

The Christian East

*A Quarterly Review devoted to the
Study of the Eastern Churches*

EDITED BY THE

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The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

IN regard to the recent House of Commons second reading of the Bill for the Fixation of Easter, a note of warning as to the Orthodox attitude needs to be struck. It is quite true, as speakers during the debate adduced and as has been stated in debates in the Church Assembly and by writers in magazines, etc., that the Ecumenical Patriarchate expressed itself in 1921 as ready to consider any formal scheme of Paschal fixation if, when proposed by the League of Nations, agreement can be reached thereupon by the other Churches. It is also true that the Pan-Orthodox Conference held at Constantinople in 1923 endorsed that guarded reference. But the Ecumenical Patriarchate was very careful to safeguard itself from pledging itself to Paschal fixation in principle and, while it did no more than endorse what the Locum Tenens of the Ecumenical Throne had already written in 1921, the Pan-Orthodox Conference was not representative of all the Orthodox Churches. In consequence by practically general agreement its recommendations have been treated as to be held over for the consideration of an Ecumenical Council of the whole Orthodox Church, or at least for that of a Pro-Synod consisting of representatives of all the Orthodox Churches.

Moreover, the reform by which the Pan-Orthodox Conference definitely recommended that the Orthodox should at once abandon the Old Style Kalendar and adopt a Kalendar that is practically indistinguishable from the Gregorian, is a matter of acute controversy in the Orthodox Church. Some Churches such as those of Constantinople, Greece and Cyprus have accepted it. Others, such as Jerusalem have categorically refused to do so and others such as the Serbian, have suspended their decision. In this matter, especially, it is urged that no change can or ought to be made until an Orthodox Ecumenical Council, or pending it, a Pro-Synod is held. Whatever force that contention may have in regard to a change from the Julian Kalendar to the New Style is, necessarily, vastly greater in regard to Paschal fixation. The incidence of Easter is, of course, regulated by a decree of the First Council of Nicæa and for the Orthodox that which an Ecumenical Council has decreed can only be amended by the decree of an Ecumenical



THE PAINTING IN THE APSE OF THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY IN PARIS.

Council or its equivalent. Accordingly, to build castles in Spain is a foolish pastime and those who are red-hot for Paschal fixation would be sensible if they realized that the conversion of the Orthodox to that project is an undertaking which as yet has hardly been enterprised.

The following quotation from the *Messenger d'Athènes* of the 25th February is well worthy of the consideration of those who are engaged in this matter :

(1) Par la manière dont la résolution est formulée, on voit que le projet de loi ne prévoit pas également le changement du système chronologique. La Commission de la S.d.N. n'a pas séparé, à ce que nous savons, la question de la fixation de la date pascale du nouvel arrangement des mois. Si nous acceptons l'année comprenant 13 mois de 28 jours, avec un jour anonyme à la fin ou deux jours dans les bissextiles, nous pourrions avoir une date pascale fixée dans l'année. Mais si nous conservons le calendrier actuel la date pascale reste encore mobile, entre des limites très serrées. D'où la formule 'le dimanche qui suit immédiatement le second samedi du mois d'avril.' Si, en effet, le 1er avril tombe un samedi, celui-ci sera le premier du mois et la fête de Pâques sera célébrée le 8 avril; mais si le 1er avril tombe un dimanche, la date pascale sera le dimanche 15 avril. De sorte que la date pascale oscille entre le 8 et le 15 avril, au lieu des 22 mars et 25 avril actuels. Pour connaître d'avance le jour de la semaine où tombera le 1er avril, ou plus simplement le 1er janvier (car du 1er janvier au 1er avril inclusivement nous avons 91 jours, soit exactement 13 semaines) nous ajoutons au nombre de l'année précédente son quart et nous divisons la somme par 7, le reste de la division donne le jour de la semaine, ou étant un samedi et 6 un vendredi. Ainsi le 1er janvier 1929 sera un samedi et 1er avril un vendredi. Donc la date pascale anglaise sera le 10 avril.

(2) Si l'Angleterre impose immédiatement cette loi avant que la décision de la S.d.N. soit acceptée par toutes les Eglises et tous les Etats, elle commettra la faute qui fut commise par le pape Grégoire en 1582. Car elle portera atteinte à l'unanimité de la célébration de la fête par tous les Chrétiens, non-Orthodoxes tandis que l'esprit du Concile de Nicée exigeait péremptoirement et uniquement la simultanéité de la célébration de cette fête par tous les Chrétiens. C'est en cela que consiste la vertu de la réforme apportée dernièrement en Grèce. Les Orthodoxes ayant rejeté la réforme introduite par Grégoire au XVIe siècle comme contraire au Concile de Nicée, nous avons fait notre devoir. D'ailleurs en ces temps-là nous avions un grand intérêt national de nous différencier des Latins;

c'était une question de vie ou de mort pour notre race. Mais aujourd'hui où nous sommes libres et où nous n'avons rien à craindre de la part des Latins, nous avons fait preuve de noblesse et d'amour pour l'entente universelle en acceptant le calendrier grégorien et non pas la réforme grégorienne, puisque nous avons conservé notre règle pascale, et en rapportant nos fêtes fixées au nouveau calendrier. Parce que, de cette manière, nous avons remédié dans une grande mesure aux conséquences de la faute du pape Grégoire. Cette faute consistait en ce que, ayant fait sa réforme sans obtenir préalablement le consentement des autres Eglises chrétiennes, il a rompu l'unanimité de la célébration de la fête pascale pour toute la chrétienté, ainsi que celle des fêtes fixées. L'Angleterre, appliquant seule la décision de la S.d.N. vient ajouter à la confusion.

THAT which we sow, we must also reap. Our clubmen legislators were well satisfied in 1922 to acclaim the irredentism of Turkish Nationalism and it is by their moral support even more than by the unhappy Royalist-Venizelist antipathies, which rather than military skill allowed the Kemalist hordes to sack Christian Smyrna with a holocaust, that the Angora Government has been enabled to extirpate Christianity from the Anatolian homelands and to impose impotence and inactivity upon the Œcumenical Patriarchate. The result has been that when in 1925 the Patriarchate initiated the steps necessary for the convening of an Orthodox Œcumenical Council, Mustapha Kemal Pasha Ghazi vetoed its doing so and that again when in 1925 it proceeded to suggest the setting up of a Pro-Synod at Mt. Athos to deal with pressing problems such as that of Kalendar reform, the Turkish Police bade it drop the project on the pain of expulsion. If the Orthodox Church cannot consider the Fixation of Easter, the rest of Europe must not blame it but must thank its own statesmen. Perhaps, when the fact is appreciated in Paris that the Orthodox consideration of the matter must be postponed until an Orthodox Œcumenical Council is permitted by the Turks, European opinion and the Society of Nations will wake up and make an effort that the liberty of action guaranteed the Patriarchate by the Treaty of Lausanne is no longer denied.

The way in which that Treaty is reduced by the Turks to a scrap of paper is illustrated by the furious campaign now being waged by the Kemalist press, e.g. by the *Vakii* and *Djounhouriet*, for the prohibition of the Consecration of Chrism announced by the Patriarchate as to take place on this coming Maunday Thursday. The

slogan which that Press is adopting is that under cover of soliciting subscriptions for the cost of the Ceremony, the Patriarchate is collecting money wherewith to buy gunboats to be employed by Greece in a war of revenge! Of course, that is absurd. The fact is that for many hundred years the Consecration of Chrism has been something of a Pan-Orthodox Ceremony, and that therefore the Kemalist hates it. We shall hope to describe its details in our next issue. Meanwhile it will be of interest to say here that as far back, at least, as century 13, the Orthodox Chrism, which in earlier days had consisted only of oil and balsam of Gilead had come to include no less than forty ingredients, *viz*: mainly oleaginous balsams, and also that the ritual and ceremony of its consecration had been elaborated with a truly Byzantine wealth of splendour and detail. As to how it came about that while both imposition of hands and unction with Chrism were employed in the primitive Church for Confirmation, that Sacrament came to be ministered by priests through unction with Chrism alone is obscure. By the sixth century, however, not only had that long been the rule, but Metropolitans, etc. consecrated it for their provinces and the right of its consecration was beginning to be symbolic of jurisdiction. By the 13th century, while the fact was never taken to imply a canonical right as of jurisdiction, the Œcumenical Patriarch had come to consecrate Chrism not only for the Constantinople Patriarchate, which then included Russia, but for the whole Orthodox Church. Undoubtedly that development is to be explained by the craving to realize their solidarity and citizenship in the transcendental Nationality of the Church which was felt by the Orthodox in the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. No matter how remote and illiterate, an Orthodox *rayah* in an Egyptian or Syrian village knew all about the Chrism with which he had been confirmed and felt some comfort in his helotage to Islam when he reflected that by that symbol he had been brought into actual if mediated contact with the chief pastor of his Church, whose throne was under the dome of St. Sophia the very metropolis of Christendom—for so Justinian built it to be—in far away New Rome, that wonderful Mother City of the Christian Empire. Accordingly the Consecration of Chrism was developed into a Pan-Orthodox Ceremony and a symbol of Orthodox Unity, for until the 19th century all Orthodox *rayah* still thought of themselves as "Romans," of a supra-racial "Roman" unity. As such it was undoubtedly one of those romantic *imponderabilia* which enabled the Orthodox to survive. After Sultan Selim's assumption of the Khalifate in the 16th century had brought the other Patriarchates into the Turkish Empire the Œcumenical Patriarch became head of the whole Roman *millet* i.e. of all Orthodox *rayah*, and the significance of his Consecration of Chrism was intensified. Russia having become a Pat-

riarchate in 1587 and the Tsars professing as heirs of the Byzantine Caesars the call to restore the Empire, Chrism began in the 17th century to be consecrated every two years in Moscow with great splendour and late in the 19th century the Rumanian Church took to consecrating its own Chrism. Otherwise the Consecration of Chrism went on at Constantinople until the Great War as a Pan-Orthodox Ceremony. Its being held at the interval of ten years made it a long-looked-for event which was emphasized by the sending out of encyclicals to the other Churches notifying them of its imminence, and asking them to send representatives to it, to collect money for its cost or to provide some of its ingredients. Beginning on Holy Tuesday the ceremonies of its commixture, boiling and hallowing lasted till Maundy Thursday on which day the Greeks have a tradition that after the Last Supper Christ consecrated Chrism. Its theatre was the great court before the Patriarchal Church in the Phanar. The last Consecration of Chrism in Constantinople took place in 1912. The afflictions of the Œcumenical Patriarchate prevented the ceremony in 1922 and since then possibly for reasons of emergency, some Churches such as the Patriarchate of Jerusalem have consecrated Chrism for themselves and for other Churches. We must wait and see whether the Turks permit the ceremony to take place at Constantinople on April 5. If it does, it will preserve its traditional characteristics and will be of its ancient significance. Already the Orthodox *jellahin* of Egypt, for example, are scraping up money with which to buy the balsam, to furnish which is their ancient privilege.

A second Conference of Russian and English students at the Retreat House, St. Albans, in January of this year was perhaps even more successful than the first. Certainly it proved that the inspiration so vividly felt at that first Conference was no mere flash in the pan. It seems clear now that the line of such Conferences will continue (the next is already fixed for April 1929) and become a most valuable agency for the growth of mutual knowledge and appreciation. This year there were about 40 British members of the Conference and about 30 Russian, the bulk of them in both cases, of course, being students of both sexes. Among the seniors who took part in the Conference were the Bishop of Truro, Dr. Gore, Canon Tatlow, The Principal of Cuddesdon, the Principal of Wycliffe Hall and the Revd. F. H. Brabant, Professor Bulgakov and Professor Besobrasov came over with the contingent from the Russian Academy in Paris, and Arseniev and Fr. Behr were also present. The General Subject of the Conference was "The Nature of the Kingdom of God," and the programme followed closely the lines of which the experience

to promote fellowship in both thought and worship. Whoever was responsible for the English translations of parts of the Russian services made a most useful contribution to the work of the Conference. This second Conference produced a concrete outcome in the formation of the "Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius," membership of which is open to those who have attended the Conferences, for the purpose of crystallising and carrying forward in more definite forms the very real experience of fellowship which had been already achieved. All who have at heart the growth of closer intercourse between the English and Russian Churches will regard this new movement in that direction with every satisfaction and good wish.

The Revd. G. Napier Whittingham writes that a friendly correspondent has drawn his attention to an inaccuracy in his article on the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage which appeared in our last issue. It was there stated that the Archbishop of Athens told the writer that the canonization of the Œcumenical Patriarch Gregory V. "was the only official canonization by the Orthodox Church since the division of Eastern and Western Christendom." The misunderstanding of the Archbishop's words may have been due to the different implications which the words "official canonization" may convey in Eastern and Western Christendom. But there have certainly been many names added to the Kalendars of Orthodox Churches since the year 1054.

It will be remembered that the Catholicos of Georgia, Ambrosios who made his courageous appeal to the Genoa Conference on behalf of his Church and nation and who for a long while languished in prison during the persecution of the Church of Georgia, died about a year ago. The new Catholicos Christopher, was formerly Archbishop of Abcharien, and has a great reputation as a preacher. The following is his "enthronistic."

Enthronistic Epistle of the newly-elected CATHOLICOS OF GEORGIA to the Patriarch of Constantinople.
Most Holy and Most Blessed Father,

The Orthodox autokephalous Church of Georgia has suffered a severe loss during the current year. The Catholicos Patriarch of Georgia, the most beloved Ambrosios, fell asleep in the Lord on March 9th. The local Synod of the Georgian Church which met in Tiflis, elected my Humility as Catholicos Patriarch of all Georgia. On assuming the duties of the command laid upon me by the Divine will, with fear and trembling but with firm conviction of the Divine aid, I beseech you that you will assist me by your holy prayers, that the Lord God will help me to fulfil the duties of the

ministry of the Orthodox Church, at the prayers of the most spotless Mother of God and of all the Saints. In this hope I present my respects to your All-Holiness, with prayers and supplications that the Lord will lengthen the days of your life to the benefit of the One Orthodox Catholic Church, of which the autokephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia (Iberia) has been from ancient times an independent member.

In Tiflis, August 6th, 1927.

CHRISTOPHER,

Patriarch Catholicos of All Georgia,
Archbishop of Mtskheta and Tiflis.

To His All-Holiness BASIL III., Œcumenical Patriarch and
Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome.

Reply of the Patriarch BASIL to the CATHOLICOS.

Most blessed Archbishop of Mtskheta and Tiflis and all Iberia, very beloved and greatly desired brother and fellow-minister with our Mediocrity in Christ our God, Lord Christopher, embracing your august Beatitude in brotherly wise in the Lord, we salute you most sweetly.

We have gladly received and read with our holy and sacred Synod the letters of your Beatitude of the sixth day of the past month of August, in which you announce to us your election in due order and elevation to the supreme Throne of the Holy Church of Iberia, widowed through the death in the month of March of the ever-memorable Catholicos of Iberia, Ambrosios. In making plain the sincere joy which we feel at the good news of the auspicious settlement—with the blessing of God—of the affairs of your beloved Church of Iberia, with which our Church has always been united in bonds of love and sympathy, and at the election of your august Beatitude, we proceed, through our brotherly letter to reply, to congratulate your Beatitude warmly, and at the same time, to pray with all our soul that the Lord may strengthen you in the fulfilment of the lofty command which you have undertaken and may prosper your labours and efforts for the Holy Church there and for the pious Iberian people. Yet again embracing you in the Lord, we remain with love,

Your august Beatitude's beloved Brother in Christ,
BASIL of Constantinople.

Sept. 16th, 1927.

A similar enthronistic epistle was sent to the Patriarch of Alexandria. *Orthodoxia*, which prints the two letters given above adds a note to the effect that the question of the absolute autokephaly of the Georgian Church, and her place in the list of autokephalous Churches, properly belongs to the forthcoming Pro-Synod.

A PERSONAL DÉMENTI IN REGARD TO THE JERUSALEM REPORT.

ON its publication in the autumn of 1926 the Report of Sir Anton Bertram's Commission upon the Constitution of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and its Arabophone question had a favourable reception. The *Church Times*, for example, published a long sympathetic summary of it, and I think that I was the only person who, in print, both combated it for its scope and its recommendations and criticized its purview, procedure and *personnel*. To develop the criticism which I advanced is beyond my present purpose. In brief, that criticism was based (a) on the inadequacy of a Commission consisting of two persons to consider and advise upon an institution of the antiquity and world-importance of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, (b) on its restriction of its purview to the purely pastoral function of the Patriarchate, (c) on its refusing to consider it as a major institution of the Whole Orthodox Church, existing primarily as the trustee of the Orthodox Church to safeguard the Holy Places, (d) on its failure to invite expert historical advice as to its essentially Hellenic character, (e) on its failure to invite and receive the evidence of the other autocephalous Churches, (f) on its publishing strictures upon the clergy of the Patriarchate without publishing and apparently without having tested the evidence on which it made them, (g) and finally upon its having advised the Mandatory Government of Palestine to make forcible intervention in the spirituality of the Patriarchate.

To the principles which dictated that criticism I remain constant, and my constancy to them is reinforced by the fact that the Syrian question in the Alexandrian Patriarchate which *mutatis mutandis* is the same as the Arabophone question in the Jerusalem Patriarchate has been settled amicably and logically without Government intervention—a happy issue which would appear to have been greatly helped by that modification of the claims of the Egyptian Syrian Orthodox from unreasonableness to reasonableness which has followed the pigeon-holing of the Bertram Report. If Lord Plumer had authorized pressure upon the Jerusalem Patriarchate as recommended by the Commission, undoubtedly the Arabophone demands in Palestine would have been pressed at their maximum and the disaster of further violent controversy in which the Mandatory Government would have appeared to be committed to forcible intervention in the spirituality of the Patriarchate, might have been expected to have ensued.

As I have said, events have confirmed the opinion which I expressed in 1926, and if I refer to it here it is because in its issue of 4th February, 1928, *Ekklesia*, the most important ecclesiastical organ in Athens, misinterpreted a sentence in my article upon the Tenth Anniversary

of the Liberation of Jerusalem in the *Church Times* of December 9th, 1927, and assumed that I had "adopted the opinions which I had formally combated." This article has inspired similar articles not only in other ecclesiastical organs but in the *Messenger d'Athènes* and other secular journals in the Near East, and I am accordingly grateful for my fellow-editor's consent that I should publish this *démenti* in the *Christian East* and hope that it may be copied widely in Orthodox and other Near Eastern papers.

JOHN A. DOUGLAS.

THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION AT LAUSANNE AND ITS DECLARATION.

By the METROPOLITAN OF THYATIRA.

IN the last number of the *Christian East* the Right Reverend the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Headlam, in examining the attitude of the Orthodox delegation at Lausanne made certain criticisms which invite the comments which we make below.

As, however, Dr. Headlam prefaces these criticisms with some remarks about the whole work of the Lausanne Conference, we have thought it necessary that we should deal, in our comments, with these latter remarks first of all.

I.

The Right Revd. Bishop attributes the spirit of brotherhood which informed that Conference, among other causes, to agreement among the representatives of the different Churches upon the First Report, the "Message of the Church"—that is, the Gospel. He holds that the Incarnation and Redemption through Jesus Christ, which are proclaimed in that Message, constitute the basic doctrine on which the Christian World must be united, and that all other things must be considered as of secondary importance. We do not call in question the importance attaching to this doctrine, as to the whole will and disposition of God with regard to Redemption, an importance which, among the ancient Fathers, has been recognized and emphasized by Athanasius especially, but we do think that the Right Revd. Bishop rather overlooks the importance of other doctrinal truths also. For even if the creed of Nicaea-Constantinople be taken as the basis of Reunion, as the Right Revd. Bishop desires it to be taken, it must be admitted that in it there are included other and most important truths which constituted the essential expression of Faith of the ancient Christian Church—and of these truths the chief is the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

Furthermore, the Right Revd. Bishop knows that the Creeds, and even the most essential, which have been preserved or are recorded as having been in use by the most ancient writers, such as Tertullian and Irenæus, are Trinitarian. I should like, at this point, to add something further, which the Right Revd. Bishop does not, perhaps, remember. If the Report on the Message of the Church, i.e. The Gospel, assumed the form in which it was received by the Conference; if, that is to say, every trace of adoptionism was removed, and everything was added that was necessary, in order that Faith in the Divinity of Christ and, thereby, Faith in the Holy Spirit might be safeguarded, that is due, in the first place, to the stand made by the Archbishop of Dublin, and, in the second, to the relative comments and arguments of the Orthodox Delegation, which were accepted by the writer of the Message, Professor Deissman.

II.

The Orthodox Delegation considers itself much flattered by the very friendly criticisms of itself as a whole and of its constituent members, as also by the recognition of the small services which, by its support of historical traditions, it rendered towards preserving the balance between the theological opinions put forward at the Conference.

But the Right Revd. Bishop finds the Orthodox Declaration neither (1) important nor (2) significant.

