

I want to describe a series of encounters which took place on successive days – the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> July 1623 – at Lambeth Palace, London. They involved the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Abbot, his two Chaplains, Dr Thomas Goad and Dr Daniel Featly, and a thirty-four year old Greek priest and monk Metrophanes Kritopoulos. He had been staying at Lambeth Palace since the previous autumn after spending five years at Balliol College, Oxford, and was now due to return home to Constantinople. In the background stand two other figures: King James I and the Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Loukaris. Who were they all?

<sup>76</sup> The Moscow Agreed Statement- The Journal of Moscow Patriarchate 1976 PP. 48-51; 'Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue. The Dublin Agreed Statement N.Y., 1985

<sup>77</sup> Mainly because of the ordinations of women and the strengthening of the Liberal wing within the Anglican Community. The other possible cause of 'weakening' relations was fading of the urgency for Anglicans to find support in their opposing to the claims of the Roman Church.

<sup>78</sup> Основные принципы отношения Русской Православной Церкви к инославиям – [www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru/s2000e13.htm](http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru/s2000e13.htm)

What brought about this Anglican-Orthodox encounter at Lambeth Palace? And what happened afterwards?

Archbishop George Abbot had been appointed to the see of Canterbury in 1611. He had a sense of moral uprightness which sometimes appeared as stubbornness and his strict Calvinism made him gloomy and narrow-minded. His conscience would not let him compromise in a way which would have made him more popular. But, as his biographer Paul Welsby writes, 'he was kindly and hospitable, his piety was deep and genuine, he was void of unnecessary pomp and ostentation...He was generous to the poor and to those communities and institutions with which he had to do. Above all, there shines out his scrupulous conscientiousness and his moral courage'<sup>79</sup>.

In 1612 Archbishop Abbot had received a letter from Cyril Loukaris, then Patriarch of Alexandria, who was seeking help in educating his clergy. He was dissatisfied with the pro-Roman Catholic bias of those Greeks who had studied at the college of St Athanasius in Rome. So through the English Ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Paul Pindar, and his Chaplain, the Rev William Foord, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and later that year received the reply that King James I had himself approved his request.<sup>80</sup>

In a later letter in November 1617 Archbishop Abbot wrote to the Patriarch Cyril Loukaris and described the Church of England as one in which 'as to discipline, we differ from the other Churches which have been purged from the dregs of Popery: we retain the most ancient form of Ecclesiastical rule, and the distinct orders of ministers'. He also refers to King James I as one whom 'has written much and accurately on Theology, and his works have lately been given to the press: they are

<sup>79</sup> P.A.Welsby, *George Abbot The Unwanted Archbishop*, London 1962, pp 153-4.

<sup>80</sup> The first two letters in this correspondence are lost but the third shows that Cyril took the initiative in the matter, whilst his correspondence elsewhere indicates that his request was approved by the King. See Colin Davey, *Pioneer for Unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches*, London 1987 pp 67-8.

well calculated to establish the Faith and to destroy errors, particularly those of the Romanists.<sup>81</sup>

King James I supported this scheme for educating Greek students in England because it was both an opportunity for them to learn at first hand the methods and achievements of the scholars of Western Europe and would also enable English Christians to gain a greater understanding of the Eastern Orthodox Church's traditions of theology and piety.<sup>82</sup> This was part of a wider plan to bring together the Church of England and the Greek Orthodox Church in some form of closer association.<sup>83</sup> So wrote Marco Antonio De Dominis, the former Roman Catholic Archbishop of Spalato who had joined the Church of England in 1616. He was close to King James I and the leading bishops of the Church of England and in 1617 or 1618 he wrote to Cyril Loukaris, whom he had known when they were fellow-students at the university of Padua, urging him 'to enter into serious consideration of uniting your Eastern Churches with this most noble and flourishing Church of England...and utterly abolish so inveterate a schism'.<sup>84</sup> In a further letter of 1619 he spelt this out in greater detail, concluding with an invitation to Cyril Loukaris to send a delegation of four patriarchs, two bishops and a learned presbyter to confer with the leaders of the Church of England, especially King James, about this plan of union.<sup>85</sup> However, no such delegation was ever sent.

Cyril Loukaris was Patriarch first of Alexandria (1601) and then of Constantinople (1620). He had an unusual – for an Orthodox theologian – interest in Calvinist theology, combined with an immense concern for the moral reformation of the Greek Orthodox Church as well as for its protection from Roman Catholic influence and control. For instance, as he wrote to the Dutchman David Le Leu de Wilhem in about 1619:

'I rejoice that we agree in the most necessary points of faith. I approve of the whole scheme which you have drawn out...I am of the opinion that

<sup>81</sup> J.M.Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church, Alexandria Vol II*, London 1847 pp 387-8.

<sup>82</sup> W.B.Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, Cambridge 1997, p 201.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid* p 216.

<sup>84</sup> P.E.More and F.L.Cross, *Anglicanism*, 1935, pp 73-5.

<sup>85</sup> J.H.Hessels, ed., *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, 3 Vols, Cambridge 1887-1897, Vol II p 953.

all those points might be reduced to three; and that if they could be discarded and their opposites introduced, reformation would be easy. Let *ambition, covetousness, and superstition*, be exploded, and *humility* (after Christ's example), *contempt of earthly things*, and the *simplicity* of the Gospel be introduced instead, and our desires would be easily obtained.<sup>86</sup>

Cyril had no wish, however, to follow the Reformers' example in relation to patterns of church government or their approach to worship, monasticism and so on. He was grateful nevertheless for the invitation to send Greek priests to study in England and in July 1615 wrote to Archbishop Abbot to say that he would shortly 'choose and send to you those whom I consider to be well-pleasing to Christ and able ministers of the Gospel, who will both gratify you our benefactors, and fulfil our highest expectations'.<sup>87</sup> In March 1617 he sent the following commendatory letter to the Archbishop for the twenty-eight-year-old Metrophanes Kritopoulos to present to him on his arrival:

'Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child of our Alexandrian Church, of noble birth, and talents prepared to receive deeper learning. We trust that the advances he will make will be such as need not be repented of, if Divine Grace will breathe on him from Heaven, and your Blessedness will lend him an assisting hand...Lastly, if anything be wanting in my letter, with respect to the instruction or complete education of the man, this will be easily supplied by your prudence, which God has raised up, and set forth as a shining torch in an exalted place, in order that you may be able to give consolation to others, not only to your Britons, but also to our Greek countrymen'.<sup>88</sup>

Metrophanes Kritopoulos was born in Beroea in 1589. He served as a monk on Mount Athos for seven years, possibly at Iviron, and then in 1613 (aged 24) accompanied Cyril Loukaris to Moldavia, Wallachia, Constantinople and Alexandria. Then, as he wrote later, 'His Holiness received letters from England inviting him to send a Greek to study there and he sent me'.<sup>89</sup> After his arrival there Archbishop Abbot reported to

<sup>86</sup> J.M.Neale, *op cit* p 401.

<sup>87</sup> T.P.Themelis, *Νέα Σιών* 8(1909) pp 30-33.

<sup>88</sup> J.M.Neale, *op cit* pp 385-6.

<sup>89</sup> I.N.Kamiriis, *Μητροφάνης Ο Κριτόπουλος καί η ανέκδοτος αλληλογραφία αυτού*, Athens 1937, p 197.



the Patriarch in November 1617:

'The King has commanded me to receive your Metrophanes in a kind and friendly manner. I will cherish him as a pledge and surety of your love to me; and will gladly supply him with whatever is necessary or may be convenient. I have already planted this generous young shoot of a Grecian school, in a pleasant garden, where he may flourish amongst us, and in good time bring forth fruit; it is in the University of Oxford, where there is a most excellent library, and seventeen colleges, and where a numerous race of learned men are supported at the public expense, as in a Prytanaeum. Your Metrophanes is already entered on the books; and when he has come to maturity, and brought forth fruit, then, as shall seem best to your prudence, and be most for the advantage of your Church, he shall either take deep root amongst us, or be sent back to his native soil, and there again planted.<sup>90</sup>