(a) The Orthodox did not make this Declaration for the purpose of diverting the current of opinion in the direction of their own conception of Reunion. As they pointed out in the Declaration itself, as a result of the discussions in public and, especially, in the Committees, they formed the opinion that the manner in which efforts were being made, in order that Churches, differing on the most essential points, might appear to be in agreement, was not in keeping with their own conception of the objects of a Conference whose further purpose was the Reunion of the Churches. The Orthodox left, we think, no room for doubt that the motive that led them to submit their Declaration was not any other than their Orthodox religious conscience.

For that reason, none of the Orthodox delegation, as far as we know, expressed an opinion, either by word of mouth or in writing, as to this or that effect of their Declaration upon the Conference. We Orthodox console ourselves with the thought that the religious uneasiness which we felt was not felt by us alone; for both the Lutherans and the Calvinists made parallel, though quite independent, Declarations. We greatly appreciate also, the fact that the Right Revd. President, Bishop Brent, as also

the Deputy Chairman, Dr. Garvie, characterized the Orthodox Declaration as an expression of the Orthodox delegation's religious convictions.

(b) We do not know who were the Orthodox who informed the Right Revd. Bishop of what went on behind the scenes as regards the Orthodox Declaration. We fear, however, that he either received an inaccurate account or misunderstood what he was told. Serious divisions did not exist among the Orthodox, since, in the Orthodox Church, such divisions neither exist nor can be imagined as existing, as, for instance, they exist in the Church of England with its different schools of thought, and with the complete freedom prevailing in Protestant circles. The differences in attitude were these:—Among the Orthodox representatives there were some pessimists, who entertained little hope of the success of the Conference, and who would have liked to see the Orthodox delegation withdraw from, and take no further part in, it. Others, while recognizing that the trend of the Conference was not entirely as they would have wished it to be, insisted that it was necessary to continue in their co-operation and to explain the Orthodox point of view—in public and in the Committees. A few finally held the view that by voting for the decisions which would be taken by the Conference, they would be compromising the Churches which they were representing. For it is well known that the idea that the Reports be only received, and not accepted, by the Conference prevailed later, and our attitude was not without effect in bringing about this decision. After repeated deliberations, they came to the unanimous decision to submit a common Declaration signed by all, and to continue to take part, as before, in the work of the Conference and to set out the Orthodox views, whenever the occasion demanded it. The only point on which there was a division of opinion was whether the Orthodox should, or should not, vote for the Reports of the Conference. One section thought that the first three Reports, and especially the Message of the Church, the Gospel, should be voted for, as soon as the alterations put forward by the Orthodox had been accepted; another section maintained that any distinction between the Reports would lessen the significance of the Declaration, which refers to the whole work of the Conference, and that, in spite of the close adjustment of the first Report to the principles of the Orthodox conception, it was not even so, entirely free from criticism. This division of opinion was removed when a common agreement was arrived at that the Orthodox should vote for the first, but abstain from voting for the remaining Reports.

It is, however, incorrect to say that the fear lest any concession whatsoever should result with

more incorrect is it to say that the laity in Greece is in continual strife with the clergy on the grounds that the latter are compromising the faith. The recent alteration in the Kalendar in Greece inevitably affected certain narrow-minded sections, who attributed more than the warranted significance to such alteration. The vast majority, however, of the laity willingly recognized and accepted the alteration.

In other Churches, moreover, there have been precedents where a section of the laity insistently clamoured for the return of "their eleven days," and these precedents make us believe that the insignificant opposition manifesting itself in some parts of Greece will very shortly disappear.

III.

We come now to the criticism of the Declaration itself.

(1) The Right Revd. Bishop thinks that Reunion of the Churches is only possible when the Churches taking part in a Conference are disposed to recognize that in some things they themselves are right and in others other Churches, and are prepared to accept only what is believed to be essential.

The Orthodox, by their Declaration, did not wish to shut the door against every attempt towards Reunion with other Churches, but they considered it a point of conscience to declare plainly how the Orthodox Church understands the possibility of Reunion, or rather, what is the fundamental dogmatic basis of Reunion from the Orthodox point of view. This dogmatic basis is that of the whole Church before the Schism, from which, it is the boast of the Orthodox Church, as existing to-day, that it has not, on any essential point, departed.

At the Congresses of Bonn this common basis was recognized as a condition of Reunion, not only by the Orthodox and the Old Catholics, but also by the Anglicans. If, therefore, other Churches propose as a common basis of Reunion their dogmatic systems in their entirety, as existing at present (*e.g.* among Roman Catholics, Baptists, Lutherans), they have, admittedly, a perfect right to do so, but the remaining Churches have a perfect right also either to abstain from, or to take part in any such Conference.

But the Orthodox did not do anything of the kind. To be assured of this, one has but to read the introductory speech of the Metropolitan of Thyatira, "The Call to Unity."

In the next place, we should like to put this question to the Right Revd. Bishop. Is the conclusion to which he comes a sound one that since more than one Church makes the same claim for itself it is not possible for one of those Churches to be in the right, but all must, undoubtedly, be in the wrong? That theologians of

other Churches have come to this conclusion, that truth exists in none of the Churches now surviving, in that each one of them has mixed truth with error, we have known well for a long time. But that this is the conviction of many Orthodox theologians, we learn for the first time from the disclosures made by the Right Revd. Bishop. We can give this assurance that every Orthodox—provided he be not merely outwardly a member of the Orthodox Church—believes that the truths which Our Lord revealed to his disciples when he promised to remain with them for ever and to send them the Holy Spirit to guide them in all truth, remain uncorrupted in the Orthodox Church. Why then, should we not conclude that it is possible that out of all who maintain that they themselves are in the right, one only actually is in the right, rather than be compelled to admit that all are in the wrong, which is the conclusion of the Right Revd. Bishop?

(2) Let us now pass on to the common basis which is universally recognized as being necessary in any Reunion of the Churches. The point about which we are at variance is this: The Œcumenical Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople is not the sole necessary confession of faith according to the Orthodox, as the Right Revd. Bishop seems to imagine; there are other canons and decisions of subsequent Œcumenical Synods which no Orthodox ever held to be of secondary importance or mere "expositiones fidei." What justifies us in holding the Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople to be the Faith, but the Canons and decisions of the other Œcumenical Synods to be simply "theology?" If one were to accept this ruling, would one not be in danger of eventually coming to consider even the Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople as merely "theology?" On the other hand, since it is recognized that the basis of the Nicæa-Constantinople Creed was, in early and later times, a Baptismal Creed developed in respect of the Church's teaching with regard to the Son, and later with regard to the Holy Spirit, why should the essence of that Creed be considered as centring round the Incarnation and Redemption, since this Creed, as every Creed characteristic of the Christian Faith, has as its principal subject the Faith in the Holy Trinity?

(3) But what is surprising is that the Right Revd. Bishop denies the right of the Orthodox to consider as a common basis of Faith anything other than the Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople, in conformity with the exposition of Faith of the 4th Œcumenical Synod in Chalcedon. Doubtless, if we were living in the 5th century we should confine ourselves to that Creed as containing everything that constitutes a bond of Reunion in the Faith. But the appearance of heresies after the preparation of that Creed made it necessary for the decisions of the Œcumenical Synods also to serve as Canons of Faith. Were not the Monophysites excluded from

communion with the Church for refusing to accept the decisions of the 4th Œcumenical Synods of Chalcedon? And does not this exclusion mean that the acceptance of the Nicæa-Constantinople Creed is not, in itself, enough for a person to be a member of the Church, but that there must be accepted also the decisions of the 4th and subsequent Œcumenical Synods?

It is somewhat astonishing that the Right Revd. Bishop should compare the later Confessions of the Lutherans, with the decisions of the Œcumenical Synods; at the most a comparison might be made between the Lutheran Confessions and the Confessions of the Orthodox Church in the 17th century.

We admit ourselves that a freedom of opinion may exist between theologians before an official decision in the matter of some truth, as was the case between Chrysostom and Augustine, and that those holding differing opinions continue to be Orthodox. But we hold that once a decision has been made by the Church, they cease to be Orthodox if they do not comply with such decision.

(4) We also distinguish, as does the Right Revd. Bishop, between theological exposition and the underlying Faith. But the Faith and the exposition of Faith are so closely allied that only when one accepts the true theological exposition of the Faith is one in touch with the truth of the Faith. The fundamental basis of Faith to the Orthodox is the Content of the Divine Revelation, as it survives in the Holy Gospel and in the Apostolic Tradition, and as expressed by the seven Œcumenical Synods and believed in the first eight centuries by the undivided Church. The assertion frequently made, that the fundamental basis is the dogmas of the Incarnation and Redemption alone, and that the remaining dogmas are thereby applications of the Faith to the needs and thoughts of a particular generation, has perhaps some correspondence with protestant ways of thought, but certainly has none with the spirit of the ancient united Church, nor, consequently, with that of the present-day Orthodox Church.

The Orthodox Church accepts to-day, as it accepted in ancient times, theologoumena or theological opinions upon subjects of which there is no testimony in the Holy Gospel or in the Apostolic Tradition. But no Orthodox has imagined that dogmas established by decisions of Œcumenical Synods, could be characterized as mere theological opinions.

The Right Revd. Bishop considers it inconsequent that the Orthodox should accept seven mysteries, whereas the seven Œcumenical Synods—from which their Church takes its name—do not accept so many. This apparent inconsequence is immediately explained if it be borne in mind that the Orthodox, as we said above, do not confine their faith only to the decisions of the seven Œcumenical Synods, but extend it to the whole content of the

Divine Revelation, as it was believed in the ancient undivided Church. Belief in the number, as well as in the nature and effects of the mysteries, does not derive from imitation of Rome, as the Right Revd. Bishop thinks, but is based on the practice and tradition of the Orthodox Church.

We have no knowledge, moreover, of the points in which the Russian Orthodox Church differs from the Greek, unless it be on those which are considered insignificant, as having no relation to the essentials of the mysteries.

At Lausanne the Orthodox did not suggest that their teaching on the mysteries would not admit of discussion; they limited themselves to showing that no practical benefit can come from agreement among the Churches as to the necessity of the mysteries, when there exist among them such immense divergences as to the most essential points of the mysteries.

(5) The Declaration made by the Orthodox did not touch upon the historical examination of the method of establishment of the three grades of Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon, but merely points out that, just as it was Christ's wish that there should exist ecclesiastical officers, so also was it his wish that such officers should be in three Grades. The Right Revd. Bishop inclines to the view that the three Grades exist in the Church not *jure divino* but *jure ecclesiastico*. But, if such be the case, he must admit that the office of bishop is not absolutely essential, and that Church matters might have been directed in other ways, as *e.g.* among the Presbyterians. But is the Orthodox proposal untenable? We shall confine ourselves to pointing out that the ancient Church attributed the establishment of three Grades to Apostolic ordinance and action and excommunicated those who denied such ordinance. From an Orthodox point of view there is nothing surprising in the fact that in the Gospel there is no commandment of Our Lord to this effect, since this is not the only matter of Apostolic tradition not explicitly included in the Gospel. For those, however, who deny the significance of Apostolic Tradition, this particular point, as many others also, may be regarded as doubtful and as permitting one view or another.

(6) The Orthodox Declaration, necessarily short, but sufficiently explicit, does not aim either at concealing uncertainties or at confirming agreement; it aims simply at revealing the true and actual position of the Orthodox Church on the question of Reunion. The Orthodox do not think that, consequent on this Declaration, every Conference is superfluous, but they wished to make this clear, that, for them, compromise in matters of faith is impossible.

ECONOMY AND THE COMMUNION AT BELGRAD.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

A TELEGRAM in the *Daily Telegraph* of December 27th last announced that on Christmas Day the Patriarch of Serbia, his Beatitude the Vladiko Dmitri, had welcomed several members of the British and American colonies in Belgrad to his Cathedral in that city, and in the presence of a large congregation had administered the Blessed Sacrament to them. Subsequent enquiry confirmed the statement and it appears (1) that his Beatitude not only invited eight Anglicans to communicate at the Liturgy which he celebrated in his Cathedral on our Christmas Day—the Serb Christmas is still according to the old kalendar—but (2) that he intentionally emphasized what he was doing by not having them communicated by a priest, as is usual when an Orthodox bishop celebrates, but by himself proceeding to the doors of the ikonostas and communicating them *with his own hands*; (3) that the Metropolitans Dositheos of Nisch and Ilarion of Gorni Karlowicz, the former of whom is very influential, assisted at the Liturgy in question.

The Anglicans so privileged were Dr. Dynelly Prince, the U.S.A. Minister to the Court of Jugo-Slavia, a fine Slavonic scholar and well known for his affection for the Serbian Church, Mrs. Prince, and Miss Fursey, his secretary, who are members of the American Episcopal Church, Mrs MacGittan, a member of the Canadian Church who was visiting them, Mr. and Mrs. Percy Sitters who have rendered great services to Serbia and her Church as Y.M.C.A. representatives in Belgrad, the Hon. Montague Waldegrave, of the English Y.M.C.A., and Mr. Frank Steele, a tutor at the British Legation in Belgrad, the four last being members of the Church of England. No conditions whatever or credentials were required of those who were to communicate, except that they should be Anglicans and they were communicated in the Blessed Sacrament at the usual place in the Liturgy and after the Orthodox manner by intinction.

On accepting a Bible, inscribed with the signatures of the eight communicants on the Serb Christmas Day, January 7, 1928, from Dr. Prince and Mr. Sitters, the Patriarch was understood by them to say that he had consulted the Serbian Holy Synod prior to his action, which had been approved by it. As to whether his Beatitude formally consulted the Synod, no statement has been made. But the presence in the Cathedral of the synodal bishop mentioned above points at least to his approval.

This Christmas Communion at Belgrad is, of course, a very

noteworthy happening; for apart from the emphasis which it received through the Patriarch having himself administered the Blessed Sacrament, and that with his own hands, to those eight Anglicans, with the single possible exception mentioned below there exists no precedent of which we are aware for Anglicans not in complete isolation from Anglican clergy being admitted by competent authority to communion in an Orthodox Church.

In consequence, though we had heard as far back as September last that Dr. Dynelly Prince, hearing of the possibility of an isolated Anglican being admitted to Communion by the Metropolitan Barnabas of Sköplje, intended to ask the same privilege for himself, its being granted had appeared to us as extraordinarily unlikely.

It is the case, indeed, that a mistaken impression that Intercommunion exists between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches is widespread in England, but no better service to their friendship can be rendered than to correct it.

In fact, the Orthodox Church is as rigid upon the impossibility of her having Intercommunion with a Church which is not in Union with her, as is the Roman Catholic Church, and since her necessary condition for Union is full dogmatic agreement, it follows that as the Anglican Church is to-day, the Union of the two Churches and therefore their Intercommunion is at present not even on the horizon.

Moreover, all Orthodox theologians are unanimous upon the principle that, where two Churches are not in formal communion, their individual members cannot mutually be admitted to their sacramental administrations.

Of course, the impossible did not happen at Belgrad on Christmas Day.

As entrusted with the stewardship (*tamiouchos*) of the household of Christ, the Orthodox Church holds that she has the power of Economy (*oikonomia*) and that, by that power, she has authority and, where good reason exists, is indeed bound, to dispense with the strictness of the law.

Accordingly, while, as ought to be well known, unlike the Roman Church, which, of course, holds on principle that, however irregular, sacraments administered outside herself with the proper matter, form and minister, are valid *per se*, the Orthodox Church declares her inability to recognize as valid *per se* any sacrament whatever administered outside herself; at the same time she holds that, if she accepts such a sacrament, she makes it valid. Thus some Orthodox theologians, e.g. Professor Dyovouniotes of Athens, go so far as to say, that in her exercise of Economy the Orthodox Church could accept as valid an ordination administered without any of the canonical marks of validity and even

where the Apostolic Succession has been broken, *Hepta Mysteria*, p. 163.

It was in the exercise of Economy, therefore, that the Patriarch Dmitri invited Dr. Prince and his friends to communicate in his Cathedral on Christmas Day.

His doing so, however, has excited comment among the Orthodox for the following reasons:—

(I) Orthodox acts of Economy towards non-Orthodox individuals may be classified into two categories:

- (a) towards those who accede to the Orthodox Church.
- (b) towards those who do not accede to it.

The former may be exemplified by the facts that after having refused to accept Roman Baptism or Orders from 1629 to 1667 the Russian Church has accepted Roman converts since the latter date on a profession of Faith or by chrismation and has not re-baptised or re-ordained them, and that the Greek Churches, after accepting them up to 1756, decided in that year not to do so. Again the recognition of Anglican Ordinations by Constantinople in 1922 was not absolute, but was simply an economic acceptance with a view to Anglicans uniting with the Orthodox Church.

The latter is to be illustrated by such acts as the preaching in Anglican Churches of Orthodox priests and vice versa, by the reception of Anglican clergy in the sanctuary of Orthodox Churches, by the provision of the Celebration of the Liturgy for Anglican pilgrims to Jerusalem in English in the Church of the Anastasis, by the participation in the Nicæan Commemoration Liturgy in Westminster Abbey (June 29, 1925) of official delegates from all the Orthodox Churches. And so forth.

(II) In regard to the admission of Anglicans to sacramental communion by the Orthodox it should be noted that, until in 1922 the late Professor Komnenos published his Report to the Holy Synod in Constantinople on Anglican Ordinations, no Orthodox theologian had declared himself to regard it as a permissible Economy. On the contrary, onwards from 1841, when Mr. Palmer who travelled to Russia expressly in order to claim Communion from the Orthodox Church as a right, was informed by the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow that such a concession could not be made (*see Palmer's Visit to Russia*, edited by Newman, introd. and *passim*), every Orthodox theologian who dealt with the matter had given a *non possumus* even to its discussion; e.g. *see* Androustos, Anglican Ordinations, published in 1902, *passim* and especially p. 130.

In his Report, however, Komnenos adduced a weighty opinion of Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria (century XII), to the effect that the communicating Latin captives at Alexandria was

justified, and grounded upon it the recommendation that the Orthodox Church should "conform to the relevant suggestion" made by Demetrios Chomatenos (century XIII) when discussing and approving the opinion of his predecessor in the Archbishopric of Bulgaria, the above-mentioned Theophylact, and should "in altogether exceptional and absolutely necessary circumstances" permit Anglicans to receive the Sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist and Marriage from Orthodox ministers and vice versa.

In consequence of Komnenos' Report the then Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios issued his well-known Encyclical to the authorities of the other autokephalous churches announcing the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Great Church of Constantinople and on July 28, 1922, notified the Archbishop of Canterbury to that effect, but since the question of Orthodox agreement as to the mutual giving of communion, etc., to Orthodox and Anglicans in isolation or emergency was dependent upon, and necessarily subsequent to, agreement as to the economic acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Orthodox, neither document contained reference to the former.

Commissions to consider and report upon the Constantinople Encyclical have been set up by the Synods of all the autokephalous Orthodox Churches, except those of Antioch, of Bulgaria, to which latter as out of Communion with the Œcumenical Patriarchate, it was not sent, and of Russia, to which it could not be sent. As I gather, all of those Commissions have taken a favourable view of its recommendations as to Anglican Ordinations, but have one and all reported that it would be wise to defer their acceptance until united action by the whole Orthodox Church either in an Œcumenical Synod or by the consent of all its particular autokephalous churches becomes possible or, in other words, until the Turks permit the Œcumenical Patriarchate freedom of action and until the Russian Church is out of chaos and can take part in the consideration.

Accordingly, pending a general and final Orthodox acceptance of Anglican Ordinations, the authorities even of those churches which have accepted them, have not yet addressed their attention to the further recommendation of Professor Komnenos in regard to the mutual communicating of Orthodox and Anglicans in emergency. Nor, so far as I am aware, has any Orthodox theologian discussed that recommendation in any publication.

(III) Prior, however, to the publication of Professor Komnenos' Report, instances of Anglicans being admitted to Communion by the Orthodox and vice versa had occurred.

(a) The *Church Times* of September 2, 1865 prints an account from an English priest, The Rev. W. Denton, then travelling

in Serbia of his having been communicated at the Orthodox Monastery of Studenitza, in which he implies that the Serbian Synod had authorized the admission of Anglicans in future to the same privilege. As to his statement that the Serbian Synod had resolved to that effect, my enquiries in Belgrad, where the incident appears to have been forgotten, have produced no evidence. But the Rev. Charles Lowder, writing from Belgrad in the autumn of 1865, states that on his applying to the Archbishop of Belgrad for the like privilege, he was informed that "what had been done at Studenitza had been done by mistake, and that, though a desire for Intercommunion had been expressed, it was yet too early to sanction such an outward seal to it" (Charles Lowder, *A Biography*, 1881, p. 212).

(b) Before the War there were various concordats in the United States of America and elsewhere by which Syrian Orthodox and others when in isolation and emergency were to receive communion from the local Anglican Church. These concordats were arranged by the Orthodox bishop at the head of the particular community, but apparently without reference to his home authority.

(c) During the War there were frequent cases of Anglicans being communicated by the Orthodox and of Orthodox resorting to Anglican altars for Communion, and that not always in emergency, see e.g. the letter of the Rev. F. T. S. Powell to the *Church Times* of February 3, 1928, narrating how an "Archimandrite from Athos" authorized his communions.

In no case, however, do these economies appear to have had authorization from the Synods of any particular autokephalous Church, and it is a reasonable assumption that they must be regarded as war-time anomalies.

(d) Since the War the admission of Anglicans in isolation and emergency to Communion by the Orthodox and vice versa has been wide-spread and not infrequent. For example, in 1923 the Bishop of Harbin, in the Russian Far East, not only admitted an Anglican in such isolation to communion, but issued an ukase that all Anglicans who might apply for absolution and communion to the clergy of his diocese should receive their ministrations, and, to my knowledge, on proceeding to Central Africa and other lands where there are no Orthodox clergy, Orthodox lay-folk have received letters of commendation for the like purpose from very competent authority in their own particular autokephalous Church.

(IV) When a corporate mind is in process of reaching a judgment, a forecast of the decision at which it will arrive is difficult

even for those who have an intimate part in that process. In the case of the mind of the whole Orthodox Church, the component autokephalous Churches of which are in a measure differentiated by national outlook and ecclesiastical tradition and in many ways are not in close contact with each other, it is doubtful whether, however well informed, any Orthodox would venture to forecast as to what may be the final decision on a question such as this. Assuredly no Anglican is able to do so.

But it is plain that there is a marked trend towards regarding the mutual admission of Orthodox and Anglicans in real emergency to sacramental communion as a proper economy and that the mind of certain of the autokephalous Churches has been formed provisionally to that effect.

Thus in discussing the Belgrad Christmas Communion an unsigned article in *Pantainos*, the official fortnightly of the Patriarchate of Alexandria (January 19, 1928, p. 48) contains these plain sentences "On demand of occasion and at different times the Orthodox Church has given effect to her mind that under exceptional circumstances and in emergency in countries where there is lacking either an Orthodox or an Anglican priest, economy is permissible whereby the faithful of either Church may have resort for the invocation of grace through an available priest of the other Church: as, for example, in the case of the administration of the last rites (*lit.* the undefiled mysteries, *sc.* the Blessed Sacrament) to a dying Christian, of the celebration of marriage and of the burial of the dead. There exist many examples of such relaxation in recent years."

(V) The Belgrad Communion does not readily fall into the category of an economy exercised towards Anglicans in isolation and emergency; for most, if not all, of those who were privileged by it have access from time to time every year to Anglican ministrations. Moreover, the Anglican chaplain at Trieste was due to celebrate for them in Belgrad on Sunday, January 1, 1928.

That being so, and in view of what has been summarized above, it is not surprising that there have been guarded demurs to the Patriarch Dmitri's action on the part of theologians who consider that the extension of the economy of the communion of individuals in isolation and emergency into the economy of the communion of typical individuals not in such circumstances, is tantamount to a precedent of Intercommunion by Economy between the two Churches and on the principle of Œcumenicity, is at least premature without the decision of the whole Orthodox Church. That that opinion was represented at the time of the incident in Belgrad itself is recorded by the comment of the journal *Pravda* on Dec-

ember 26, 1927, "Although the manifestation of the relationship (between the two Churches) was touching and praiseworthy, some people did not approve the action of the Patriarch because Anglicans are not in formal communion with us."

In conclusion, it cannot be noted too carefully that the Belgrad Christmas Communion must in no way be taken as establishing a norm of Intercommunion by Economy between the Orthodox and ourselves. A precedent is, of course, a precedent and remains. But in the sphere of Economy, the exercise of which is always in suspension of the strictness of the law and is in every case decided by the particular circumstances in which it takes place, no two sets of circumstances are alike and each exercise of it stands by itself. That the Patriarch Dmitri, with the approval of at least some of his suffragans, has adjudged that the facts of Anglican Church life and of our Faith and Practice and with them the brotherly solidarity which has been developed between the two Churches, justified his exercising this particular act of Economy in the case of such devout and worthy Anglican friends of the Orthodox Serbian Church as Dr. Prince and Mr. Sitters, of course, constitutes a precedent. But it does not constitute a *binding* precedent. Even if it should transpire that his Sacred Synod gave its approval prior to his action, that precedent neither binds him nor the Church of Serbia to repeat it even in their case and certainly does not bind the other Orthodox Churches to its repetition in the case of others. The most that can be deduced from it is that, in his Christian love and goodwill, his Beatitude, recognizing that in Faith and Life the Anglican Church is sufficiently akin to the Orthodox to be held to possess the outward marks of a part of the true Church and that Dr. Prince, Mr. Sitters and their friends are both typical Anglicans and deserve well of the Orthodox Church, took the opportunity to symbolize the nearness each to the other in Christ to which the two Communions have been blessed to attain, by a symbolic act of Economy exercised towards them as individuals. As the *Pravda* termed it, his Beatitude's action was altogether touching in its love and in its goodwill and we are touched by it. But we are, therefore, constrained all the more in reciprocity to realize both that neither he himself nor the Serbian Church are committed to it as a general precedent and also that the Orthodox Church as a whole is in no way committed to the future admission of any Anglican to its Sacramental Communion.

In fine, our mind is this. If, when the Orthodox Church is enabled to form a final and corporate judgment, it should decide that a norm of Intercommunion with us Anglicans is permissible and that the circumstances warrant such Economy, we shall rejoice and be profoundly thankful. That the totality of the Anglican

Episcopate would be eager to establish such a norm goes, I think, without saying and is implied in the relevant resolutions of the Lambeth Conferences of 1908 and 1920. On the other hand, we would be altogether unwilling that such a norm should be established except by the full and free decision of the Orthodox themselves and without the slightest compromise of their principles or constraint of their inclination. If it should eventuate that after the working of the Spirit in their spreading out the matter they should decide finally that such a norm of economy is not to be, we shall be sure that they have been restrained by principle from doing that which their Christian goodwill incited them to do, and though we should regret that their conscience forbade their will, we shall rejoice in and approve their fidelity to principle and shall continue to labour for that dogmatic agreement, the fruit of which will be our longed for Intercommunion and Reunion with them.

It is our duty and our wisdom to do nothing whatever to intrude upon their consideration of the matter, but to wait patiently for God to perform His Miracles.

THE NEW HEARTH IN RUSSIAN MONASTICISM

By L. ZANDER.

RUSSIAN Monasticism has found a new centre whence it is spreading and developing. Within the last two years Paris has witnessed six cases of young Russian students professing their vows as monks. Four of them have already been ordained priests, and divide their time between study in the Sergievskoie Podvorie and fulfilling the duties of parish priests. Two have been ordained deacons of the Sergievskoie Podvorie, and can thus continue the course at the Theological Institute.

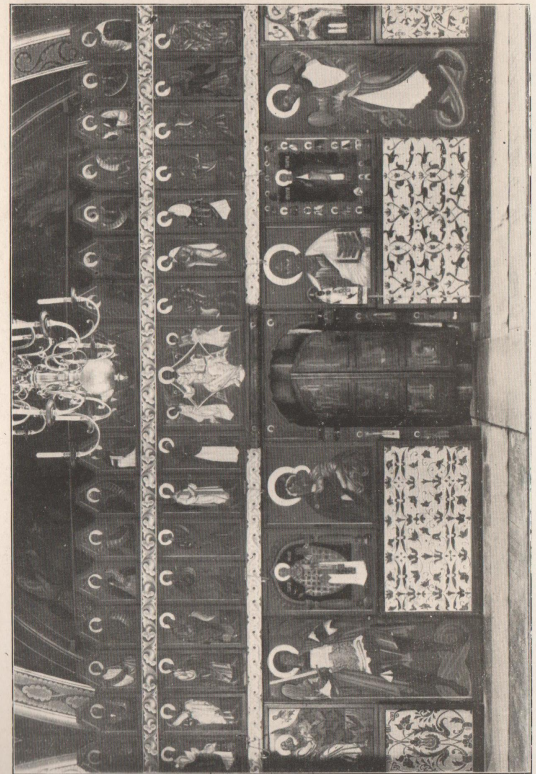
In former times the rite of professing the vows of a monk was usually performed within the precincts of the monastery itself, thus lending great severity to the ceremony. Few witnesses attended, and thus it usually remained quite unknown to most laymen. But at present the Russians have no monasteries at their own disposal, therefore, the rite of profession can be performed only in the parish church during public Divine Service. As a result, the beautiful ceremony—every detail of which has such a profound inner meaning—has become much better known to the laity, they understand and love it in quite a new manner.

The true Orthodox conceives the monastic idea not as something alien to life, as something apart from it, but as a purified, christianized form of life. It is, therefore, not the tragic side of the

rite of profession which awes us (as so many falsely think is the case), but the depth of its loving-kindness which addresses itself to all the world, to the whole Church, to all the faithful. This is very strongly expressed in the opening prayer of the ceremony, which speaks of "the *different* ways of salvation shown us in the incarnation of Christ." It is also expressed in the words pronounced at the moment of the tonsure of the newly-professed monk: "Glory to God who willeth that *all* men should be saved and should attain the knowledge of truth."

In the Sergievskoie Podvorie it was made the practice to perform the ceremony of profession during the All-night Vespers. After the singing of the "Glorification," the following moving prayer is sung: "Open Thou Thy arms to me; I have lived as a prodigal, but I see the unfathomable depths of Thy Mercy, and beseech Thee, despise not my beggared heart: I have sinned before heaven and before Thee." The candidate—barefoot and bareheaded—clothed in a long white robe is led by another monk into the Church. The abbot* stands waiting for him before the Royal Doors. The candidate prostrates himself, touching the floor with his forehead, whereupon the abbot says: "As a merciful Father, God receives the repentant prodigal son who seeks His forgiveness." Then the abbot asks the reason which brought him to seek shelter in the midst of the holy community. On receiving the answer: "I seek a life of fasting," the abbot solemnly explains to him wherein the true meaning of such a life consists. This dialogue has a profound import and significance, for it not only expresses the gravity of the special vows of the monk, but throws light on the general meaning of monasticism. It draws a touching picture of what a true monk ought to be, and gives a series of practical ascetic instructions, which are to help the newly-professed monk to attain the "angelic state." He listens to these instructions standing before the abbot with bowed head and folded hands, "as one who is bound." He answers in the affirmative to all the questions addressed to him. After this the abbot lays a pair of scissors on the Holy Bible, and says: "Take the scissors and hand them to me." In this manner the candidate accepts the scissors, as it were from the hands of Christ, and thus of his own free will gives his soul into the keeping of Christ. As a symbol of this the abbot thrice cuts off a wisp of hair, at the same time calling him by his new name. This name is chosen by the abbot, and it is customary that it should begin with the same letter as the monk's former name. The Metropolitan Eulogius has chosen to give his spiritual children the names of the closest collaborators and disciples of Saint Sergius; disciples

* In the Sergievskoie Podvorie all the ceremonies of profession were performed personally by the Metropolitan Eulogius.



THE IKONOSTAS IN THE CHAPEL OF THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY IN PARIS.

who were also canonized and have become famous for their work in spreading piety among the Russian people. Thus the vision of the "Red Birds" seen by St. Sergius* finds realization here as aforesaid in Russia. The names of the new labourers in Christ's field are: Andronicus, Abraham, Isaac, and Nikon.

After the rite of profession has been performed and the new name given, the abbot robes the newly-professed monk in his new monastic garments. Each separate part of these vestments has its symbolic meaning. The monastic under-garment (Khiton) is an emblem of "voluntary poverty, of refusal of material goods, and the acceptance of hardships, trials and sufferings;" the cassock (Ryassa) is the "clothing of gladness and spiritual joy, conquering and triumphing over all vexations;" the girdle is the emblem of the "power of Truth to crucify the flesh and renew the spirit;" the cloak is the "armour of Truth, a severing of our own will and our own wisdom;" the cowl is the "covering of humility and of constant obedience, which is the sign of the love of spiritual wisdom;" the sandals are symbols of the spreading of the Gospel of peace. Lastly the newly-professed monk is given a rosary, a cross, and the New Testament, which are to be his spiritual sword and the shield of his faith. After this, all the brethren greet the newly-professed monk. Each one of them kisses the Gospel he is holding in his right hand; they also kiss his right cheek asking him: "What is thy name, our new brother?" And on receiving an answer, they say: "Seek thy salvation in thy new angelic state." After this follows a litany, during which prayers for the newly-professed monk and for the purity of his service before God are said. Then the lesson from the Apostle (Eph. 6, 10-17) is read. It is upon these words that the whole ceremony of profession is based. After this the lessons from the Gospel (St. Mt. 10, 37-38, and St. Mt. 11, 28-30). Thereupon, and with the usual final words of blessing, the ceremony of profession ends. After this the newly-professed monk remains in the Church, and during the following five days he spends all his days and nights in constant prayer and meditation.

One of the remarkable peculiarities of Orthodox Divine Service is that, while accepting the forms of prayer which have been handed down to us in the course of centuries, it has never crushed individual impulse, never obliterated the personality of the

* Once during his nightly vigil St. Sergius saw a great number of "exceeding red" birds, which were illuminated by a wonderful light. These birds not only filled the whole monastery, but flew about all round it. Sergius heard a voice telling him: "Lo and behold, how great the number of monks which have come together to thy fold to submit themselves to thy teaching in the name of the Holy and Life-giving Trinity. As thou dost witness these birds, so shall the fold of thy disciples increase; and after thy death shall their number not decrease, if they shall be willing to walk in thy steps."

believers. This is to be felt even in the strictly established rules of Divine Service. That is why each celebration of the ceremony of profession has its own clearly-defined peculiar character—its spiritual atmosphere. In the ceremonies of profession which have taken place in the Sergievskoie Podvorie, we have witnessed the deeply thrilling renunciation of the world for the attainment "of the honour of a higher calling," the joyful, almost radiant acceptance of the "high angelic state," and the peaceful fulfilment of a mature, long-considered decision to follow Christ along this chosen path. But each one of these ceremonies has struck us anew by its deep significance and revealed to the worshippers the depth of the human soul and the unspeakable mercy of God.

Human individuality is not crushed by monastic renunciation. All that man brings to the holy altar—his soul, his life, his past—receives a new calling; all is transfigured and purified in the fire of prayer, yet does not perish. The former life of the newly-professed monk and the individual features of his character are not indifferent quantities; all of them without exception subject themselves to the yoke of Christ; but in this submission and subjection they receive a new freedom, a new significance. Among the new monks of the Sergievskoie Podvorie there are two former officers, one lawyer, one poet, one former official of a large co-operative society, one technician. All of them have experienced the horrors of the War and the Revolution. This could not but enrich their spiritual life, giving them new insight into the soul and destiny of man. And now, in giving up their lives to the Church, they have brought with them their spiritual experience, their talents. Their past gives new fruition in the present, being transfigured in manifold ways in their monastic activity. It manifests itself in a severe consciousness of the hierarchic principle in the Church and in obedience to its salutary discipline; in an artistic insight into the wealth of beauty to be found in the Church; in a business-like talent for organization, which sanctifies human labour by directing it towards the fulfilment of God's commandments.

May God help them in their work, and may He deliver them and us from all trouble, wrath, and need through the prayers of our Holy Abbot, Saint Sergius.

RE-UNION AND THE HOLY SEE.

By C. G. HARRISON.

THE old saying that "all roads lead to Rome" is true even if we of the A. and E.C.A. include the road that leads to Constantinople. If we compare our efforts to bring about the visible re-union of Christendom to a maze having Rome for its centre, it may well be that in our endeavours to thread it we may rightly follow a clue which avoids paths that are obviously blocked and leads us round by way of the circumference. For it will not be denied that if the Anglican Church should succeed in first converting the Protestant sects and then establishing formal dogmatic re-union with the Orthodox Churches of the East, our work would even then be only half done. It would be ridiculous to remain content with a re-union that would leave out Christians attached to the centre of Christendom—the Catholic and Apostolic See of SS. Peter and Paul.

This is admitted both by Orthodox and Anglicans, and even Roman Catholics are anxious for re-union on their own terms. Yet unless some way can be discovered of adjusting the Papal claims to universal ecclesiastical hegemony to modern conditions, the fulfilment of our Lord's prayer that we may all be one even as He is One with the Father will continue to be delayed. Whether such a way can be found is now engaging the friends of reconciliation with Rome in that city itself. It would seem that the problem depends for its solution, not so much on the mental ability of the reigning Pope and his capacity for discerning the signs of the times, as his personal character and his capacity for ruling men.

The need for re-union is becoming more and more urgent, and the scandal of division is felt on all hands as a serious hindrance to missionary work at home and abroad. So far as the three great divisions are concerned, differences of opinion are disappearing in regard to all essential matters but one—the nature and limits of Authority in the Catholic Church. According to Prof. Bulgakov, ecclesiastical authority is inseparable from that fraternal love which should bind the whole Church, clergy and laity alike, together in the Unity of the Spirit. (See *Christian East*, April, 1926.) But this assumes re-union as an accomplished fact, and the question now is how to bring it about. The situation, moreover, has altered of late years. Until quite recent times Christians were divided for all practical purposes into Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Church of England was supposed to be "Protestant" and the "Greek Church," as it was called, regarded as a debased form of "Popery."

At the time of the Crimean War, which elderly people can still remember, it was not uncommon for Englishmen to declare that we had more in common with the "pure monotheism" of our Turkish ally than with the "idolatrous Greek Church" of the Russian enemy. Alas! the modern Russian enemy has substituted atheism for the Greek Church, which he now persecutes savagely. Capt. Burnaby in his *Ride to Khiva* (1876) said that if it were true (as some even then alleged) that the Russian religion was very much like that of the Church of England, we ought to strike the 2nd Commandment out of our Prayer Book.* Within 50 years the pure monotheist has become the "unspeakable Turk." The present Archbishop of Canterbury was the Gospeller in the Greek Church at Bayswater at the Requiem Mass for the Metropolitan of Broussa, who died in England in 1921, and he has also since taken part with several Orthodox Patriarchs in a service at Westminster Abbey. Many English Churchmen have become ashamed of the name of Protestant consequent on the way in which that once respectable term has been dragged in the mud, and Nonconformists are beginning to recognize that to put their new theological wine into the old Protestant bottles is to court disaster. In the United States a Congregational minister—*mirabile dictu*—has published a book entitled "Coming Catholicism and going Protestantism."† Everywhere in England the general trend is towards communion with the Anglican Church, which, with all its faults (and they are many) does, on the whole, represent the most scholarly and enlightened form of Christianity at the present day.

The above considerations have been suggested by two books that have lately come out. One is the Bampton Lectures for 1924 on *Ideas of the Fall*, by Dr. N. P. Williams; and the other, *Selected Letters of the late Baron von Hügel from 1896 to 1924*, edited by Mr. Bernard Holland, with which we shall deal presently. The Bampton Lectures are the most learned and original in thought of this series that have appeared for at least 40 years. They furnish materials for a reconsideration of ideas current in the Western Church—Catholic and Protestant alike—in regard to the Fall of Man and his Redemption by our Saviour Jesus Christ—doctrines lying at the very foundations of the Christian religion. These Lectures are calculated to impress, not only Anglicans and Protestants, but Roman theologians themselves, for they raise the question, "What is the true Catholic doctrine on this important subject, and is it reflected in current Roman Catholic (or, for that matter, Anglican) teaching?" From a comparison between Eastern and Western ideas of the nature of the Fall of Man, illustrated by copious examples from Greek and Latin

* *A Ride to Khiva*, Chap. VI, p. 58.

† The Rev. Newman Smith, Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A. (See Von Hügel's *Selected Letters*, p. 150).

Fathers reaching from the earliest ages of the Church down to the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, Dr. Williams comes to the following conclusion in his last Lecture: "It is not too much to say that, if a single phrase be required to sum up the really progressive and valuable movements of Christian anthropology and hamartiology which took place during the nineteenth century, that phrase must be 'Away from Augustine and back to Origen.'" (p. 507.)

Unfortunately, the whole Western Church is, and has been for some centuries, so committed to Augustinianism as to make it a work of considerable difficulty to disentangle the great Doctor's orthodoxy on essential matters, such as the necessity of maintaining Catholic union against schism arising from difference of opinion in regard to discipline, from the exaltation of Augustine's own private opinions into dogmas of the Catholic Church. His interpretation, in particular, of S. Paul's teaching in regard to "original sin" and the Roman law of adoption, chimed in so harmoniously with the current ideas of Western Imperialism that it is no wonder they were taken over later by Calvin to form a core of "sound doctrine," and the foundation stone of an actual materialized "City of God" in Switzerland. Even the Church of England *officially wonders* "What would Saint Augustine have said if he had seen the ceremonies of late days used among us; whereunto the multitude used in his time was not to be compared?"* It says much for the reasonableness and sanity of the new episcopal Revisers of our Book of Common Prayer that they have had the courage to lay themselves open to the charge of making concessions to "Modernism" by getting rid of such Augustinian expressions as "conceived and born in sin," and that infants are brought to be baptized because they are "children of wrath" in the sense of objects of the anger and hostility of God.†

But to return to the question of the restoration of visible Catholic Re-union. For practical purposes it turns at present on the necessity of a centre of unity for the Church Militant in the shape of a "higher command" such as that which won the victory for the Allies in the Great War by the appointment of General Foch. So far, all the disputants are agreed that the centre of unity should be Rome—the Apostolic See of SS. Peter and Paul. To this Canterbury would, of course, offer no objection, and the Orthodox Metropolitan Antony of Kiev has said that "the Primacy *de jure ecclesiastico* would certainly be restored to the Roman Patriarch on his return to Orthodoxy."