To this the Patriarch replied in 1618:

'My prayer is that while he lives in the company of his wise teachers he may seek after learning. May the Lord grant him grace to make good progress and then to return here and be of use in preaching the word and in all other parts of the ministry in the Church. For grievous wolves and evil workers lie in wait to attack us. They go about the cities and seek for opportunities to oppress our simple people.<sup>91</sup>

Metrophanes Kritopoulos spent five years at Balliol College, Oxford. On his arrival there the Archbishop's Chaplain Daniel Featley wrote to him, apologizing for having missed him on the day of his departure from London, and assuring him that the Archbishop had written to the Master of Balliol to ensure that all his needs would be dealt with. In this and a further letter Featley also spoke of Kritopoulos' brother Demetrios, who, it seems, had also arrived in England, and for whom the Archbishop had found accommodation and the promise of an apprenticeship.<sup>92</sup>

At the end of his time in Oxford, Metrophanes Kritopoulos returned to London, where he stayed initially at Lambeth Palace. In November 1622

<sup>90</sup> J.M. Neale, *op cit* pp 388-9.

<sup>91</sup> C.A. Papadopoulos, *Νέα Σιών* 3 (1906) pp 3-10.

<sup>92</sup> Letters 20 and 21 in A. Tillyrides, *Ανέκδοτος Αλληλογραφία εκ τών εν Αγγλία επιδημησάντων Ελλήνων πινων in Θεολογία*, Athens 1974, pp 34-5.

Archbishop Abbot reported to Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador in Constantinople:

'He hath remained all his time at Oxford where I have taken care that he hath been well and sufficiently maintained, and thereby hath attained unto some reasonable knowledge of the English tongue, not neglecting his studies otherwise. He is a learned man, and hath lived in that University with good report, whereof he is able to shew letters testimonial to the good contentment, as I hope, of that reverend man from whom he was sent.<sup>93</sup>

The commendatory letter which he eventually received from King James I testified that he was 'assiduous in his reading of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and in all parts of Divinity',<sup>94</sup> while the Archbishop's Chaplain, Dr Thomas Goad, wrote of his 'great knowledge particularly of the famous Fathers, and of other authors', and declared that 'he seems to me to be a living reincarnation of Saint Gregory and Saint Basil'.<sup>95</sup> In addition to his Patristic and theological studies, Kritopoulos seems also to have covered considerable areas of classical studies, especially classical Greek, to judge by his correspondence, the collection of books he took home with him, and the elegant literary style of his writings, such as his lengthy Confession of Faith written in 1625.<sup>96</sup>

Dr Thomas Goad was a former fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who has been described as 'a great and general Scholar, exact Critick, Historian, Poet (delighting in making of verses till the day of his death), School-man, Divine... He had a commanding presence, an uncontrollable spirit, impatient to be opposed and loving to steere the discourse (being a good Pilot to that purpose) of all the Company he came in.'<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> J.M. Neale, *op cit* p 413.

<sup>94</sup> A. Demetrakopoulos, *Δοκίμιον περί του Βίου και των συγγραμμάτων Μητροφάνου του Κριτοπούλου*, Leipzig 1870, pp 9-10.

<sup>95</sup> *Philotheke* (Kritopoulos' autograph album) p 46 dated July 15 1623.

<sup>96</sup> Colin Davey, *Pioneer for Unity* pp 92-3, 287-8; I.N. Karmiris, *op cit* for the literary style of his letters; and I.N. Karmiris, *Τά Δογματικά και Συμβολικά Μνημεία τής Ορθόδοξου Καθολικής Εκκλησίας*, Τόμος Β, Athens 1953, pp 489 - 561 for the Confession of Faith.