* Preface to the Prayer Book of 1662.

† This is not the place to discuss Prayer Book Revision, otherwise I might say that many regret the Revisers have not followed the great Doctor of the Western Church in a matter where there has never been any doubt that East and West are in full agreement. "But no one eats that Flesh and drinks that Blood without first adoring it. Not only is it no sin if we adore it, but *we sin if we adore it not*." S. Augustine in Psalm Enarr. (Opera Bened. Edit., Vol. IV, pars. 2). Certainly, Augustine would have thought it impious to put restrictions on the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the benefit of either sick or healthy.

and, moreover, that "this would probably invest him with such an authority in the Ecumenical Church as had never hitherto been assigned to him." (*Christian East*, February, 1924).

But the difficulty is that the Pope lays claim to this Primacy *de jure divino*, and not merely *ecclesiastico*, in virtue of his descent from S. Peter, whom our Lord, it is alleged, constituted His "Vicar (or plenipotentiary) on earth" with commission to "bind and loose" in a sense in which it was not given to the other Apostles. It is argued that, without some such centralization and in the absence of a visible monarchy, the Church would lack unity; and would be merely a society of good men differing in all their opinions; all earnestly seeking the truth with no certainty that it has ever been found, and no hope at all of ever finding it. To this it is replied (i) that the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church Catholic are not agreed, either in regard to the so-called "Privilege of Peter," or to this alleged necessity of a visible monarchy; and (ii) that the Churches of the East—Greece, Russia, Bulgaria, etc.—have been held together for centuries (often in the face of severe persecution) in full communion and fellowship in the bonds of Orthodoxy.

Is it possible to harmonize these conflicting ideas about the nature of Church authority? Let us see how we stand. We are all agreed on the vital importance of settling the question of visible unity if the Church is to succeed in establishing the Kingdom of God in the place of the kingdoms of the Prince of this World. We are also agreed on the subject of the *Primacy*, as distinguished from the *Supremacy*, of Rome. It remains only to discuss, as we have said, the nature and limits of authority.

The word "authority" is used in two senses. When employed in its primary sense it answers pretty nearly to the Latin *auctoritas*; as when a statement is given of some fact on the authority of such and such historians, or when we speak of correcting a reading in an ancient classic on the authority of such and such a MS. In this sense authority has a claim on our *deference*. But the word is often used as equivalent to *potestas*—power—as when we speak of the authority of a parent or a magistrate; in which case it is a claim on our *obedience*. It is in these two senses that the Church of England in Art. XX claims to have "power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." It is also in the sense of *potestas* that she requires from her members (so long as they choose to remain members) belief in the Creeds of Christendom, and in the sense of *auctoritas* the acceptance of all *dogmas* (or settled beliefs) of the Catholic Church. The Church of Rome, on the other hand, has made what we think the fatal mistake of claiming authority in the sense of *potestas* over theological opinions (often of a highly disputable character), instead of confining it to actions. For instance, she is quite within her rights in prohibiting marriage to her own clergy, but unreasonable in requir-

ing "interior assent" to the dogma that our Lady was born free from the "taint" of original sin, however that may be defined.

The whole history of religious thought throughout Western Christendom, from the Revival of Learning in the twelfth century down to the present day, has been a series of conflicts between reason and the authority of a Church in which a mass of what were originally mere "pious opinions" have crystallized into dogmatic teaching and accreted round the original deposit of "The Faith once delivered to the Saints." The result which has its foundations in the false dichotomy of an *ecclesia discens* and an *ecclesia docens* or *obediens* is truly deplorable. It is a source of great grief to many religious persons, clergy and laity alike; and this brings us to the Von Hügel Letters. In reading this fascinating correspondence of the pious and learned Roman Catholic layman, so unlike what we might have expected from a convinced believer in the "living voice of the Catholic Church," we cannot fail to be struck with two things, which seem to be inconsistent with each other; (i) his frequently expressed lack of confidence in the aforesaid "living voice," and (ii) his careful restriction of the title of Catholics to Christians belonging to his own Communion. One would have thought that a layman of the intellectual calibre of Von Hügel—so devout, so punctilious in the performance of his religious duties, so anxious to avoid giving just offence to the ecclesiastical authorities, would have been enthusiastic in trying to win converts from other denominations to what he considered the only "One true Church." Instead of which, he is always apologizing for its defects. "My object is to make the Old Church as *habitable intellectually* as ever I can . . . For various reasons which would fill a volume (she is) much less strong as regards the needs, rights and duties of the mental life." "One (Roman Catholic) fallen away gives me more pain than a hundred accessions (from Protestantism) give me joy."* Though in a letter to Mrs. Drew (*née* Gladstone, and daughter of the Prime Minister), he objects to what he calls "the sacred occupation of shying chunks of old red sandstone against Rome and all its works."† And yet, in spite of Von Hügel's absolute loyalty to the official doctrines of his Church, his avowed sympathy with the so-called "Modernists," especially the late Father Tyrrell, made him an object of suspicion at Rome; on one occasion to the extent of fearing excommunication for himself also. The correspondence consists mostly of letters to his personal friends, many of whom were Professors of British and foreign universities, and of all shades of religious belief. They range from Anglican dignitaries like Bishop Talbot to Mr. Claude Montefiore the apostle of "Reformed Judaism," both of whom he held in considerable respect and affection. They even include letters to a young lady about to be confirmed

* *Letters*, p. 347.

† *Ibid.*, p. 127.

in the Anglican Church, giving her advice in regard to making frequent communions (not fasting) and regular attendance at Divine Service. It is easy to see that all Von Hügel's difficulties can be traced to his narrow interpretation of the phrase, "The Authority of the Catholic Church." The whole trouble springs from the restriction of the title of "Catholics" to Christians now in communion with the Pope of Rome.

This debasement of the verbal coinage of theology has most unfortunately received the sanction of custom to such an extent that members of the "Uniat" Churches (or Orthodox Christians who have submitted to the Western Patriarch and are in schism with their own) are known as "Greek Catholics" by their own countrymen. Even Orthodox theologians of repute are not always careful to avoid such a meaningless collocation as "the Catholic heresy (e.g., of Papal Infallibility)." Ever since the Great Schism in 1054 A.D., which destroyed the intercommunion of East and West, the "Catholic Church," as understood by Augustine, is but a theological ideal invented by politicians and theologians, and until the re-union of Christendom is accomplished it may exist, *de jure* in Heaven, but has no earthly counterpart *de facto*. In Augustine's time it was different. The great Doctor of the Western Church, writing against the Donatist schism, claiming to be the Only True Church, and yet confined to a corner of Africa, really could appeal from it to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Even Augustine, though, as Dr. Kidd tells us, he uses the word *Catholic* 240 times in his anti-Donatist writings, uses it always of the Church, and never in such combination as "The Catholic Faith" or the Catholic Religion. "The Church is called Catholic in Greek," he said, "because it is diffused throughout the whole world."*

Nothing is more certain than that the Catholic Church, in the sense in which Augustine uses the term, has not existed on earth since 1054 A.D. He would have been astonished at the monopoly of the name by the adherents of one Patriarch out of five, and would have held that nothing short of manifest *apostasy* from the Faith once delivered to the Saints could justify such action. It is true that in a sense all Trinitarian Christians are Catholics, though divided from one another by heresy and schism. But heresy may be repented of and schism healed. Schism is doubtless a work of the Devil and to be shunned as such, but heresy is not a sin in itself, and only becomes so when persisted in against the light, or the Holy Spirit of God speaking through the Church.† Fifty years ago the Church of England was a hot-bed of superstition and all kinds of heresy—verbal

* Καθολική Græce appellatur, quod per totum orbem diffunditur. (Epist. lii. sec. 1). In this connection it may be observed that the eponymous expressions, "Anglo-Catholic" and "Roman-Catholic" are merely gnomic and used for convenience in the present chaotic state of Christendom.

† 1 Cor., xi, 19.

Inspiration of the Bible, Sabbatarianism, Hell Fire for Papists and Infidels (this last an authentic Augustinian doctrine) and others too numerous to mention.

To the Anglo-Catholic of to-day all this is only remembered as a bad dream. The Church of England has not only confessed her past sins, but has brought forth "fruits meet for repentance." At this the Orthodox Churches have rejoiced, and held out to her the right hand of fellowship. Doubtless one of the reasons for this is because they have no such distinction between an *ecclesia docens and obediens* as prevails at Rome. In modern times the leading Orthodox theologians have been mostly lay Professors of Universities—witness Komnenos and Androutsos of Athens—Maltzev, Khomiakov, Glubokovski, Sokolov and Kiréef* (the last a Russian General). Against these names might be put an Allies, a Franzeln, and now a Von Hügel; but we fear the typical Roman Catholic layman is the Frenchman who said "I go to a baker for my bread, a tailor for my clothes, and if I want religion, to the priest."

The conclusion we are bound to come to is a bitter one: At the time of writing we must confess that the position claimed for the Papacy is the most formidable obstacle in the path to re-union. And yet the situation is not quite hopeless. The Roman Catholic Church has quite recently produced a Von Hügel. Mr. Arnold Lunn suggests that the contrast between Anglo-Catholic and Roman-Catholic is only superficial so far as unanimity of belief is concerned. "There is far less freedom of discussion, but perhaps no less freedom of thought, in the Roman than in the Anglican communion," and he looks forward hopefully to the day when decisions, which nobody pretends to be infallible, are reversed by a wiser Church.†

Perhaps the following consideration may be found to contain a crumb of hope. It is just possible that the whole situation may be suddenly altered by a definition delivered *ex cathedra* giving a satisfactory answer to the question, "What is Catholicism?" The Pope who succeeds in doing this will triumphantly vindicate the dogma of Infallibility by a third pronouncement from the Chair of S. Peter.

* Brother of the late Mme. Novikov.

† *Roman Converts*, by Arnold Lunn. (Chap. I, "The Problem Stated.")

THE RÔLE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH DURING THE MONGOL PERIOD.

By SONIA E. HOWE.

NIGH two-hundred-and-twenty years had passed away since the introduction of Christianity into Russia, but even in the middle of the thirteenth century it was still an exotic plant which had not yet become fully acclimatized, and Church historians call these two pre-Mongol periods, the "Period of the Dual Faith;" for the Russian people were heathen in heart and life, though wearing round their necks a small cross as the outward sign of their baptism into the Christian Church. That heathen superstitions and heathen customs still held sway can be deduced from the pastoral letters of the Metropolitan, Cyril III in which he accuses his flock of heathenish life, mentioning in detail various often immoral practices which were a survival of the celebrations of pagan festivals. Russia of those days was not the "Holy Russia" of a later period when, as a result of the Mongol invasion and the subsequent subjugation under a pagan yoke, the nation became welded together with the orthodox Church. Then only did the Christian faith become national and paganism was henceforth identified with the alien oppressor and "paganyi," a word of derision.

It was also about this time that the Church began to exercise a greater influence on private and public life, and that the chief pastors were Russians instead of, as hitherto, Greeks. Thus of the twenty-three Metropolitans, up to the year 1240 only three had been Russian, while seventeen had been Greek and three of unknown origin; this was, however, changed after the Mongol invasion, and, during the next two centuries, there were only three Greeks to seven Russians. During the first Mongol invasion in 1230 a Greek, by the name Joseph, was Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia, but when Batu Khan neared his cathedral town, this hireling fled and sought safety in Greece. Nothing more is known of him except that he never returned; it is assumed that he gave such harrowing descriptions of the horrors to which Russia was exposed, that no Greek was willing to face the danger, and that on this account, the Patriarch of Constantinople waived his right to elect the Metropolitan, declaring his willingness to recognize the candidate chosen by Prince Daniel of Galicia and, at that time, also of Kiev. It was many years before this ecclesi-

astic was consecrated, the reason probably being that everything was in such a state of uncertainty, owing to the strained relations between Batu Khan and the Russian prince of Galicia who held out for a long time against recognizing the supremacy of the Khan, but he was finally forced to give in and, like Alexander Nevski, obliged to visit the Khan at Sarai. After this occurrence, the Metropolitan elect was consecrated in 1272 under the name of Cyril III. Who he was and whence he came has never been recorded, but it is supposed that he was the abbot of a monastery in Galicia and Volhynia.

This able man governed the Church of Russia for thirty years, proving himself a zealous and faithful pastor of his flock. The only records of his activities and of his successors are to be found in the "Zhitiyi," or "Lives," written after their death by contemporaries. These "Zhitiyi" took the place of the "Bylinyi," for the old Russian ideal of the Strong Man as represented by the "Bogatyr," was gradually superseded by a new conception of virtue. The men whose lives stood out like beacons of light in the heavy gloom of the dark centuries, were heroes of a very different status. As their histories were recorded for the moral instructions of the people, to whom they were held up as examples, only the personal life was described. Unfortunately these historians had very little insight as to what would be of interest to future generations and, to quote Professor Golubinski, "had so grievous a habit of silence about all that concerns the Church . . . that it almost makes one weep."

Thus also the Zhitiyi mentions the facts of Cyril's administration but does not give any clue as to the causes or reasons for some of his most important acts, such as, for instance, the summoning of a Church Council which was attended by all the Bishops.

These were evil days for Russia and the Metropolitan spent his time travelling all over the country, diligently visiting his clergy "teaching, reproving and correcting," and exhorting both bishops and clergy to lead a purer and higher life, for their morals were at a terribly low ebb, drunkenness especially being a very common evil.

In order to raise the standard, Cyril laid down stringent conditions for those who wished to enter the priesthood; for the apostolic idea had been forgotten, and it is therefore little wonder that the laity was still sunk in the mire of paganism. It was no easy task to be Russia's spiritual head at this time of transition; also from a material point of view there was much to be done, for, where the Mongols had passed through, churches had been destroyed and the clergy killed. Among these, was the Bishop of Vladimir who was burned alive in his cathedral. In this, he was

an exception, for other bishops threatened with similar danger saved their lives by running away at the approach of the enemy.

When the wave of invasion had subsided, amicable relations were established between the Mongol rulers and the Russian Church in accordance with the injunctions laid down by Ghengis Khan with regard to religious toleration. Thus the religious life of Russia was left free to develop along its own lines and, in 1261, a separate diocese—that of Sarai—was created for the benefit of the numerous Russians who for one reason or another, had settled in the Golden Horde, and also for the Tatars who had accepted Christianity, for proselytizing was not prohibited. The position of the Bishop of Sarai was naturally one of great influence as it was his duty to accompany the Khan wherever he might choose to go. Berka Khan also made use of Bishop Theoganast on three different occasions when he sent him on diplomatic missions to the Emperor of Byzantium. The Metropolitan took advantage of one of these opportunities to put various problems before the Patriarch in Constantinople, for, at this time the form of ritual in the Russian Church had not yet become stereotyped and the Uses differed considerably. The secular priests were invariably Russians of the peasant class, and were not infrequently illiterate, as can be judged by the complaints of a certain bishop, and a few of them could understand the elaborate Greek ritual which had been imported into Russia *in toto*.

That there were many points upon which Cyril himself was not quite clear, is evident from the queries which he sent to Byzantium by the Bishop of Sarai. The questions touched upon concerned such diverse matters as the baptism of heathens, the celebration of the Sacrament, fast days, the shriving of monks, the relations of Bishops to monasteries, and so forth.

In 1279 the Metropolitan Cyril succeeded in receiving from the Khan a "Yarlik" to confirm those rights and privileges automatically awarded by the Tatars to all ecclesiastics, but which, apparently, the Mongol officials in Russia did not respect. This document which was very important on account of the detailed specifications enumerated therein and as the only specimen of a Yarlik still extant, contains the following clauses:—

- (1) The Russian Faith is guaranteed against attack, and insults, and all ecclesiastical possessions and sacerdotal utensils were to be safeguarded against damage and theft.
- (2) The clergy was to be exempt from all tribute, taxation and other fiscal liabilities.
- (3) All immovable ecclesiastical property was to be inviolate, and servants of the Church, as well as labourers, serfs, or peasants working on Church lands, belonging to the Metropolitan or

other dignitaries, were to be exempt from compulsory service for the benefit of the State.

As punishment for the infringement of the first of these guarantees on the part of the Tatar official, he was condemned "to die a grievous death." There are also detailed instructions with regard to the respect due to the ikons and holy books. As to exemption from taxation, the Yarlik runs thus: "As the first Emperors, Ghengis Khan and his heirs, have granted it to priests and monks and all those following a religious life, we confirm that these people are to be exempt from all taxes and tribute and from Yam (postal service), also from contributing horses or food in war-time; neither can duty be exacted from them either by prince or princess, but any infringement of this rule on the part of Russian or Tatar, from the Prince to the toll-gatherer, shall not be excused, but the perpetrator shall die a grievous death, according to the Yassi (order) of Ghengis Khan.

The friendly attitude of the Khans towards Christianity is mainly due to the fact that the pagan, Ghengis Khan, had considered all religions, whether Paganism, Buddhism, Islam or Christianity, possessed the truth in equal measure. For the Christian religion he had a special respect owing to his intimate connection with the Oigures. He had hardly started on his triumphal march through Asia when, on the northern confines of the desert of Gobi, he came across this most interesting nation which he incorporated into his Empire, and his two sons married the nieces of the king of the Oigures whose people were of Turkish origin, but the majority of them professed Christianity which had been brought to them by Nestorian Christians who in the 6th century, had fled into the very heart of Asia because of the fierce persecution then raging in Persia. These Nestorians also bestowed the benefit of education upon the people with whom they soon became one.

When, therefore, Ghengis Khan, whose own people were all illiterate, required educated men to administrate his vast Empire, he found them amongst the Oigures whose Capital, Karakorum, he made his seat of government.

Two at least of the few European travellers to the Court of his immediate successors, have left descriptions of their journeys—the Pope's Legate, Plano Carpini in 1252, and in 1256, Rubruquis, the envoy of the King of France; both tell of the influential positions occupied by Christians, many of whom they found in the entourage of the Khan who permitted them to have their own place of worship, the Nestorian priests being particularly favoured on account of their skill as physicians; Rubruquis relates how the Emperor Octocai even visited the Church on special occasions.

Both Mangu and Kublai Khan were sons of Christian mothers, and so great was their sympathy with Christianity that a report was spread abroad to the effect that they had been baptised.

These traditions of toleration were loyally carried out by the Khans of the Golden Horde and there is reason to believe that they did so voluntarily in the earlier days, when, as pagans, they had no ill-feeling against Christianity, and even continued to do so after the year 1313 when Usbek Khan and his followers accepted Islam. This, however, did not prevent Usbek from marrying a Christian princess—the illegitimate daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, nor from giving his sister in marriage to a Russian prince.

It pleased the vanity of the Khans of the Golden Horde to have the highest Russian ecclesiastics, as well as princes, appearing before them. (1310-1340).

This intercourse with the Mongol rulers conferred great political power upon the Russian ecclesiastics, which they frequently made use of to intercede on behalf of some prince, or to lessen the hardships suffered by their flock at the hand of the exacting tax-gatherer. That two princes died a martyr's death at Sarai is not inconsistent with the general attitude of toleration, as it seems that a famous Russian Church historian even finds a certain amount of justification for the Khan's actions. Michael of Tchernigov and his boyar in 1318 refused to perform the pagan ritual demanded of them before appearing in the presence of the Khan, to whom this refusal was an act of gross intolerance on their part and therefore worthy of death—hence their martyrdom. It speaks ill for the other princes who invariably complied with these demands, with the well-known exception of Alexander Nevski. As to Roman of Ryazan who was fearfully tortured for having derided the faith of the Khan, the generous apologist of the Khan contends that "if the Mongols were threatened with a cruel death for abusing the Christian faith, it is only reasonable to expect the same punishment for one who derides the Moslem faith."

(To be continued).

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE CHURCHES OF EASTERN CHRISTENDOM,
FROM A.D. 451 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By the Rev. B. J. KIDD, D.D.

Faith Press, 1927. 15/-

THE Stuart Restoration in 1660 was followed among Anglicans by a period of widespread interest in Eastern Christianity which was characterized by much effort at intercourse both individual and official between the two Churches. Accordingly, that being a learned age of Anglicanism, it is not surprising that it equipped itself with a copious and, all things considered, very adequate literature whereby the ordinary man could study the Orthodox Church. In illustration, it is necessary only to mention the admirable surveys of T. Smith (1680) and Covel (1722). Again, when in the 'sixties the Sub-tractarians called in the East to redress the balance of the West, thanks especially to the fecund, imaginative and purposeful pen of James Mason Neale, plenty of easily readable and, the lack of first hand contacts being remembered, surprisingly comprehensive and reliable literature was provided for their propaganda. But it is at first sight remarkable, that during the past thirty years, in spite of the great increase among Anglicans of interest in the Orthodox Church and of devotion to the cause of Orthodox-Anglican Reunion, there has been no comparable output of germane literature. Men such as Mr. W. J. Birkbeck and others engaged in active liaison work with the Eastern Churches have from time to time written illuminatingly of particular subjects and happenings and many first-class descriptive books full of atmosphere, such as Stephen Graham's *Russian Pilgrims* or Luke's *Prophets, Priests and Patriarchs*, have been published. But until recently the Anglican bookshelf has been completely destitute of text books on the Orthodox Church and when asked to recommend the ordinary reader or the student what to read, A. & E.C.A. lecturers have been obliged either to tell them that there is nothing available as to Orthodox doctrine, practice or policy, or to bid them read the works of a Roman Catholic author which, though they contain much information, are calculated to imbue the mind of the reader with a misconception of Orthodoxy that will not easily be dissipated. So far at least as the student goes, the need of a text book on Orthodox doctrine was to some

extent removed by Dr. Gavin's *Greek Orthodox Thought* (which was published in 1923 in America), a thoroughly excellent and ample compendium of present-day Greek theology, but a work which, since modern Russian theology is in many ways distinctive and its corpus is rich and often original, can only be regarded as a sectional instalment.

The provision of an Anglican text book on the history and policy of the Orthodox Church remained unattempted until this winter when Dr. Kidd published his *The Churches of Eastern Christendom from 451 A.D. to the Present Time*.

Now to write a good text book even on the limited sphere of Greek Theology was not easy; few men could have enterprised it and Dr. Gavin had equipped himself for the business by some years of study in Athens under Androutsos, Dyovouniotes and other authoritative present-day Greek theologians. It is no depreciation, therefore, of his contribution both to our knowledge and to our movement, to say that to write an up-to-date text book of the history of the whole Orthodox Church is a vastly harder proposition than to write an up-to-date text book of its theology.

The *prima facie* strangeness of the phenomenon that until his and Kidd's works appeared we were without either, is easily explicable by the fact that with the knowledge now available the writing them required very rare qualities of equipment and of intuition. To undertake those tasks in the mid-nineteenth century was not very temerarious just because the Orthodox World was then almost as far away from the Anglican World as is the lunar from the mundane. What had to be done in the 'sixties then was just to record the A B C of the matter as it presented itself to the Anglican visitor to the East. That for which we are crying in existing circumstances is on the one hand an *interpretative* account of Orthodox dynamic theological thought as well as a summary of Orthodox dogmas and theologoumena and on the other hand an *interpretative* history of events and their process which will show just what the Orthodox Church is to-day and how it 'got there.' As has been said above, Dr. Gavin, of course, addressed himself only to a section of the former task and those who use his book cannot remind themselves too firmly of that fact. Moreover, he had at his disposal the many and scientific text books on dogmatics, symbolics, etc.,¹ which have been compiled by the present-day Greek professoriate and he did not undertake to begin at the beginning and to trace the development of modern Greek Orthodox Theology from patristics, but simply to present it as it is to-

¹ It is a pity that we have no translations, *e.g.*, of Androutsos', Dyovouniotes' or Mēlas' works, such as Blackmore gave us of the Russian Greater Catechism in 1841, or Birbeck of Khomiakov in 1895. We Anglicans of to-day are remiss in this matter. Or maybe, our publishers are timid.

day. The writing a history of the Orthodox Church, on the other hand, involved making a start with the primitive Church, the showing how the Orthodox interpret its faith, life and polity, the recording the process, extending, if not over nineteen centuries, at least over sixteen, by which Orthodox faith, life and polity have come to be what they are to-day and the setting out how the Orthodox interpret the development of that process.

Now, though in the past forty years Byzantine research has revolutionized our conception of mediæval Eastern Christendom, it is still in its youth and has done no more as yet than begin to provide material for an exhaustive interpretative study of the history of the Orthodox Church. Indeed, ample though the subject matter for research is, the story of the Orthodox Church in its mediæval period still largely awaits systematic investigation. That fact far more than the protracted labour and study, as also the great intuition required for a synthesis, explains the fact, that as yet, except for some Russian dissertations, the Orthodox themselves have not handled the thesis. Accordingly, Dr. Kidd had not even a model and much less a *magnum opus* on which to base his work. He is thus a pioneer, and as many observers remarked about the Lausanne World Conference, that the great thing is that it happened, so the great thing about his book—fine product though it be—is that it *has* appeared. Now that he has made the beginning, others will certainly follow him and will enter into his labours. Maybe they will recast his ground plan. Assuredly they will fill in many gaps, and will bring out aspects and bring in atmosphere which are absent, or not easily observed in his book. But it will be their starting point.

Meanwhile it will hold the field as the long desiderated and only text-book for Anglicans upon the history of the Orthodox Church, and it is impossible to express the gratitude which we owe him for it.

After allowing for the filling in of the *lacunae* in our knowledge and for the rectifications and elucidations which study of the Byzantine world will bring, the thesis of future interpretative historians of the Orthodox Church may confidently be epitomized in the following terms. From the Conversion of Constantine onwards, the Roman Empire, *i.e.* the Greco-Latin world, conceived itself as Christendom, *i.e.* the Dominion, the Kingdom, of Christ realized here in earth. In that theory Church and State were bilateral as aspects of a monism. That one law, Christ's law, should obtain in every category of life in that Christendom, that the Caesar Augustus *divus* armed with the swords spiritual and temporal was Christ's vicegerent, and its corporate symbol and ruler and that by the theocratic government of its apostolic ministry, the

spiritual life of that all-embracing Church-state was to be safeguarded and developed was the essence of the Œcumenical idea. The problem, therefore, of the successors of Constantine was to make the different racial nationalities of the East and West subordinate themselves to a common consciousness of a supra-nationality, of a citizenship in the divinely constituted Œcumenical Roman Empire.

"The best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley." The most persistent and the strongest force in history is always a bureaucracy, for a bureaucracy is impersonal. It never abandons a tradition, but pursues its secular objective remorselessly and without deviation. Byzantine Christendom took over an incomparable and ancient bureaucracy from Roman heathendom, a bureaucracy which was indurated with the traditional objective of fusing all racial nationalities into a single, all-embracing and transcendental Roman nationality. Charles Diehl and others have already demonstrated how marvellous was that bureaucracy. The business of the final historian of the Orthodox Church will be to write upon its wonderful persistence and efficiency in the pursuit of the objective specified. Though it failed, it came very near success. First, the ancient civilizations, the Syrian, Egyptian and Armenian, refused to be assimilated to the Roman idea, and breaking away into ecclesiastical schism, set up their own Christendom in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. The Latin world followed in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. The Latin world followed in 900 A.D. Charlemagne established a rival Œcumenical Empire in the West. But the Byzantine bureaucracy did not abandon its vision. Up to the final Moslem conquest in 1453 it still continued to look forward to recovering its ancient Eastern dominions from Islam and to bringing back the rest of Christendom to a consciousness of unity in its single, all-embracing and divinely constituted unity; and it laboured unswervingly for the latter by what can only be termed an age-long diplomacy of cultural and ecclesiastical permeation.

The essential idea of the Empire being that it was bilateral, the bishops, clergy and lay ecclesiastical officials of necessity formed the half of its bureaucracy and were its instruments for the welding alike its direct subjects and those outside its immediate rule into the solidarity of its supra-nationality. Membership in its Œcumenical Church carried with it the being in the system of its spiritual hegemony, *i.e.*, of itself. By 1453 the West had been engaged for centuries in the effort to constrain it to conform itself to the Latin theory and system of Christendom which it had evolved. In the East the Copts, Syrians and other monophysites had stereotyped themselves into another and a third rival Christendom. The supra-national consciousness of all Eastern Orthodox Christendom

which had been intensified by those sharp clashes and isolations was in no way impaired on its passing—except for Russia—into complete helotage to Islam. If its Caesar disappeared from its Sacred Palace and its mother Church of St. Sophia was profaned to be a mosque, Constantinople remained New Rome, its symbolic metropolis. Its Patriarch, the Œcumenical Patriarch, became the corporate symbol of that submerged world and the centre of the old bureaucracy of which the ecclesiastical side absorbed the secular. In effect, by placing the administration of the secular life of the Orthodox *rayah* entirely in the hands of the ecclesiastical bureaucracy, the *millet* system which obtained throughout Islam caused them to realize their "Roman" supra-nationality more even than before the catastrophe. No less than the Greeks the Orthodox Slavs, Rumanians, Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians, etc. of the Turkish Empire thought of themselves as *Rumi*, *i.e.*, Romans, citizens of Œcumenical Christendom first, and members of their racial nationality afterwards. Roman and Orthodox were interchangeable designations. Meanwhile, as Russia grew into an organized state, it conceived itself as the Tsardom, *i.e.*, as the *Cæsardom mutatis mutandis* identical with the Œcumenical Empire, and claimed the hope and calling of liberating the homelands of Eastern Christendom. Thus, though he did not style himself Roman, even the Russian came to know himself as *pravoslavnie*, *i.e.*, Orthodox first and Russian afterwards.

Accordingly up to the nineteenth century the whole Orthodox Church was a great factual supra-nationality, the life of which, both in its Turkish and Russian hemispheres, was a secular as well as a spiritual solidarity.

Whatever may be the effect of the fall of the Russian Tsardom upon the Russian mind, the process of modern civilization and the break-up of the Turkish Empire have long changed all that for the rest of the Orthodox World. With the formation of modern states in the Balkans, the concepts of racial and state nationalities have superseded the concepts of "Roman" supra-nationality. Greeks, Rumanians and Slavs have forgotten that they ever called themselves *Rumi*, and autokephalous Churches have been set up to correspond to each of their modern state-nationalities. Even the Syrian and Egyptian Orthodox have begun to think of themselves as Arabs and so on. But though modified and changed, the old solidarity of the Orthodox persists and the whole Orthodox Church is consciously a supra-national Church in the modern sense of the term: *i.e.*, a spiritual and institutional fact which transcends all race and state nationalities.

If to summarize the process by which the Orthodox Church is what it is to-day is easy, to describe that long process is another

matter. Before that can be done adequately there must be recovered the story of each of its particular centuries, of their shaping its theology, of their evolving its policy, of their cultural and secular life and atmosphere, of the reactions of legal, economic and political changes, and—though the East has known no renaissance, no reformation, and no scholastic periods, it has had *zeitgeists* of its own—of their religious dynamic moments, and so on.

So far, as has been said above, much of the material for such work has hardly been examined by other experts and Dr. Kidd, of course, has not attempted the impossible. But what he has done, he has done with distinctive and singular success. He has given us a text-book, very completely documented and worked out, which has had no predecessor, which fulfils our need as far as it is humanly possible to fulfil it and which is likely to remain in sole possession of the field for many years. To produce it he has been at the great labour of resorting to all the material to which he could find access and in the first section of his work, which covers the fixing of the lines of life and thought and of the constitution of Eastern Christendom, and upon which he is an acknowledged authority, he has embodied the results of his own very considerable, fruitful and original investigation. His handling of the later centuries, was necessarily more at secondhand and, therefore, more limited. But as far as it is at present ascertainable, he has given us a good sketch of their main panorama and some on the whole very accurate and adequate, if concise, sketches of the histories of the particular autocephalous Orthodox Churches and of the Monophysites and Nestorians. Moreover, the heavier side of the book is lightened by photographs of the principal Eastern ecclesiastics of the day which are well worth possessing for their own sake, and a lesson in themselves.

No one who desires to study the complex of modern Christianity, let alone that of the Orthodox Church, will be able to do without it.

J.A.D.

THE Russian Ikon by Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, Fellow of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Translated by Ellis H. Minns. Litt.D., F.B.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Corresponding Fellow of the Russian State Academy for the History of Material Culture. *Oxford University Press*. £5 5s. od.

This is extremely interesting as being the first book on the subject in English, and the work of the greatest Russian authority on Byzantine Art.

At the beginning of the century Kondakov formed a Committee for the encouragement of Russian ikon-painting. In the course of clearing away the layers of smoke-darkened varnish and suc-

cessive repaintings from the old ikons, the original brilliant colouring was laid bare, and virtually a new art discovered.

The enthusiasm which resulted among Russian art lovers produced a reaction in Kondakov, so that he might be said to almost undervalue his subject.

The Grecian East was the true home of the ikon. It arose from the custom of placing a panel portrait of martyrs or confessors on their coffins or shrines. This was no new idea, as the ancient Egyptians also used to slip a similar panel under the mummy bands over the face of the mummy.

The Byzantine ikon of the fifth and sixth centuries was the model copied by the Russian ikon-painters. As long ago as the fourteenth century under Greek influence the Russians began to cover the figures with metal showing in more or less relief the folds of garments, etc., leaving faces and hands uncovered.

At the end of the fourteenth century the Italo-Cretan school of ikon-painting arose under Italian influence; this was working from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Italo-Cretan ikons differ from the purely Byzantine by a special softness of touch, being nearer to ordinary painting, dark red and dark brown being the predominating colours.

The fifteenth century produced the schools of Novgorod and Suzdal, a period in which a Russian character was given to the art. The most famous artist was Andrew Rublëv; he created new religious types and brought back life to the Byzantine type; his work was much after the style of Cimabue and Duccio, but more severe, however, he still retained the characteristic strength of the Byzantine style.

At the end of the fifteenth century the range of subjects was extended to include a number of mystical and didactic schemes unknown to Byzantium, the general tendency being towards an exaggeration of tallness and slenderness of bodily proportions, and in colour dark tones gave way to light. The so-called "fused" matter of painting became usual, this consisted in bringing to such a perfection the technique of applying the coats of paint that the broad surfaces and even the small touches of high light and areas of shadow were fused with each other so as to give an enamelled surface.

We now come to the period of the Moscow school, its origin being the Suzdal school, which stood highest from the earliest times in artistic skill. In the sixteenth century the ikon shops of Pskov and Novgorod were transferred to Moscow, so it assimilated the best traditions of these schools, too.

Ikons were now everywhere in favour, encouraged by the nobility and commercial class, and connoisseurs sought for old models by the best masters and took a general interest in the welfare of

ikon-painting. The principal characteristics of the Moscow school were an enlarged stock of ikonographic schemes taking in subjects in favour all over Russia, and elaboration of decoration and colour.

The next school, the Stroganov, some make include all Moscow ikons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Stroganovs were great commercial magnates of North and East Russia and great builders and adorners of Churches; they kept their own workshops for ikon-painting.

In the middle of the seventeenth century decadence began to set in. The age was asking for free representation, but the ikon-painter had not the skill to attain it, and tried to make up for the loss of skill by complicating methods, enrichments and patterns, and excessively detailed drawing.

The close of the seventeenth century is regarded as ending the history of ikon-painting.

The eighteenth century was a period of complete oblivion. In the nineteenth century interest revived owing mainly to an obstinate survival of the art.

Of late ikon-painting has been brought almost to a hopeless position owing to enterprising firms who made tin boxes for blacking, etc., printing in colour on tin plates the better-known types of ikons.

The book is extremely well illustrated with sixty-five plates, four being in colour; there is a Bibliography, notes on inscriptions and lettering, and names of saints, etc. There is also a sketch map of Russia and a summary of Russian History so far as it concerns ikon-painting.

C.F.L.St.G.

The Home of Fadeless Splendour. BY GEORGE NAPIER WHITTINGHAM. With a Preface by Major-General Sir Arthur Wigram Money. 2nd Edition. *Hutchinson and Co.* 10s. 6d.

This is not a new book. Indeed to many visitors to the Holy Land it is an old friend. And to others for whom it has been but an acquaintance this cheaper edition will be welcome as providing an opportunity of greater intimacy.

Mr. Whittingham is a frequent traveller in Palestine and Syria, and he has an alert eye. He writes of people and things with a good deal of knowledge, and describes the most sacred rites of Christendom with enthusiasm and restraint and a very real devotion. The chapters which deal with the Orthodox Church in the Holy Land are informative and reveal the sympathetic understanding of one to whom the *rapprochement* of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches is a living ideal. The book is illustrated by a number of etchings, and the *avant-propos* by Major Tudor Pole is a moving piece

of writing describing a personal experience with the British Army in Palestine in 1917.

In *Prophets, Priests and Patriarchs* (H. C. LUKE, *Faith Press*, 1927, 6s.), the author of "Anatolica," "Mosul and its Minorities," and other books on the Near East, has given us another volume of great charm. Mr. Luke is an accomplished traveller and student, and writes with an ease and attractiveness unhampered by the weight of learning behind them. The present volume deals with such diverse subjects as Easter in Jerusalem, Christmas in Bethlehem, the history of the Old Man of the Mountains, and the pathetic story of the Samaritans, with a description of their Passover. There is a valuable historical sketch of Islam and its more important sects, in which the short account of the Wahabis is of special interest at the present time.

A. & E.C.A. NOTES.

The Revision of the Book of Common Prayer is no doubt an absorbing topic. It is not surprising that it has sucked up a very large proportion of what may be called the "meeting capacity" of English Churchpeople at the present time. But if it is not surprising, it is none the less embarrassing for the work of the Association, of which the continuous and reiterated spread of information must always be a most important part. Will those who have it in their power to arrange meetings or sermons or lantern lectures please bear this in mind and do what they can?

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The General Secretary recently paid a few days' visit to the Isle of Man and spoke at meetings at Douglas and elsewhere. Some new members were secured, and a local branch formed. The programme was admirably arranged by Mr. B. Sargeant, who is well known for his excellent organizing work on behalf of other causes also. He has kindly consented to act as local secretary for A. & E.C.A. in the Island.

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Sunday sermons and a meeting the following day on behalf of the Association have now happily become an annual event at Bournemouth. Thanks to the energy of our local Secretary, Miss Wyvill, this year a special effort was made, and on January 22nd sermons were preached about our work in six of the Bournemouth churches, and the General Secretary addressed a very well attended meeting in St. Stephen's Hall on the 23rd. The meeting was followed by Evensong and Intercession at St. Stephen's, when a number of ikons which had been bought at the meeting were blessed before the purchasers took them home.

The Bishops of Peterborough, Leicester, Portsmouth and Malmesbury have become Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association.

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In co-operation with the A.C.C. Pilgrimage Association the A. & E.C.A. organized a lantern lecture on the Holy Land in the Great Hall of King's College, Strand, on February 16th. Mr. Sidney Dark was in the chair, and the lecturer was Canon Douglas. A large audience thoroughly enjoyed a most interesting and instructive lecture, illustrated by admirable views, many of which were from photographs taken on the recent pilgrimages. The Metropolitan of Thyatira, the Great Archimandrite, and other Orthodox friends were present, and the Metropolitan said a few words at the close. A collection was taken to help the Russian Convent on the Mount of Olives, which suffered so severely from the earthquake last summer. It is gratifying to announce that, although expenses were heavy, a clear £5 was sent to Archbishop Anastassy.

* * * * *

The Association has lost an ardent worker and a most generous supporter by the death of Mrs. Jephson, which occurred at Riverhead in January last. Mrs. Jephson was a lady of wide sympathies and great energy, and she stinted neither time nor effort, nor money, in the furtherance of causes she believed in. Her whole heart was in the development of the Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement*, and the movement will miss her sadly. Her sudden death was a great shock to her many friends, but she died, as she had more than once (and even that morning) expressed the hope that she might die, in the midst of her work and with no long illness. R.I.P.

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One of Mrs. Jephson's last actions on behalf of the A. & E.C.A. was the organization of a most successful meeting at Sevenoaks, on December 5th. The Rural Dean (the Revd. G. F. Bell) presided over a gathering which filled the Lounge of the Hotel, and the General Secretary and Mr. G. F. Feild spoke on the subject of the Russian Church, and in particular of the Russian *émigré* children in France. The immediate outcome was the sum of over £36 for the help of distressed among such children, and before the meeting broke up it appointed a Committee from among those present to consider what further steps could be taken locally. This Committee has since issued an appeal for the Russian *émigré* children and is in touch with the Russian Committee in Paris.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

IT is with feelings of deep thankfulness that we record the restoration to health of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch. After the service of the Holy Passion on Maundy Thursday, and the Consecration of the Chrism, His All-Holiness, excessively fatigued, was obliged to keep to his room. His illness developed into pneumonia, and for some days his condition caused grave anxiety. Notwithstanding the serious nature of his own illness, he sent repeatedly to enquire after the Metropolitan Germanos of Sardis, who was ill at the same time, and with great thoughtfulness sent his own doctor to attend him. His All-Holiness has made a wonderful recovery, upon which we offer him our respectful congratulations.

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In our last Winter Number we commented upon the highly important fact that, after so long and tiresome delay, the Patriarch of Alexandria had at length received his *berat* from the King of Egypt. The event was greeted with the greatest satisfaction by all the Patriarch's friends. Our own Archbishop sent his congratulations in a letter, which, together with the Patriarch's reply, we reproduce below:—

Lambeth Palace, Feb. 3rd, 1928.