<sup>97</sup> T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, London 1662, p 159. Goad (1576-1638) held the rectory of Hadleigh in Suffolk from 1618 and resided there from 1627. See *The Dictionary of National Biography* Vol VIII pp 20-1.

Dr Daniel Featley, the Archbishop's other chaplain; also saw more of Metrophanes Kritopoulos at this time. Featley had been a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and chaplain to the English Ambassador in Paris, where he was noted for his fearless attacks upon Roman Catholic doctrines and his disputes with the Jesuits. He was 'low in stature, yet of a lovely and graceful countenance'. He has been described as 'a most smart scourge of the Church of Rome, a compendium of the learned tongues, and of all the liberal arts and sciences'. He married in 1622 'an ancient grave gentlewoman' considerably his senior and already twice married, and divided his time between his wife's house in Kennington Lane and Lambeth Palace.<sup>98</sup> He wrote later of his 'year of delightful and immortal friendship' with Kritopoulos.<sup>99</sup>

However, Metrophanes Kritopoulos's stay at Lambeth Palace from the autumn of 1622 to the summer of 1623 was complicated by two things which had happened to his Anglican and Orthodox patrons, Archbishop Abbot and Patriarch Cyril Loukaris. First, the year before, 1621, there occurred the personally tragic and publicly disastrous accidental shooting of a gamekeeper by none other than the Archbishop of Canterbury, during a deer hunt on Lord Zouch's estate. The Archbishop was later pardoned by the King and restored to the exercise of his functions, but the homicide destroyed his chances of leading opinion in the House of Lords or on the Council, and left a great scar in his heart which was never healed.<sup>100</sup> This made the Archbishop even more difficult to deal with than before, as Kritopoulos was to find. In fact he shared with Thomas Goad his feeling that Lambeth Palace had its compensations, but was not a place he really felt at home in. No doubt the Archbishop's gloomy character and his severity and strictness was the reason for this. For, he confessed to Goad, he was happy to 'repay the debt I owe you for the goodwill and affection you have shown me. This is indeed what has made me remain for so long in this house; for I would have gone away at once had you not held me here, like a bird in lime, by your charms and by the attractiveness of your words. So...God preserve you in all happiness of body and soul.'<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* Vol VI pp 1140-4; A.Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, London 1691, iii pp 156-69.

<sup>99</sup> *Philothekē* p 60.

<sup>100</sup> P.A.Welsby, *op cit* pp 90-104.

<sup>101</sup> K.I.Dyounioutis, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος*, Athens 1915, p 60.

The other problem was Kritopoulos's need for written instructions from Cyril Loukaris that, if possible, he should return home through Europe by land to visit the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches there, which he understood was the Patriarch's wish for him to do, rather than return directly to Constantinople by boat, which is what Archbishop Abbot thought the Patriarch wanted!

In fact, Cyril Loukaris changed his mind on this point more than once. For in September 1622, just before he left Oxford, Kritopoulos wrote to one of his friends to explain that 'the most holy Patriarch, formerly of Alexandria, but now, by the providence of Him who watches over all, and by the vote of the Apostolic Church, at the helm of Constantinople, has ordered me to go home to him quickly'.<sup>102</sup> And Archbishop Abbot consequently 'at Michaelmas last', as he reported to Sir Thomas Roe, 'sent for him to Lambeth, taking care that, in a very good ship, he might be conveyed with accommodation of all things by the way'.<sup>103</sup> However, this first passage was cancelled because of the promise of financial help from King James I, to the regret of the Archbishop who wrote: 'By the ill counsel of somebody, he desired to go to the Court at Newmarket, that he might see the King before his departure'.<sup>104</sup> And Kritopoulos himself wrote to King James I to explain that 'by the last ship I wrote to my master, the Patriarch, that I shall, God willing, soon leave here, and that I only stopped going on the last ship because of your promised gift.' And he added later: 'I said I would travel by the next fleet (in a month's time)'.<sup>105</sup>