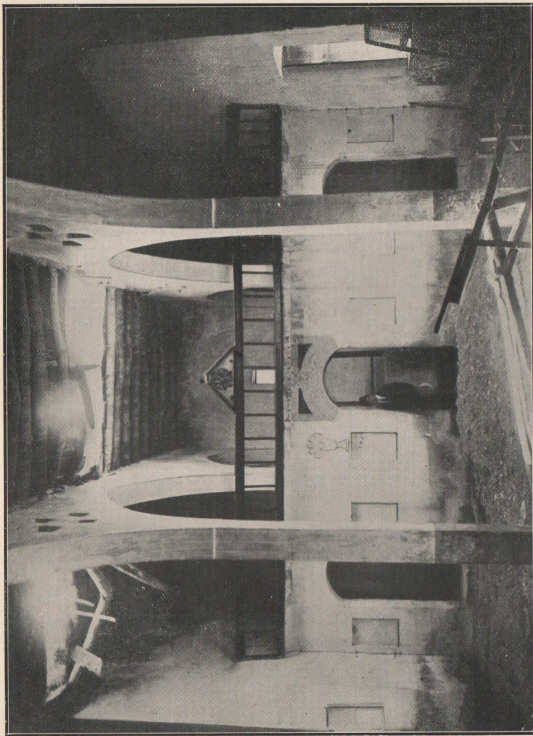
MOST REVD. AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I have the pleasure to assure your All-Holiness of the satisfaction with which I have received the announcement of your recognition by the Egyptian Government as Patriarch of Alexandria and Ecumenical Pope. Such I conceive is the significance of the Berat now given, and I hasten to assure your All-Holiness again of the lively interest which we in England take in all that concerns the well-being of your All-Holiness and the prosperity of the Church over which you preside.

I have the honour to remain,

Your All-Holiness' faithful brother and servant,

RANDALL CANTUAR.



ST. GEORGE'S, BAALBEK, BEFORE ITS RESTORATION. (See page 51).

[Reply.]

TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, THE LORD RANDALL, GREETING IN CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR AND GOD.

The brotherly prayers of your beloved Grace which are so very precious and acceptable, strengthen us for the work of the Gospel with which the Lord has entrusted us. In thanking your Grace, we also in return, at the Jubilee of your Grace's long and glorious pastorate, pray to the chief Shepherd Christ that the shining light which he has set on high to shine and enlighten the pious Anglican people may be preserved for many years unquenched. We follow with genuine and brotherly interest the good fight and the apostolic fortitude of your Grace on behalf of the Church, and we pray Christ the Rewarder that He may direct your steps always unto victory and to the glory of God.

Your Beloved Grace's affectionate brother in Christ,
MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Alexandria, March 24th, 1928.

The Patriarch of Alexandria also sent the following telegram of congratulation to the Archbishop of Canterbury on his 80th birthday

We salute your Grace with much love on the Feast of our Lord's Resurrection. At the same time we rejoice with all our hearts at the 80th anniversary of your birthday, and we pray the Lord of life to multiply your years for the good of your flock and the joy of your friends.

[Reply.]

TO HIS ALL-HOLINESS THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, THE LORD MELETIOS.

MOST HOLY AND BELOVED BROTHER,

With emotion and sincerest gratitude I have received the Paschal greeting which you have sent me on the occasion of my eightieth birthday. I know full well the value of our intercourse with one another, and I appreciate the goodness and courtesy of your All-Holiness in sending frequent blessings.

In reply I can say that we do not forget in our prayers the Great Church over which your All-Holiness presides, and that we pray for a blessing on you and those who labour with you.

With much respect and brotherly greetings, we remain wholly yours,

RANDALL CANTUAR.

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Last March there took place in the Patriarchal Church of St. Sabba the consecration of the Archimandrite Isidore to the newly-created Metropolitanate of Johannesburg and Exarchate of S. Africa. The foundation of this Exarchate with its See at Johannesburg

marks an epoch, not only in the history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, but also in the relations between the Anglican and Eastern Churches, which will thereby be brought into closer contact with one another in that part of the world. We may hope that the same good results will flow from it, in the way of mutual intercourse, as have flowed from the foundation of the similar Exarchate of Western Europe. The consecration (of which a long account is given in *Pantainos* of March 23rd) was performed with great solemnity by the Patriarch of Alexandria, assisted by the Archbishops of the Throne, namely, Leontopolis, Pelusium, Hermopolis, Axum, and also by the Metropolitan, Chrysostom of Kavalla and Keladion of Ptolemaïssin, Palestine, who were on a visit to Alexandria. The Metropolitan of Thyatira, who had just arrived from London, was also present at the consecration, and so too were Bishop Gwynne and the clergy of the Anglican church in Alexandria. The church was filled to overflowing with a devout congregation, who followed the service with close attention, and joined heartily in saluting the newly-ordained Metropolitan with the cry of "Axios." A group of Abyssinian students who were given places on either side of the Beautiful Gates, attracted special attention. After the Gospel the Patriarch handed the pastoral staff to the newly-ordained Metropolitan and delivered a brief address, in which he reminded the new Metropolitan that he was not called to fill a widowed See, but to be the first bishop of a newly-created Metropolitanate, and that on him, on his wisdom, activity, love and faith, depended the character of that Metropolitanate, and that he would need, above all, the charity which beareth all things, and endureth all things. The new Metropolitan, receiving his staff from the Patriarch's hand, ascended the throne and delivered his first pastoral address. After a Liturgy the reception was held in the hall of the Patriarchate, where the newly-ordained Metropolitan received many congratulations from friends and officials, and also telegrams from His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem and many others. At noon the Patriarch gave a banquet in his honour, in which all the bishops of the Throne participated, and the visiting archbishops of Thyatira and Kavala. At this gathering the Patriarch wished success to the new Metropolitan of Johannesburg, and comparing the foundation of the Exarchate of South Africa with that of Western Europe, he said he would consider himself happy if this venture of his justified itself in its results as the foundation of the Orthodox Metropolitanate in London had justified itself. The next day, during the sessions of the Holy Synod, the new Metropolitan was summoned by the Patriarch to take his Synodical seat, the number of members of the Synod being thus raised to seven.

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In connection with the activities of the Orthodox Church in Africa it is interesting to note that *Nea Sion* records the fact that the Archi-

mandrite Nicholas Sarikas, who has settled in Tanganyika, has by his labours succeeded in winning thirty native families to the Orthodox Faith.

* * * * *

During the Orthodox Holy Week a pilgrimage left Alexandria, with the special blessing of the Patriarch, to visit the Holy Places. This pilgrimage was mainly designed for young people. Telegrams were sent before starting to the Metropolitans of Hermopolis, Leontopolis and Pelusium asking for their blessings, and at every village through which the pilgrims passed on their way to embark at Kantara, the Orthodox inhabitants greeted them warmly. At Zagazik they were joined by the Bishop of Leontopolis, who was to lead the pilgrimage at the express wish of the Patriarch. The pilgrims numbered ninety-nine, of which 38 were scouts, 11 seminarists, 8 girls and the remainder were made up of 27 men and 15 women. The pilgrims arrived in the Holy City early on the morning of Holy Tuesday, and marched in order to the Church of the Resurrection, the scouts leading. Having knelt in devotion before the Holy Sepulchre, they were addressed by the Archimandrite Philotheos on the history of the Church and the sacred Sites. This was followed by the singing of a doxology, and a procession was then made round the sacred Sites, after which the pilgrims were conducted to the Patriarchate, where they were warmly received by His Beatitude. The following day the pilgrims went on to the Jordan valley, Jericho, Bethany, etc., in which visit they were joined by the Bishop of Lydda. The pilgrimage remained in Jerusalem over Easter, taking part in all the Good Friday and Easter ceremonies. Before leaving, the pilgrims again visited the Patriarch, who gave with his own hand to each seminarist and scout a cross of mother-of-pearl, his photograph, ikons of the Resurrection and red eggs. The pilgrimage returned home on Easter Tuesday, full of enthusiasm, and with great desire to make the pilgrimage again. (*Pantainos*.)

Two parties of pilgrims from Greece visited Jerusalem in Holy Week. The first, numbering ninety pilgrims, arrived in the Holy City on the same day as the pilgrimage from Alexandria. The second—arranged by the Society of the Holy Sepulchre—numbered 330 persons, and was led by His Grace Chrysanthos, Archbishop of Trebizond. (*Nea Sion*.)

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ST. GEORGE'S, BAALBEK.

(*Communicated by the Rev. C. B. Moss.*)

The Patriarchate of Antioch, where the Disciples were first called Christians, is less known in England than some of the other Orthodox churches: but it is as interesting, and as friendly to the Anglican churches, as any other. Antioch was one of the chief Sees from the

time of the Apostles: it claims St. Peter as its first bishop. Among its later bishops were St. Ignatius, the Apostolic father and martyr, and St. Meletius, who presided at the Second Ecumenical Council. St. John Chrysostom was a priest from Antioch. St. Theodore of Tarsus, fifth Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of the English Church as a single organized body, came from that Patriarchate. Antioch was the home of that school of theologians and biblical scholars who in some respects anticipated the results of modern criticism.

After a very distinguished history, the Patriarchate of Antioch was split by the Monophysite schism in the sixth century. Soon afterwards the Moslems overran Syria, which has been a Mohammedan country ever since. The cathedral of Damascus became the Great Mosque, in which, however, the words "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is a kingdom of all ages" have never been completely erased. In the thirteenth century Antioch was destroyed by an earthquake, and the Orthodox Patriarch went to live in Damascus, which has ever since been the residence of his successors. Towards the end of the seventeenth century there was a dispute about the succession to the patriarchate, and one of the rivals, with about half the people, tempted by the offer of political protection and educational advantages, entered the Roman Communion. This line of succession is represented by the "Melkite" Patriarch of Antioch.

About 1899, the Orthodox Patriarchate, which had been for some generations occupied by Greeks from Constantinople, was taken over by Arabic-speaking Syrians. His Beatitude Gregorius, the present Patriarch, and all his bishops and clergy, are of the same race and language as the laity, and the liturgical language is Arabic. Thus the Patriarchate of Antioch is the only autocephalous Orthodox Church which is entirely Asiatic and Semitic.

In 1924 a party, which visited Jerusalem with the first Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage, proceeded to Damascus under the leadership of the Rev. H. C. Frere, formerly Archdeacon in Syria. The Patriarch received us with the greatest cordiality, permitted us to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in a chapel at the Patriarchate, and hearing that we were to spend Sunday at Baalbek (where the ruined temples, once the largest in the Roman Empire, are world-famous), gave us permission to use the Orthodox church there. We found, however, that the church had been used as a granary by the Turks during the war, and was in ruins, together with the priest's house. But we were able to have our service in the house of an Orthodox layman, with the ikons belonging to the church placed on the temporary altar. On our return to England we raised £100 for the restoration of St. George's, Baalbek. With this help, and money raised locally, the church has now been re-roofed and made fit for use: and the Metropolitan of Zahleh, in whose diocese Baalbek is, has informed us that the church

has been opened, and has promised to allow any Anglican priest to use it, or any other church in the diocese, if he should wish to hold a service there. He also wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, thanking him for the help given by the English Church. The priest's house remains to be rebuilt. The Rev. Harold Buxton, now English chaplain in Cyprus, went to Baalbek last year to report, and on his recommendation £85 out of the £100 needed (in addition to what the people have subscribed themselves) has been raised. We should be very glad if any readers of *The Christian East* would help us to raise the remaining £15, which we have promised to send, in order that the work may be complete, and that the Orthodox community in this famous town, so much frequented by visitors, may have a priest once again to minister to them, a privilege of which they have been deprived since 1918, when the last priest died, and the house fell into ruin.

[*The Editors will gladly acknowledge and forward any donations sent them for this purpose.*]

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The whole world has been moved to the profoundest sympathy with the people of Greece and Bulgaria in the sufferings caused by the disastrous earthquakes which have recently visited those countries. First came the news of widespread ruin in Southern Bulgaria, and the destruction of a large part of the flourishing town of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). According to the *Times* report over 200,000 people were rendered homeless in this part of Bulgaria. A fortnight or so later a similar catastrophe overwhelmed the ancient and beautiful city of Corinth. Some account of this disaster, and the part played in the relief measures by the Archbishop of Corinth, appears elsewhere in these pages. No one can learn of such disasters unmoved; but readers of *The Christian East* will be stirred by more than simple humanitarian feelings as their thoughts go out to the sister Churches of Greece and Bulgaria in the suffering which in the inscrutable providence of God has befallen them.

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In this issue a considerable amount of space has been devoted to extracts from Soviet papers, chiefly *Pravda*, *Krasnaya Gazeta* and *Comsomolskaya Pravda*, translated without added comment. In every case the source of the quotation is given, and the selection has been made not with a view to showing the Bolshevik mentality at its worst, but simply to reveal in its own words its attitude towards religion in this year, 1928. The extracts do not deal with past physical horrors, but with the position occupied by religion in the Soviet view of life. That position remains constant while the Bolshevik reaction to it may vary from crude violence and contemptuous mockery to reasoned argument. It is important to

realize that although the grievous record of physical persecution has latterly diminished, the Bolshevik opinion of religion has not altered, nor the claim of the Russian Church upon our sympathy in her affliction become less insistent. In these extracts which are concerned in the main with the celebration of last Easter will at least be found what the Bolsheviks themselves still say about religion and not what someone else says they say. In the general havoc wrought by the Bolshevik Revolution the beautiful Russian language is no inconspicuous sufferer, and writers in the Soviet papers often make use of a jargon of their own which sometimes requires some elucidation. Thus "Comsomol" is a word composed of the first syllables of the three words of a phrase meaning "Communist League of Youth." "Comsomolets" is a male, and "Comsomolka" a female member of this society; "Comsomoltsi" is the plural and "Comsomolsky" (fem. -skaya) is the corresponding adjective. "Narcompros" and other similar compounds are formed on the same principle; as the Anglican and Eastern Churches' Association might, if so minded, style itself the "Angeastchass"!

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The Living Church (June 16th) writes: "We have learned with pleasure of the Jubilee celebration of the Russian Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Chicago, which took place last Sunday. During the twenty-five years of the Cathedral's life in Chicago its Bishop and congregation have won a valuable place for their Church in the religious life of a great city. Bishop Theophilus, whose see includes jurisdiction over all the Russian Orthodox congregations in the Middle West, has many warm friends among the clergy and laity of our Church, and is deeply interested in all movements looking toward closer relationship between the Anglican and Orthodox communions. To him and his people we extend our congratulations in this time of their celebration.

"Another triumph for the Russian Church in America is the recent court decision at Meriden, Conn., reported in our news columns, by which the Connecticut parishes of this Church are legally confirmed in their allegiance to Metropolitan Platon. It is gratifying to know that Judge Jennings, who gave the Meriden decision, judged the case on its own merits and did not accept as a precedent the New York decision, which deprived Platon of his cathedral.

"The Eastern Orthodox Churches have an important mission to fulfil in helping their people keep their faith during the difficult process of Americanization, and we rejoice that our own Church has the privilege of helping them in this work."

CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY CHRISM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

(The following description of this interesting rite is translated from "Orthodoxia" by Miss M. G. Dampier.)

AFTER a lapse of sixteen whole years (1912-1928)—since the Patriarchate of the ever-memorable Patriarch Joachim III.—the Œcumenical Patriarchate, in order to meet a very serious religious need, celebrated one of the most significant and rarely performed rites of the Orthodox Church. On Holy and Great Thursday (April 12th, 1928) His All-Holiness, the Œcumenical Patriarch Basil III., officiating with the Metropolitans of the Synod and others in the venerable Patriarchal church, consecrated the prepared Chrism—this seal of the gifts of the most Holy Spirit—with the appointed ceremony—for the use of the Orthodox Christian world. An immense crowd of the faithful, belonging to all classes of society, filled the church, the Patriarchal residence, and the precincts, and followed the sacred service with devotion, glorifying God, the Giver of all good gifts. The preparatory work had been attended to by a Synodical Committee appointed some time previously, and consisting of the Metropolitans of Derkos, Sardis, and Prinkipo, with the Great Archimandrite as Secretary. This Committee laid the basis of the whole work, the execution and entire carrying out of which was entrusted subsequently to a Synodically appointed Committee of the Metropolitans of Myra and Laodicea, the Protosyncellus, the Chief Secretary of the Holy Synod, the Great Archdeacon, the Great Archimandrite as corresponding member, and the Director of the Patriarchal Secretariat, Mr. Chrestos Papaioannes. The pharmaceutical Committee was composed under the leadership of Mr. Basil Aimiliades of the following gentlemen:—A. Basileiades, M. Sophroniades, E. Tsolia, A. Stoyiannides, D. Velitzanides, M. Kamaloure, G. Nikolaidēs, and Ant. Basileiades.

Palm Sunday, April 8th. At the Divine Liturgy, which was celebrated by the Protosyncellus Aimilianos, His All-Holiness, who was presiding, conferred, with laying on of hands, the office of Chief Perfumer of the Great Church on the Hon. B. Aimiliades, to whom also he gave the silken towel in accordance with the order of the Ritual.

Holy and Great Monday (i.e., Monday in the Orthodox Holy Week). At the Divine Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified, the above-named pharmacutists, dressed in the white tunics of their ministry, approached His All-Holiness and received the Patriarchal permission and his blessing on the beginning of their work. The Liturgy ended, His All-Holiness, accompanied by the Archbishops of the Synod,

who were in attendance in church, *viz.*, Nicea, Derkos, Neocesarea, Prinkipo, Sardis, Silivria, Heliopolis, and Imbros and the Metropolitans of Christopolis, Stavropolis, Myra and Laodicea went out to the Koubouklion¹ which had been suitably prepared close to the church. Here he was vested by the Great Archdeacon in stole and pall, and began the work with the usual sprinkling with holy water, being served by the Second and Third Deacons. Having then sprinkled the prepared materials and the four cauldrons, he cast into them a quantity of oil, wine, spices and flowers, the deacons meanwhile exclaiming "let us attend." His Holiness then lit the fire under the cauldrons, after which the reading was continued by His Holiness, the Archbishops present and all the clergy of the Patriarchal Court from the Great Protosyncellus to the deacon-in-ordinary. The Archbishops wore stole and pall, the priests the stole, and the deacons the orarion. (deacon's stole). The reading continued till midnight, being carried on by the Patriarchal clergy and by those priests who had been summoned for this purpose from their parishes.

Holy and Great Tuesday, April 10th. After the Divine Liturgy (of the Pre-sanctified) His All-Holiness, who had presided, went again to the Koubouklion, accompanied by the Archbishops of the Synod, by the Metropolitans of Theodoropolis, Christopolis, Myra and Laodicea and all his suite. At the Intercession (Paraklesis) His Holiness commemorated in general all who had made offerings on behalf of the work. His Holiness then threw into the cauldrons again a quantity of spices and flowers, as on the previous day, and the reading of the New Testament was continued far into the night.

Holy and Great Wednesday, April 11th. The Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified being ended, His All-Holiness went again to the Koubouklion accompanied by the Archbishops of the Synod attending the church, the other Metropolitans and all his suite. At the completion of the appointed ceremony His Holiness again commemorated all who had in any way contributed to the work, and then threw into the cauldrons the remaining spices and flowers. He then bestowed on each of the pharmacutists in attendance the gold crosses which had been prepared for this purpose, after which the reading of the New Testament was continued as before, being prolonged far into the night, when the work of boiling (the Chrism) was fully completed.

Holy and Great Thursday, April 12th. After His All-Holiness and the Metropolitans who were concelebrating with him and the clergy and deacons had finished vesting in the great Hall of the Patriarchate, they came down in solemn procession about nine o'clock through the official entrance gate of the Patriarch's residence in the following order: first came the Hexapteriga and the Patriarchal choirs, then followed the priests, with two deacons carrying censers, then the

¹ Canopy.

Bishops¹ in two rows, each holding a vessel of chrism, while the rear of the procession was brought up by His All-Holiness, who was also carrying a little alabaster vessel of chrism.

He was accompanied, as a mark of honour, by the great Protosyncellus Aimilianus and the Chief Secretary of the Holy and Sacred Synod, Maximus, and preceded by the Great Archdeacon Germanos, the second deacon Kallinicos, the third deacon Gregory, and the deacon-in-ordinary Kallinicos. The entire procession having made its way to the sacred Koubouklion, conveyed from thence the alabaster receptacles filled with chrism to the church. The little vessels were placed on the Holy Table and the Table of Prothesis, the larger ones outside the Sanctuary in front of the ikonostas. At the Great Entrance an alabaster vessel of consecrated chrism was carried first by the Archimandrite Philotheus, and an alabaster vessel of chrism not yet consecrated by the Great Syncellus Gabriel. Next followed the large silver vessels borne by the priests, and then the Precious Gifts. At this point His Holiness again commemorated the names of those who had contributed either in kind or in money; His Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios, their Beatitudes the Archbishops Cyril of Cyprus and Chrysostom of Athens, His Beatitude Dionysius of Warsaw, together with their pious flocks, the Metropolitans of the Ecumenical throne and their flocks, as also the members of the (Synodal) Committee and the Pharmacologists' Committee. After the consecration of the Precious Gifts came the blessing and consecration of the Chrism in accordance with the order of the Ritual. There was a densely crowded congregation, amongst whom could be distinguished the Consul-General of Greece, the Vice-Consuls and First Secretary of the Consulate, the priest of the English parish, Mr. Brown, the priest of the Serbian parish, Mr. Kovasevitz, etc. When the Liturgy was ended the vessels were transported solemnly—His All-Holiness leading—by the bishops, priests and pupils of the highest class in the Theological School to the Myrophylakion,² and deposited there under the supervision of the Ecclesiarch Anthimus, and in the presence of the congregation who had accompanied the procession there devoutly. After this the procession returned to the Patriarchal Hall, where the Dismissal was made. By the care of the special Committee the remains of the Chrism were distributed to the faithful in little caskets bearing an alabaster ikon, and the inscription running round, "Residue of the Holy Chrism, 1928," in return for a voluntary sum on behalf of the needs of the venerable Patriarchal Church.