However, Kritopoulos himself still hoped to go back through Europe, and his Greek friends in London encouraged him in this. In fact Archbishop Abbot, who had generously 'bought him out of the shop many of the best Greek authors, and among them Chrysostom's eight tomes' as well as 'other books of worth, in Latin and English', and had also 'lodged him in my own house...sat him at my own table, clothed him, and provided all conveniences for him',<sup>106</sup> reported angrily to Sir Thomas Roe that 'he fell

<sup>102</sup> A.Tillyrides, *Συμβολαί καί Διορθώσεις εις τήν Αλληλογραφίαν του Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου in Θεολογία Athens 1974 letter 16 pp 36-7*

<sup>103</sup> J.M.Neale, *op cit* p 413.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> A. Tillyrides, *Συμβολαί καί Διορθώσεις*, pp 47 and 50.

<sup>106</sup> J.M.Neale *op cit* p 414.

into the company of certain Greeks, with whom we have been much troubled with collections and otherwise; and although I knew them to be counterfeiters and vagabonds (as sundry times you have written unto me) yet I could not keep my man within doors, but he must be abroad with them, to the expense of his time and money'.<sup>107</sup> However these fellow-countrymen of Kritopoulos were not all as disreputable as the Archbishop imagined, and included Metropolitan Chariton of Dyrrachium, who had been removed from his see by the Turks, and Nikodemus Metaxas, who had come to England not just to pursue his own studies but also to learn the art of printing, and eventually to take back to Constantinople a Greek printing press for the benefit of the Orthodox Church there.<sup>108</sup>

At this point there were problems with the postal service between Constantinople and London. An important letter from Sir Thomas Roe dated March 8<sup>th</sup> 1623 seems not to have arrived at Lambeth Palace until August that year. The contents of that letter constituted an even greater problem for Kritopoulos, for Sir Thomas Roe was reporting the attempt to depose Cyril Loukaris from the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople. And a further report dated May 2<sup>nd</sup> announced that Loukaris's enemies had succeeded in their purpose. He was deposed on April 17<sup>th</sup> and exiled to Rhodes. He was not restored to his office until October 2<sup>nd</sup>. Again, it seems that this report took a long time to reach London, as it was only on August 12<sup>th</sup> that Archbishop Abbot replied to these two reports, with the express command of King James I that the Ambassador should do all in his power to assist the Patriarch.

With no word coming to him from Constantinople, Kritopoulos tried to persuade the Archbishop to let him travel home overland. In this he was not successful, as he wrote to a friend of his from Oxford on June 8<sup>th</sup>:

'My interview is now over (or rather it has come to nothing), the Archbishop having little time to spare, when, last Wednesday, I made my position clear to him. But since he did not completely understand me (with my bad English) he told his chaplains to hear me out, write it down point by point, and take it to him. They have noted it down carefully, but they have not yet taken it to him because of all his other business. But

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> On Metropolitan Chariton see A. Tillyrides, *Συμβολαί και Διορθώσεις* pp 23 – 4; *Ανέκδοτος Αλληλογραφία* pp 15-19. On Nikodemus Metaxas see Colin Davey op cit pp 116-8 and 270 – 4.

they are going to do this perhaps today or tomorrow. And then you will hear the outcome'.<sup>109</sup>

Now come the fateful days 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> July 1623.

On 14<sup>th</sup> July Kritopoulos wrote for Dr Goad a short description of the Greek Orthodox Church and its teaching on the sacraments and on the departed (to which we shall turn in a moment). This first set of *Answers to Goad* are dated 14<sup>th</sup> July 1623 and contain the words: 'tomorrow, God willing, we are to be separated'.<sup>110</sup>

On 15<sup>th</sup> July Archbishop Abbot and his chaplains signed his autograph album. 'Go with the foot of Fortune', wrote the Archbishop, quoting from Horace, and added: 'George Abbot gladly recorded his gratitude to Metrophanes Kritopoulos, a man of outstanding virtue in every way'.<sup>111</sup> Daniel Featly described him as 'A light from the east...the choicest flower of all the Greeks who have come to this country, the quintessence of Attic oratory'.<sup>112</sup> Thomas Goad quoted sayings and proverbs in Greek, from St Gregory of Nazianzus, in Latin, from St Augustine, in Italian, French, Spanish, and finally in English:

'Friends parting doe their friend's impression beare,  
Which seas cannot outwash nor land outweare'.<sup>113</sup>

However, later that day Kritopoulos flatly refused to travel directly home to Constantinople by ship. He simply did not wish to lose the marvelous opportunity of travelling through Europe which his presence in England had made possible. He also wanted to act in accordance with what he was sure the Patriarch now desired. But this infuriated Archbishop Abbot, who poured out to Sir Thomas Roe his feelings about Greeks in general and Kritopoulos in particular:

'In brief, writing an epistle unto me, that he would rather lose his books, suffer imprisonment and loss of life than go home in any ship; but that he would see the parts of Christendom, and better his experience that way, I found that he meant to turn rogue and beggar, and more I cannot tell

<sup>109</sup> A. Tillyrides, *Συμβολαί και Διορθώσεις* p 40.

<sup>110</sup> K.I. Dyonouiotis, op cit pp 56 and 60.

<sup>111</sup> *Philotheke* p 270.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid p 60.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid p 46.

what; and thereupon I gave him ten pounds in his purse, and leaving him to Sir Paul Pindar's care, at my removing to Croydon, I dismissed him. I had heard before of the baseness and slavishness of that nation; but I could never have believed that any creature in human shape, having learning, and such education as he hath had here, could, after so many years, have been so far from ingenuity, or any grateful respect. But he must take his fortune, and I will learn by him to entreat so well no more of his fashion. Only I have thus at large acquainted you with the unworthy carriage of this fellow, which, though it be indecent in him, yet for the Patriarch's sake, I grudge it not to him.<sup>114</sup>

Metrophanes Kritopoulos was allowed to stay a few days longer at Lambeth Palace before his dismissal by the Archbishop. During these days he wrote a longer series of replies to questions from Dr Thomas Goad, which constitute a fascinating glimpse of the Orthodox Church in the early seventeenth century written to enlighten and inform an Anglican reader. To these, together with his first two replies to Goad we can now turn.

The first set of *Answers to Dr Thomas Goad* are in reply to two questions: 'What is the present state of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church under its present tyranny', and 'How does it use the sacraments and what opinion does it hold about the departed'.

He begins with the **organisation of the Orthodox Church** under its four Patriarchs and emphasises its 'countless multitudes of different nationalities...Greeks, Bulgarians, Slavs, Russians, Muscovites, Albanians, Carmanians, Mysians, who to-day are called Vlachs, Moldovlachs...Arabs, Iberians, and Colchians'.<sup>115</sup>

As well as describing in some detail the **sacraments of Baptism and Chrismation**, he defends the Orthodox practice of infant communion, no doubt a subject he discussed with his friends at Oxford:

'To those who argue that infants have simply no awareness of the Lord's Supper we reply that they have none of Baptism either; yet just as we baptise them, trusting in the love of God, so we give them communion in the mystical sacrifice, trusting in him who said 'let the little children come unto me'. Quite simply, we use about the Lord's Supper the same

<sup>114</sup> J.M.Neale op cit. Letter dated August 12<sup>th</sup> 1623.

<sup>115</sup> K.Dyovouniotis op cit pp 51-2.

arguments that everyone else, except the Anabaptists, uses about Baptism.<sup>116</sup>

Finally, in this first set of *Answers to Goad* he presents the Orthodox Church's teaching about the departed. He contrasts 'those who have walked the straight and narrow way on earth' who 'go immediately to their rest' with 'those who have spent their lives in pleasure and luxury and wantonness' who 'are sent to prison where they suffer, not by fire, as some are deceived into thinking, but through the shock and despair that comes to them from their conscience and from the harshness of that place'. He then adds: 'The Church prays for them...for in Hades they remain in hope for a fixed time, though we cannot say how long this will be, since this is known only to their Redeemer'.<sup>117</sup>

The second set of *Other Answers to the same Dr Goad from the same Metrophanes* are in reply to a further sixteen questions. The two sets together could be viewed as a contribution to an 'inter-church dialogue' written by an orthodox priest and monk who had gained a full awareness and understanding of the Church of England during his six years here in Oxford and London.

On the **Canonical Books of the Bible** he contrasts the 'great disagreement to-day among the Europeans, who want this or that, and add and subtract different books' with the Orthodox who 'keep to the canon of the ancient Church' and 'accept those which our forefathers accepted' namely the Old and New Testaments, including the Book of Esther, but not the Apocryphal Books.

In speaking of the **dogmatic and liturgical traditions of the Church**, he describes the former as not, strictly speaking, traditions 'but the explanation and clarification of the inspired Scriptures, which will contain their meaning, even if they cannot be found there word for word'. All traditions are based on the testimony of an ecumenical or local synod, or of some saint of the Church. For 'we should not reject, as some dare to do, those traditions which are supported by the testimony of many; nor on the other hand should we accept those which are produced almost every day by modernists in the Church'. He includes among the liturgical traditions the sign of the Cross, fasting, the use of special liturgical vestments, candles, incense, the monastic life and the 'veneration of

<sup>116</sup> Ibid pp 54-5.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid pp 55-60.

ikons and relics, not their *worship*; for we honour the Saints and ask for their intercession on our behalf, but we do not imagine that we are saved through their merits, but only through the blood of Jesus Christ'.<sup>118</sup>

In writing about the Orthodox **marriage service** he explains that second and third, but not fourth marriages are allowed and are celebrated in Church; but that clergy may only marry once, and must do so before ordination. Bishops are unmarried, though they may be widowers or may voluntarily divorce their wives in order to be elected.<sup>119</sup>

In a curious passage about **excommunication** he describes what happens to those who do not confess their crimes and receive reconciliation and forgiveness before death. For after death their bodies remain intact but go all black and horrible 'and this makes a great impression on those who witness it, not only the Christians, but the Jews and Turks as well'. So, he adds, if people here wished to see the service of reconsecration of such a corpse, which would then dissolve away, they should 'write to the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church, and ask them to send one of these corpses to Britain, that is, if the King wanted to witness such a miracle'.<sup>120</sup> There is no evidence that this gruesome invitation was ever accepted!

The next sections describe the  **blessing of the water** at the Feast of the Epiphany,<sup>121</sup> the  **authority of the four Patriarchs**, who 'excommunicate the Bishop of ancient Rome, the Pope as he is called, for he has misinterpreted the Holy Scriptures, disregarded the interpretations of the Holy Fathers, rejected the ancient traditions of the Church, and introduced a mass of new traditions which in every way are alien to Christianity',<sup>122</sup> the  **reservation of the Sacrament** for the use of the dying, and the  **number of the sacraments**. He explains that 'the Eastern Church only accepts two of the sacraments as necessary for salvation. She certainly calls the others Sacraments (and she uses them without doubt), and these are Chrismation with Holy Oil, Ordination, the Monastic Order, the Penitence of sinners, Marriage, Unction (the anointing of the sick), and the Burial of the dead...They are all sacramental rites of the Church. For in each there is something mystical

<sup>118</sup> Ibid p 27.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid pp 28-9.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid pp 29-30.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid pp 30-31.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid p 32.

and divine; since, therefore, they contain something mystical, they are called mysteries or sacraments'.<sup>123</sup>

Finally Kritopoulos describes the veneration of  **ikons**, the  **times at which services are celebrated**, the  **frequency of communion**, the  **altar and sanctuary**, the  **arrangement and decoration of church buildings**, the  **singing of hymns unaccompanied by musical instruments**, and the  **use of our own languages in prayers and worship**.<sup>124</sup>

Metrophanes Kritopoulos stayed a further year in England before travelling to Germany and then via Geneva and Venice to Alexandria, where he served as priest, bishop, and finally, Patriarch. He died in 1639 at the age of fifty.