[It will be of interest to add to the foregoing the following simple instruction on the Meaning of the Chrism in the Orthodox Church. It is taken from the Athens Church newspaper "Zoe," some account of which appeared in a former issue of "The Christian East."]

¹ Here follow again the names of all the Bishops and their sees.

THE SACRAMENT OF CHRISM.

(a) THE SEALING WITH THE CHRISM.

Since the effects and results of Holy Baptism are completed and sealed by the second sacrament of the Church which we call Chrism or Holy Myrrh—these two sacraments, Baptism and Chrism, are closely connected and inseparable in our Church—it is necessary at this point to say a few words about the sacrament of Chrism. The Chrism is absolutely indispensable, because the new spiritual and holy life into which man enters by Holy Baptism must be strengthened by a new and divine gift. For this reason the holy Apostles directly after Baptism laid their hands on the baptized and imparted to them the grace and gift of the Holy Spirit, as the holy Evangelist Luke testifies in the Acts of the Apostles (c. VIII, 17 and XIX, 6), and so does the holy Apostle Paul in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, where he writes: "He that stablisheth us with you in Christ, and anointed us, is God; who also sealed us and gave us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." And in the Epistle to the Ephesians he writes: "Ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance" (c. I, 13). Similarly, the holy Fathers of the Church affirm that the baptized was of necessity anointed after baptism. We refer here to the testimony of St. Cyril of Jerusalem: "And to you (he says to the baptized) when you came up from the holy waters of the font, was given an anointing, a copy of the anointing wherewith Christ was anointed." And he adds: "This holy Chrism is no mere anointing, void of worth, nor common, after the invocation, as one might say, but the gift of the Holy Spirit, and becomes active through the presence of His Godhead" (Capt. XXI, 1, 3).

The holy Chrism with which the baptized are anointed is composed of about forty different kinds of oils and spices, which symbolize and figure the different graces of the Holy Spirit. When the Holy Chrism is consecrated—and this consecration takes place on Holy and Great Thursday in the Patriarchate in Constantinople—the Patriarch blessing these materials of which the holy Chrism is constituted, prays God to send down His Holy Spirit and make this Chrism "a royal chrism, a spiritual chrism, a preservative of life, a sanctifying of souls and bodies, an oil of rejoicing, appearing first in the Law, shining forth brilliantly in the New Testament, wherewith they anointed kings and high priests and prophets and all those who through them, and the bishops and priests after them, were born anew through the washing of regeneration." This holy chrism, which is consecrated at the Patriarchate of Constantinople, is sent to all the Orthodox Churches, that the sacrament of Chrism may be administered with it.

(b) THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENT.

The Sacrament of Chrism is administered, as we have remarked

above, together with holy Baptism, and therefore there is one office for the two sacraments. That is to say, after the baptism, after the three-fold immersion in the font, and when the Psalm beginning with the words "Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven" has been sung, the priest reads the prayer of the Chrism. In it he prays the merciful God, the Lord and King of all, "who has been pleased to regenerate Thy newly-enlightened servant through water and Spirit, to grant him also the seal and gift of Thy All-holy, Almighty and Adorable Spirit and the Communion of the holy Body and precious Blood of Thy Christ." Immediately after this he anoints the baptized with the sign of the Cross, on his forehead, eyes, nostrils (on the outside), on his mouth and ears in accordance with the ancient custom ordered by the 2nd and 6th Œcumenical Councils in the 7th and 65th canons, and testified to by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his catechetical lectures. Together with the anointing the priest must say the words, "The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit." These words come from the Second Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians, as we have noticed above, "He that anointed us is God, who also sealed us and gave us the earnest of the Spirit," and are ordered by the same canons of the 2nd and 6th Œcumenical Councils. After these sacraments of Baptism and Chrism the Holy Communion is given for the first time to the newly enlightened, as the writings, which go under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, affirm. "Because," observes Kallinicos, Patriarch of Constantinople, in one of his Canonical Orders, "just as nature, directly the babe is born naturally, prepares milk for his bodily nourishment, so grace, immediately he is born spiritually through baptism, gives him the Divine Communion for spiritual nourishment."

FROM THE SOVIET PRESS.

Krasnaya Gazeta, Thursday, 22nd March, 1928. Petrograd.

THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE COMSOMOL HAS ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PREPARATIONS TO BE MADE FOR THE EASTER HOLIDAY.

(From Moscow by telephone.)

No festive preparations for Easter are to be made in the family; no new dresses, no extra cooking, no shopping; no special Easter food, such as Easter cakes, hams, painted eggs, etc., are to be allowed. The custom of Easter greetings ("Christ is risen") must be abolished. On the eve of Easter, friendly social gatherings which will begin at 9.30 will be organized in all factories and other places of work. The comsomoltsi have also arranged that on this

evening the cinemas should give two additional shows. At midnight cinema pictures, as well as theatricals, and radio concerts, will be given on all the big squares.

Pravda, Thursday, 29th March, 1928. Moscow.

THE ANTI-EASTER CAMPAIGN OF THE COMSOMOL.

In view of the approaching church festival, Easter, the Central Committee of the VLKSM* has proposed that all the local organizations should increase their anti-religious and anti-Easter activity. However, this campaign must not be carried out in the guise of a "Comsomol Easter," because the mass of the workmen and labouring young people might get the false idea that the Comsomol wants to establish a separate kind of Soviet Easter.

The anti-Easter propaganda must be centred in the club and in the reading-room. It would be well to open just for this time different kinds of competitions: for the best harmonium-player, the best story-teller, the best dancer; to organize chess competitions; competitions of physical culture; archery meetings, etc. In the large cities it would be well to organize on Easter-night fireworks, etc.

In the villages the festival of Easter may be contrasted with the festival of the "First Ploughing." All local cultured elements (teachers, agricultural agents, doctors, etc.) must take part in the anti-Easter campaign. Out-of-door demonstrations of gramophone anti-religious songs may also be organized.

Comsomolskaya Pravda, Friday, April, 1928. Moscow.

THERE WILL BE NO MORE CHRISTMAS AND EASTER HOLIDAYS.

SCHOOL HOLIDAYS ARE GOING TO BE GIVEN AT ANOTHER TIME.

It is planned to introduce, as an experiment, a new organization of the school year in the cities. Similar to the school period of Western Europe, it will last for 215 to 220 days. The time of the holidays will also be changed. Up to the present time we have kept to the old traditions; holidays have been given during the Christmas and Easter Seasons. But there are no valid reasons for continuing these harmful traditions in the future. The Narcompros considers that it is best to give a long period of vacation during the summer months. In view of this the school year will be divided in the following manner:

The school year will begin between the 16th of August and the 1st of September, according to local conditions. The first term will last till the 6th of November (67-83 school days). The 7th of

* All-Russian Leninist Comsomol.

October is the day of the October Revolution. From the 8th to the 15th there will be eight days of rest. The second term will last from November 16th to the 29th of January (56 school days). The end of the term is fixed so as to have a holiday on the day of Lenin's death. The vacation will last from the 23rd January (the 21st and 22nd of January are the anniversary days) till the 31st of January (nine days). The third term will last from the 1st of February till the 23rd of April, *i.e.*, 84 days. During this term there will be a short period of holiday-anniversaries of the February Revolution and of the Paris Commune—12th to 18th of March. After the third term a vacation of ten days will be given—from the 25th of April to the 6th of May.

The fourth term will last from the 15th of May to the 20th of June (32 to 45 school days).

The school year will close according to local conditions between the 15th and 30th of June. The summer holidays will last till the 16th or 31st of August.

This new division of holidays gives us the possibility of increasing the number of school days to 220 or 221 days. For the first-grade schools and the younger groups of the second-grade schools it has been thought well to shorten the school period by ten to fifteen days, closing the school some fifteen days earlier.

Experience in many model schools (in Moscow, Sviordlovsk, Riazan) and in the immense majority of new schools (Novozybkoff Pskoff) has proved that this new arrangement has many advantages. The children are much less tired towards the end of each school term, and the child remains fit nearly to the end of the school year.

Cosmolskaya Pravda, Friday, 30th March, 1928. Moscow.

ANTI-EASTER, ANTI-RELIGIOUS WORK.

THE AIMS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

The aims of the educational revolution, which have been so clearly set forth by the XVth Party Congress, cannot be carried out without a struggle against religious influences, and without a prolonged period of work for the eradication of religious prejudices and the breaking down of traditions and rites established by the Church (Confession, Easter salutations, Communion, etc.). Therefore the fundamental aim of the anti-Easter and anti-religious campaign must be the explanation of the aims of the educational revolution, of the necessity of fighting against religion, which acts like a brake hindering the educational progress of the masses and the socialistic up-building of the country.

Besides this the contents of our propaganda work must be centred round the following fundamental ideas:

(a) Revealing the counter-revolutionary part played by all religious organizations, both those of the Orthodox Church and of the sects.

They are all instruments of political influence over the masses, wielded by the remnants of the former dominating classes and by the rich peasants and the Nep Men. These are upheld by the international bourgeoisie (Note the help given by the Baptists, by Rockefeller, etc.).

(b) The working masses of the USSR must be made to know the reactionary activity of all religious organizations in capitalistic countries; the aid they give to bourgeois governments in their struggle against the proletarian movement; the calumnies they spread regarding the USSR.

At the same time we must inform them of the widespread proletarian godless movement in the capitalistic states; we must form one strong front of the Godless in all countries.

(c) New members must be drawn into the Association of the Godless, the organization must be strengthened and the active participation of the consomol in this work encouraged. Reports of this work must be read in the consomol groups.

In the villages the anti-religious work will begin by an explanation of the true meaning of rites and traditions; it must be explained that the measures adopted by Soviet authorities and by the Party are the result of scientific and technical progress, and that they alone will help the up-building and improvement of agriculture; that religion, the Church and all its rites only hinder this. . . .

THE THEMES TO BE CHOSEN FOR THE ANTI-EASTER SPEECHES FOR THE CITIES.

(1) Educational revolution and the Easter festival. (2) How the work of the Godless is carried on abroad. (3) The class character of the activity of the sectarians. (4) Youth, culture and religion. (5) Does religion prevent the establishment of culture and in what manner? (6) Can Christ be looked upon as a Communist? (7) The Easter cakes and May Day pies. (8) Is the Church like the theatre?

FOR THE VILLAGES THE FOLLOWING NATURAL-SCIENCE THEMES MAY ALSO BE SUITABLE.

(1) Easter or the Festival of the Plough. (2) The struggle for culture in the village and religion. (3) Is the resurrection from the dead possible? Can Godlessness be useful? (4) Health and religion. The origin of Easter. (5) The origin of fasting. Why and for whom is it useful? (6) Does religion improve agriculture? (7) Where does man go after death? (8) For socialists in the clubs the Anti-religious Collection may be of use. It has been published for

the anti-Easter campaign by the Central Soviet of the Godless Association. Material for theatricals in the reading-room huts will be found in this collection.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, Saturday, 14th April, 1928. Moscow.

THE ATTACK OF THE SECTARIANS.

There are seventeen different sects in Siberia.

The most powerful one is that of the Baptists. They have their own women organizations, boys' and girls' leaders, and propaganda agents.

It is interesting to note that in the soap factory in Novosibirsk the Baptists were daring enough to lead an open struggle with the workmen-Communists. The engineer and the foreman are Baptists. They give precedence to members of their sect and set aside the Communists; they know how to gain influence over the workmen: "Enter our sect and you will get a better position and better salary."

In the village of Bobrovka, in the Tomsk region, the Baptists literally got all the schools into their own hands. They often give sweets to all the school children, who can repeat the prayers well. . . .

The Baptists organize all kinds of socials; harvest festivals, free dinners and talks, during which a band plays. They have 134 choirs with 2,500 choristers. To strengthen their communities, the Baptists have worked out a plan of changing their leaders from place to place. In the Nijnykargaisky region the Baptists drove from place to place to win the peasants. If the village soviet did not give them permission to hold a meeting, they did so privately in the huts of the richer peasants and preached there.

. . . The Tikhonians in Oiratil have grown exceedingly daring. During the past summer they christened 400 local residents; among this number one was christened by force. In the village of Aul the Tikhonians by force hung little crosses around the necks of the comsomoltsi.

Comsomolskaya Pravda, Friday, 20th April, 1928. Moscow.

A HOLIDAY DUEL.

The best member of the Association of the Godless in Tula was the weather. It quite spoilt Easter for all the priests, it destroyed religious procession. Just on Easter Eve did it break loose. Tula was covered with snow and sleet and there was a high wind. The whole of Saturday a snow-storm raged in Tula and during the night an icy rain-shower demolished all the Easter cakes. . . . They have 20 churches; we have 23 clubs. Our clubs were crowded; not less

than 10,000 did we draw away from them. Till five o'clock in the morning our rooms were crowded; they finished all at two o'clock. We have spoilt Easter for them.

The comsomol was overjoyed, the provincial committee also. But when they took a look into the cathedral they just gasped. The adult workmen from the sugar factory and the rifle factory were all there. The adult population did not go to the clubs; it all went to church.

Tula was divided between the church and the club. This was the end of the duel.

We must make some deductions. It will not take us much time. The Church and the Comsomol and the Party were making preparations for Easter.

This Easter the Comsomol won the day with youth. But the greater part of the adult population went to church. We have not known in Tula how to attract the workmen and the workmen of the Tula metallurgical factories to our clubs.

S.V.

Pravda, 20th April, 1928, Friday.

THE NEW MAN.

(During the Legislative Assembly of the Society against Alcoholism.)

. . . Bukharin says: We are not speaking here of an abstract virtue: "Whether it is good to drink?" Alcoholism is a terrible danger for the whole of the socialistic up-building. The growing consumption of alcohol testifies to the truth of these words. In 1923-24 the population of the USSR drank 800,000 vedros of vodka; in 1924-25, 4,100,000 vedros; in 1925-26, the figure was of 20,000,000 vedros; and the year 1926-27, has given the figure of 31,500,000 vedros of vodka. In 1926, more than a milliard of roubles has been drunk. We cannot console ourselves with the fact that abroad, in England, for instance, they drink still more, for the sum there reaches three milliards. In some of the industrial enterprises the sum spent on drink is about 14 per cent. of the wages. (factory of Gyssia-Krustalnoi), and sometimes even 17 per cent. (the Factory Iakhrom of the Dmitreff District). In the Goznak 77 per cent. of the workmen drink; 50 per cent. of them drink regularly, and 36 per cent. get drunk.

Even from the point of view only of health we see how terribly harmful this is for the working force of the country. Alcoholism undermines the power of the labour class and, therefore, it undermines national welfare. Bad work, a low standard of productiveness, irregularity—are all the followers of drink. Alcoholism takes possession even of women and of children. Many villages prove

clearly how close the connection between alcoholism and crime is. Drink often results in an alliance between some of our members and our class-foes. Alcoholism is a great evil for our party. We must give a decisive blow to all who spread it.

Bukharin enjoins all the Comsomoltsi to wage an energetic struggle against drunkenness which is filtering into the ranks of the Comsomol. The Comsomol must struggle to form sober men out of the labouring youth. The sectarians build up their teaching by trying to spread sobriety.

"Our struggle against the 'Green Serpent' must be waged in the name of the 'New Man,'" says Bukharin. "We must form groups of sober workmen and peasants. Proletarian public opinion must organize a struggle against alcoholism. Let us try and smother this evil. More hands must take part in this work. A common effort will vanquish the enemy."

Comsomolskaya Pravda, Tuesday, 10th April, 1928. Moscow.

THE NEST OF BLACK RAVENS.

Sergiev lies seventy kilometres from Moscow. In the centre of the town we see the immense, formerly famous monastery—the Troitza-Sergievskaya Lavra. For many centuries this monastery was one of the bulwarks of religion and of Russian monarchism.

THE PROPAGANDA-PREACHER, FATHER NIKON.

It was not in vain that this learned monk was honoured with the warm love of Nicolas II. In the course of a few years the monastery published 140 million copies of different books and booklets; 140 million books, *i.e.*, one book per individual in Russia.

THE REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE.

The Lavra's existence was at an end. All over the country the dictatorship of the proletariat has pronounced judgment against the monasteries.

The monasteries are no more centres of propaganda preaching; they have been transformed into museums, established to preach against God. Many excursions come to visit them.

The leader of these excursions, a member of the administration of the museum, Baron von Dervize, is himself a believer. We expressed our astonishment that the museum was not preaching against religion. He replied that it was his business only to preach against monasteries, *i.e.*, against the monastic order of things. But during all our visit the Baron did not once express himself as being against the monastery. The walls of the museum are hung with portraits of emperors and empresses. . . .

BEHIND THE WALLS OF THE MONASTERY

Till September of last year our comrades had organized no anti-religious propaganda in the town. Even now it is carried on in a very lax manner. But the nine churches in the small town, inhabited by industrials and railway-line employees, work most energetically. The Evangelicals and the Baptists help the priests. It is characteristic that the very next day after the plan for an anti-religious Christmas had been drawn up by the District Committee of the Communist Party, the priests assembled and worked out their own programme in contrast to it.

This programme the priests carried out, so to say, in a hundred per cent. manner. First of all they began by naming in their prayers to God the Soviet Government; secondly, they organized brilliant fireworks; thirdly, they decided that the churches would work by turns. The last church service began at one in the night.

The Evangelists have grown impertinently self-assured. One of the brethren proclaimed in a loud voice during the meeting of the Evangelists:

"The Gospel has lived through the time of Herod, it will also live through Soviet authority. God will chastise everybody who persecutes religion." When we tried to find out what hidden springs were helping the priests and the sectarians in their propaganda we discovered something most unexpected. It appears that all the members of the Church Soviets have been deprived by Soviet authority from the right of voting.

Is it possible that the priests themselves and the small shop-keepers could organize such a burning activity; an activity which seems peaceful only at first sight? Of course not. We give a list of the active members of the Sergievo churches: Bianin—former police colonel, two former Princesses Shakhovskiy, Prince Trubetzkoy, Princess Gagarine, Baroness Linengrun, former Governor Tikhomiroff, Prince Meshtchersky, Count Olsufieff, Glagoleff, Professor of the Theological Academy; two other professors; Sokoloff, former policeman; Ankin and Zaitzeff, former factory owners, next follow lawyers, second-hand shop-keepers, owners of houses; Zaretzkaya, a former member of the "Association of the Russian People dedicated to the Archangel Michael," chemists, merchants, etc. The pioneers can well get frightened on reading this list, and the Moscow "White-guard" members can well be somewhat envious of their comrades who have known how to find such good work in the country of the Soviets and so near Moscow.

Seven princes, one count, eleven members of the gentry, etc.

They are all-out inveterate class-foes, who have by some miracle remained in the USSR. In the midst of such people you feel as if you were in White-guard quarters.

Look of the police-officer Bianin. Our old revolutionaries are well acquainted with his views. He is now working as a bookkeeper and as a member of the Educational Committee (!!!) of an industrial *artel*. Anyone can easily imagine what kind of work the former police-officer will do. It were better to remain quite without education. We shall manage without it. This group of "former" men have found refuge near the monastery—this bulwark of black reaction.

Of course, there is such a group of religious workers, when they receive help from the Theologian Florensky, author of the book, *The Pillar and the Stronghold of Truth*. This work among the small industrials, the railway employees, and a few thousand peasants is well organized.

The merchants and police-officers act; the professors of theology and the princes direct their activity.

WHERE ARE ALL THE MONKS AND NUNS?

Officially, they are supposed to be sent away. But how is it in real life? In Khotkovo the nuns have opened an embroidery workshop. There are over a hundred there. They have taken possession of the cathedral, and are now living next door to the Children's Home of Krupskaya. The children often speak with them and swear when they speak against the godless.

More than 120 monks have organized an agricultural *artel* eight miles from the town. Not long ago, one of the members of this *artel* took the cowl. This monastery is named "Paraclete," and is directed by Father Israel. The monks of the Paraclete keep up a correspondence with the monks who are exiled to distant regions for their counter-revolutionary activity.

In the uniforms of our museum keepers or as members of educational committees our foes who had been beaten ten years ago are still living and working. Being well aware of the strength and exactitude of the fist of the dictatorship, they are now working to the sound of the Sergievo bells on the ideological front.

M. PUTILOVSKY.

Krasnaya Gazeta, Saturday, 21st April, 1928. Leningrad.

THERE SHALL BE NO CHURCH.

Vladimir. The permission given by the authorities for building a church in the factory, "The Communistic Vanguard," has been annulled at the demand of the Vladimir workmen. All persons who have had anything to do with the permission granted will have to answer for their actions before a tribunal.