His final twelve months in London were difficult ones. He moved into lodgings. He spent his journey money. He was ill. In March 1624, having received a letter from the Patriarch instructing him to return to Greece direct, he approached Archbishop Abbot again, in the hope of regaining his goodwill, and probably more money as well. In both he was disappointed.<sup>125</sup> But he never lost the goodwill and confidence of Cyril Loukaris. He was however in great danger from attempts to bribe him to submit to Rome. There was even an attempt on his life.<sup>126</sup>

Eventually, as he later explained to his hosts in Geneva, 'when he was about to embark for his return to Greece, he received letters from the Patriarch instructing him also to visit the Churches and Universities of Germany'.<sup>127</sup> At this point Kritopoulos had with him at last the two things he had been waiting a long time for, a letter of authorisation from the Patriarch and a Testimonial and safe-conduct from King James I. This latter document includes the following commendatory words:

'The Bearer of these letters...is Metrophanes Critopolus, a Greek from

<sup>123</sup> Ibid p 33.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid pp 33-37.

<sup>125</sup> T.Roe, *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte*, London 1740, p 251.

<sup>126</sup> I.N.Kamiris, Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος pp 179-180 and T.Roe op cit p 487.

<sup>127</sup> E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique du XVIIIème Siècle*, Vol V p 206.

Beroea in Macedonia, sent hither to England five years since by his most Blessed Father in Christ, Cyril, now Most Reverend Patriarch of New Rome, and by him now recalled to his country, that henceforth he may serve his Church, for whose sake he undertook these labours, as Priest and Monk...He has conversed with the most learned men of all kinds, who, as their testimonials show, greatly regret his departure. His moderate character, outstanding erudition, and sanctity of life have everywhere been noted...Therefore...we desire...that permission be given to the said Metrophanes to travel to his destination by land and sea, and without harm or injury to cross [your] territories, provinces, and prefectures...Given under our Signature and Seal, at our Palace of Whitehall, 1623.'

Kritopoulos left England for Hamburg, which he reached on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1624, on the first stage of his journey home.<sup>128</sup> His later report to the Company of Pastors and Professors of the Church in Geneva explains the additional purpose of his journeys, besides his further education, and can serve as a summary of his years abroad as a 'pioneer for unity' in the early seventeenth century.

The aim of his journey was 'to make it known that Cyril, Patriarch formerly of Alexandria and now of Constantinople, after his correspondence with some of our people, and in particular with the King of Great Britain and the government of the States General, had testified that he sought and desired some means of union between the Greek Churches of the East and the European Churches of the West; and that for this purpose the said King had requested the said Patriarch to send three educated Greeks to live among and learn the doctrine taught in our Churches; the said Metrophanes was then sent alone by the said Cyril to visit the Churches and Universities of Western Europe; so that by staying a long time in our company, conversing with our scholars, and reading our books, he might report to the said Patriarch the doctrine preached and taught in our Churches, so that there might thus be an opening for negotiating some sort of union and conformity of the Greek Churches with our own.'

More was certainly done at that time for inter-church relations than we often realise!

The Revd Dr Colin Davey

<sup>128</sup> I.N.Kamiris, Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος p 177.

*Pilgrimage Secretary:*

The Revd David Bond  
6 Denton Close  
Willington Street  
Maidstone  
Kent ME15 8ER

[dwbond@blueyonder.co.uk](mailto:dwbond@blueyonder.co.uk)

*Editor of Koinonia:*

The Revd Dr Kevin Ellis  
The Vicarage  
Church Terrace  
Netherton  
Maryport CA15 7PS

01900 819 886

[kevinellis@fish.co.uk](mailto:kevinellis@fish.co.uk)

Website under construction: [www.aeca.org.uk](http://www.aeca.org.uk)

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