Pravda, Sunday, 22nd April, 1928. Moscow.

THE 22ND APRIL, 1928.

To-day is the anniversary of the birthday of Lenin (22nd April, 1870). Involuntarily every Bolshevnik thinks of the historical and world significance of this date. . . .

. . . From the first steps in the existence of the Soviet State, in the midst of the hardships and destruction of civil war, Lenin proclaimed the chief obligatory slogans without which the victory of socialism cannot be imagined:

Discipline and self-discipline. Organization. Order. Efficiency. Systematic co-operation of all the National forces. Accounting for everything; strict accounting and control. Control of industry and of the distribution of products. Learn from your class foe. Organize the newest type of mechanized industry.

These thoughts, these slogans of Lenin are described in detail, and are constantly repeated in the article: "The Current Problems of Soviet Authority." He adds a series of new ones to them:

Keep an exact and conscientious account of money. Be economical in your household. Do not steal.

Be severely disciplined in your work. These slogans had been quite justly ridiculed by the revolutionary proletarians at a time when the bourgeoisie tried to strengthen its own dominion by them, when it was a class of oppression. But now that the bourgeoisie has been overthrown they have grown to be the chief and necessary slogans of the moment.

Pravda, Wednesday, 18th April, 1928. Moscow.

THE ANTI-EASTER CARNIVAL IN LENINGRAD.

. . . Seven thousand boys and girls of the Comsomol and of the workmen packed cram-full the academic theatres, the circus; thousands of the adult workmen swarmed into the open doors of the cinemas; they took their wives and children with them.

During this cold, windy night, all the educational institutions of Leningrad waged a fierce battle against century-old traditions, against popular customs, against religious prejudices. Every factory club, every educational house offered something original, new and interesting, as a contrast to the church bells and the religious processions.

The "House of Culture" of the Moscow-Narva region was literally a-bubbling with hearty merriment. In the immense theatre hall, music and plays followed each other in succession. On every storey, in all the halls, rooms and corridors, the sound of bands could be heard; the young people were dancing, playing, mischief-making.

Here we find the so-called "Holy Panopticum," the gallery of miracles, riddles, a political lottery, an anti-religious market, etc.

The metallurgic plant, named after Stalin, made itself merry over the "Pretender" to the Russian throne. The play given in the academic theatre, "The Rails Sing Their Song," was a hundred times interrupted by bursts of applause. On the square of Turgenieff, the comsomoltsi danced on the pavement to the sound of an amplifier; the scene was lighted up by torches.

At six o'clock on Easter morning the city was as noisy as it usually is at mid-day. Groups and whole columns were winding their way home from the clubs, the socials and the street spectacles; they were returning with songs, guitars, and even bands along the streets, now lighted up by the first rays of the sun.

The church-goers were returning in silence with their Easter cakes wrapped up in white napkins.

S. B-off.

Comsomolskaya Pravda, Saturday, 7th April, 1928. Moscow.

FOUR MILLIONS OF PRIESTLY BOOKLETS AGAINST TEN THOUSANDS OF GODLESS ONES.

Kharkoff, 6th. At the end of April the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Association of the Godless will take place. The Ukraine has about 30,000 members. The Conference will discuss the measures to be taken to strengthen anti-religious propaganda in the Ukraine.

All is not well on the Ukrainian anti-religious front. The Church members are leading an attack along the whole front. In 1926 there were 6 Church journals in the Ukraine, now there are 11, printed in about 33,000 copies.

In contrast to this religious literature the anti-religious front has only one journal, the "Biezvirnik," printed in 6,000 copies. Besides this, the circulation of the anti-religious press has dwindled from 85,000 last year to 10,000 this year. The Church members have, on the other hand, during the last two years published 77 books and booklets in 3,849,000 copies. Above this, immense quantities of religious books, prayer books, etc., are received from abroad. According to the information given by the Glavlita (Central Literature Section), a million copies of such publications have been introduced into the Ukraine.

In their books and booklets the Church members make use of everything. They even pervert the words of Lenin. All the somewhat doubtful similes in the poetry of Blok, Shevchenko, Tykhin and Franko are also made use of. The religious journals have a section of charades, riddles, etc., a musical section, practical advice in questions of hygiene and in household questions, etc.

Krasnaya Gazeta, Tuesday, 3rd April, 1928.

CHILDREN WHO HAVE HAD NO CHILDHOOD.

(From the materials of the 3rd City Conference of the Society "The Friend of the Children.")

The more cultured the country the better it cares for its children, the more attention does it pay them, and the more it spends on them.

In 1924 the State had assigned 2,450,000 roubles for the liquidation of the children's homelessness; in 1928 the sum was 7,450,000 roubles.

In 1921-23 there were many million homeless children wandering all over the highways of the SSSR. In 1925 there was an army of 125,000 homeless; in 1927 this army had dwindled to 70,000; and in 1928 there are only about 30-35,000 homeless children.

The fundamental group of 35,000 are lads and girls—one of the sad results of famine and wars; but 50% of the younger ones are homeless as the result of still sadder conflicts—that of the environment of the children and their demands for culture. This conflict is as pronounced as the conflict between a varnished motor-car and a peasant cart turned over by a frightened horse.

During these years the child has grown. His experience has become enriched at the same time as the experience of the working class. The child wants to become a pioneer, to study, not to believe in God; but the family lives in the old manner, according to the "Domostroy." As a result we see the conflict, flight from home; this adds one more to the number of the homeless, one more beggar asking for a penny. Do not give them this penny! The penny only demoralizes the child. These pennies keep the child in the street; sometimes they give him some bread, but more often they give him vodka. These pennies fetter the child to the street: "I can get as much as two roubles a day by begging, and I am free; do you think I'll consent to live in your Children's Home?" say the homeless children. In 1924 25% of the children ran away from the Children's Home. In Leningrad at present 15% is looked upon as quite a normal number to run away.

Yet a word about these pennies. Not long ago a woman with two babies was taken up for begging near Leningrad. It appeared that she had hired these babies for 20 roubles for six months.

This shows us that we must struggle against begging and against homelessness, but not by being "kind" in the streets, not by pity, not by pennies.

These eternal travellers wander from place to place, in trains, on steamers, on the roofs of the cars or on the buffers between them; on foot 35,000 wander in this manner.

Perhaps a certain province will decide to open a campaign against

them; night raids will be organized to catch them all, they will be cleaned up and taken into the Children's Homes, the registering offices, the isolated rooms. And in a few days, from the north and from the south, from all sides, new regiments of them will crawl in. Sometimes it is even worse. The agent of the GPU just sends them on from one station to another. What are we to do with them? Shall we send them still farther? Perhaps there they will take charge of them. But the station to which they are sent often sends them back.

This work demands unity of action.

75% of the children in the Children's Homes want to be qualified workmen. This is a hopeful symptom, and much is being done to realise their desire. In Leningrad an immense majority of the children who have passed through the Children's Homes are working in different industries. Some have entered professional technical schools, and only 3% have returned to the streets. The children will be able to find a living under the sun. But the decrease of the number of the homeless, the improvement of the work in the Children's Homes, the transformation of the homeless child into an industrial workman—is not a reason for thinking that we have done enough. We must think of the reserve army of homeless children constantly filling its ranks.

The year 1929 must not find a single homeless child in the streets. All social forces—the professional associations, the comsomol, the press, and the masses—must be enlisted in this work.

The concrete measures to be taken in Leningrad are the following: To organize children's rooms; to organize courses of instruction; greatly to increase the number of playgrounds; to throw more light on the work that ought to be undertaken in the factories and the plants during the free time given for dinner; and to organize near the children's night-homes a place where they could spend the day.

Comsomolskaya Pravda, Wednesday, 18th April, 1928. Moscow.
(Editorial article, front page.)

WHEREOF DO THE CHURCH BELLS SPEAK?

The Easter church bells are still ringing on earth, but it is no joyful or triumphant song for the churches or for the soldiers of Christ that they are singing.

Religion wanted to improve its position during the Easter days; for the godless revolutionary years have brought much havoc. Religion was preparing for a battle. The church members were eagerly preparing a widespread Easter campaign. The preparations for it were many-sided; many booklets and invitations were sent out. These preparations of the Church once more showed that it is an organized foe. (We do not take this side of religion enough into consideration.)

Anti-religious public opinion, and first of all the comsomol, also prepared for battle. We also prepared a widespread programme in opposition to the campaign of the Church members. A wide educational network was made use of by us: theatres, cinemas, clubs, museums, etc. Compared to the Christmas period, we have made fewer mistakes this time. Educational weapons were our preparations for battle. And now, counting up the results of the anti-Easter campaign, we may say that the victory remained on our side, on the side of the godless. The Church members have retained their former ranks (it is true that these are very considerable). But the Godless have won many thousands to their side.

The churches were full, but still fuller were the theatres, the cinemas, and the clubs. In Moscow, in the central theatres alone, there were 25,000 people on Easter night; and there were 60,000 in the commercial cinemas. Immense masses of the labouring classes spent this night in the workmen's clubs, thereby clearly stating their negative attitude towards "pious" preaching and church bells. Of particular importance for the anti-Easter campaign have been the workmen's clubs. By a clever and lively organization of social evenings they attracted Easter-night wide circles of youths and workmen. They were the strongholds of proletarian anti-religious social opinion and of the new social order; they repelled the attack of the Church. This is the reason why the church bells do not sound like a triumphant march for the Church. They can only remind it of a lost battle.

But we should be very blind and boastful if we thought our victory was final. We have only repulsed an attack of the Church members; we have had a victory on one point of the war between religion and godlessness. And even during this attack there have been several important breaches made in our anti-religious front. Old slackness and absence of method have made themselves felt. It is harmful and not well to lay too great a stress on our victory of the Easter days. Its importance is all the smaller because the anti-religious campaign has been nearly solely directed towards the city and the workmen's centres; the villages have scarcely been touched. In the villages where superstition and ignorance have created a citadel for religion, the Easter bells sound more triumphantly than they do in the city and workmen's centres. The anti-religious city has not come to the aid of the village; therefore the latter has remained almost exclusively under the influence of religion during the Easter days. Therein lies the chief failure of the last anti-religious campaign.

The second mistake has been that we have limited ourselves to repulsing religious feeling; we have drawn the labourers away from the Church, but we have left nearly intact traditional religious customs. The workmen's clubs have known how to evoke the interest of the labourers only for a short time—during the Easter-night. But all the other days of the Easter season have been spent in the

traditional manner of over-eating and drinking. Such a one-sided activity of the anti-religious campaign has resulted in long lists of wounded and hurt, in much drunkenness, and in many days of refusal to work. In some industrial enterprises about 20 % have not shown up. We have driven back the direct attack of religion; but we have failed against its side moves. Through the customs of everyday life; through old-worn rites, religion, which was beaten in the direct attack, has tried—and successfully—to revenge itself. The mistakes of the anti-religious campaign must be a good lesson for us. They must teach us how to carry on the anti-religious campaign not by fits and starts, but widely, including the village, reaching all the great masses of the labouring people. If we shall learn to work in this manner, then the struggle against the religious poison will be definitely settled, and settled in our favour.

Krasnaya Gazeta, Thursday, 19th April, 1928.

MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN LENINGRAD.

For the months of January–March there have been 6,896 marriages and 5,007 divorces in the six ZAGS (Government Registry Offices) of Leningrad. The statistics for the separate section are as follows: In the Central Section: 2,235 marriages and 1,522 divorces; in the Vyborg Section: 650 marriages and 525 divorces; in the Petrograd Section: 956 marriages and 746 divorces; in the Vassilli Ostrov Section: 722 marriages and 471 divorces; in the Volodarsky Section: 944 marriages and 655 divorces; and in the most “unfaithful” section, in that of the Moscovski-Narvski, there were 1,389 marriages and 1,078 divorces.

The following incident has taken place in the Vassilli Ostrov ZAGS. A certain citizen, Okuneff, was four times married to the same citizeness, and divorced her four times. At the time of the last divorce (12th April) both the parties spoke of the possibility of registering their marriage for a fifth time.

Comsomołskaya Pravda, Friday, 13th April, 1928. Moscow.

AN IKON IN THE FAMILY OF A COMSOMOLES.

The atmosphere of peace surrounding us has laid its stamp on all our work and activity. We have grown much more quiet and passive than we were a few years ago. On some points our attention has become less keen (for instance, the case of Shakhtin); our struggle against our class-foes has become less acute.

After the stormy campaign of the “Assault of Heaven” our Comsomoltsi have somehow weakened their anti-religious propaganda and have grown used to complying with all kinds of religious ceremonies practised by their families.

We shall quote a most characteristic fact. In the village Shuiski, in the Viazemsky district of the Smolensk Province, there is an active member of the Comsomol, a certain Nicolas Semenov.

Semenov is master of his own house, where he lives together with his wife. The reasons for his eradicating all traces of religion in his family are 100 %.

But it appears that in the corner of his room there is an immense, new, beautifully-cleaned (by his wife) ikon.

If you ask him the cause of this he will answer: “Well, you see, my wife likes it . . . and my neighbours are religious. It is awkward not to have it . . .”

So here again we stand before a compromise between the new and the old order. I think that the arguments of comrade Alexandroff are false when he says that “in eating the Easter cakes and Easter bread we do not get more believing; therefore why should we not eat if everybody in the family eats them?”

Such a standpoint quite takes away the importance of the comsomolts as member of the vanguard of the new life; it is a proof of cowardice (mamas and papas may be displeased); it is a repetition of the old song in the old dilapidated psalter book.

RUSSIAN TYPES OF DEVOTION.

BY PROF. N. ARSENEV.

THE study of the religious life of the Russian people offers great attractions. There the student of religious psychology finds rich and profitable material. Not only much that is interesting and remarkable, but notably a great deal that is elevating, touching, even fascinating, fascinatingly beautiful, offers itself to our eyes.

It would be both erroneous and injudicious to lay down any general rules to which the character of the Russian people and that of their religion might be said to conform. But one can say—and it has often been said before—that the Russian people is characterized by strongly-marked temperament and is full of contrasts. The interior life of this people oscillates between two poles. On the other side we see the extreme of immoderation, of great excitability, of restlessness, of the desire to surmount all restrictions, which sometimes amounts to crime. This unrest is the source of that hysterical element illustrated by the conduct of many of the heroes in Dostoevsky's novels. Its opposite, the other pole, is spiritual calm, which is attained by souls living in religion. The religious ideal of the Russian people is for the most part determined by the Church, and buried deeply in the life of the Church. It

presents the features of an inward quiet and balance, of deep spiritual sobriety, combined with the spirit of humility and meekness. But in order to avoid the reproach of mere generalization, let us consider a few distinct types of Russian religious life, different groups of religious or religiously inclined souls.

So let us turn first to the *seeking souls*. An interior restlessness, a spiritual longing or searching (which in its last analysis is religious), is, for example, in a great measure characteristic of the spiritual content of many of the highest achievements of Russian literature of the nineteenth century. As regards, for instance, the great artist Turgenev—a veil of unsubduable, half-unconscious sadness lies upon his poetic figures and images! He had no supporting, peace-giving faith in God notwithstanding the great interior nobility of his soul. Life was for him often infinitely sad in its rapid and irrevocably passing beauty. Chekhov, the great humorist—how mournful he is in most of his entirely non-humorous works which reproduce the prolific power of the Everyday, the Usual, the Vulgar, by which the soul is irresistibly sucked down as in a morass. And the plaintiveness of many of his heroes, which cannot be quelled! But specially Tolstoi and Dostoevsky! In them the striving after a religious foundation for life stands forth with full consciousness and infinite pressure. Further, as is well known, Dostoevsky in great measure found this foundation.

And then the souls which have found peace in God, also the non-complex, simple, child-like souls! What submission to God; what patience, what endurance do we see in them! We think of Tolstoi's *Three Deaths*: a rich woman who is ill and who cannot reconcile herself to the thought of inevitable death; the poor cab-driver, incurably ill, who can no longer move from the fire-side, and who awaits death with such quiet and simplicity.

The slavophil George Samarin was right when he wrote (in a letter to Baroness Raden, in 1872): "They are utterly uninstructed, these poor country-folk, they don't even know how to say the Lord's Prayer correctly. And yet the real presence of a higher providential Will in all the events of life is such an undeniable and indisputable fact to them, that when death comes these men open the door to it as to a long-expected guest. They do surrender their souls to God in the full meaning of these words." We may recall also that wonderful story of Turgenev's, "The Living Relic"—the story of that great sufferer, the young peasant-woman Lukeria, who was one of the most beautiful girls of her village, and then became a living mummy, a small crumpled body completely withered up, lying entirely alone in a dark corner; but nevertheless so calmly submissive to God's will and so full of inward comfort. But we need not confine ourselves to representations in literature. For many examples of this simple, divinely clarified patience, this submission to God in the endur-

ance of sorrow and pain—a common Christian virtue, but one specially characteristic of Russian types of devotion—can be found abundantly in real life. There, for instance, we have a figure from the recent past, the cripple Michael Besrukov, the poor peasant, who in his remote corner of the District of Ufa shone forth for his fellow villagers and for the population of a wide district as a pattern of a highly spiritual life, as a true sufferer in Christ. He had been a strong, energetic and healthy peasant lad. At the age of twenty-one (as a result of a chill) he suddenly lost the power of his limbs. His body became swollen, covered with weals and festering sores. He could not even move his hands nor his crooked fingers, but was obliged to lie motionless on the bare floor of his hut, in great poverty (fed only by the laborious work of his loving wife), and enduring continual and frightful pain. At first it was terribly hard for him to bear, but later he submitted his whole heart to the divine will, and things became easier for him spiritually, and to some extent also physically. The great peace and divine obedience which now possessed him radiated out from him, and people began to come to the poor motionless cripple for advice, encouragement and spiritual counsel. Especially from 1897 (when he was fifty-one years old) the simple hut became a sort of spiritual centre, a hearth of the religious life, a nursing place for spiritual comfort, and the peace of God to the whole district. His reputation reached even to St. Petersburg. He died a peaceful death in 1904, having by his example brought to many the way of submission to God.

The external forms of conduct also can betray the peace and soberness of the mind. For example, how dignified and attractive is this old peasant woman in that wonderful fragment of *The Dekabrists*, by Leo Tolstoi, as she wanders on foot from her distant village to Moscow, in order to appeal for the release of her unjustly arrested husband. Her entrance into the servants' hall is both solemn and shyly humble, as, her feet fast bound, tightly wrapped in coarse white rags, she makes her bow first to the Ikon and then to those present. And just as this external, quiet, dignified and sober conduct is to be found, so also is a condition of interior peaceful enlightenment, of sober beauty of the soul. The hero of Dostoevsky's novel, *The Youth*, longs for this peaceful balance of the inner man, which he misses in the circle of his noble and beloved but somewhat unstable relatives. He finds it in the person of the ancient pilgrim, Makar Ivanovitch.

Specially attractive is the picture of a religiously enlightened *Russian woman's soul*, so distinguished in its peace, its spiritual sobriety and glowing mildness. It has often been remarked by foreigners that the Russian woman has more significance than the Russian man, that she possesses a riper character, and more interior

completeness. Such statements have a certain justification. How illuminating are the women types of the great Russian authors, *e.g.*, especially that of Turgenev's Lisa, and very many similar figures, not only in literature but in real life. There is the figure of the motherly governess of the great poet Leo Tolstoi, his Aunt Tatiana Alexandrovna Yergolskaya, who takes the place of his mother whom he had lost at the age of one and a half, as he describes her in the memoirs written in his old age. In her peace and quietude an atmosphere of love radiated from her. She never hurries, she has time to love quietly; there was no hurry in her whole being, but an interior peace and collectedness. She teaches how to love, not through any special actions, but by her whole being.

How characteristic such a figure is of Russian family life in general, especially of that which is based on religious tradition. These women are the true transmitters of tradition, of the interior religious culture of the heart. They guide the household, as the spiritual centre of the family, in an unnoticed, unobtrusively quiet way, which makes it all the more effective. One has only to remember the courageous, refined and spiritually lofty *Dekabrist* women, who in the misery of exile (into which they voluntarily followed their husbands) knew how to make such comfortable homes for them, these great ladies, who remained great ladies in poverty and in the conditions of peasants—and still more proved themselves to be great Christians and angels of comfort—Princess Troubetskoy, Princess Volkonsky, Mme. Fonvisin, and many others. And also in the present Russian emigration there are many truly noble women, who have remained great ladies in misery and restriction; truly, noble figures of quiet distinguished collectiveness, of power of action and of submission to God. For this type of woman is produced by religion; they have their roots in the spiritual life of the Eastern Church, and their *psyche* is born of the interior quiet and enlightenment of that Church. A few more examples. There is a noble lady of the end of the sixteenth century and early part of the seventeenth century, Juliana Ossorgin, *née* Lasarevsky, belonging to a noble family and the wife of a great estate owner. With what humble obedience she subjects herself to her parents-in-law. How calm and obliging she is and yet how she understands (like St. Elizabeth, of Hungary) during the time of famine the way to bring help secretly to so many of the starving. Later, when, after the death of her husband and his parents, she has become the real mistress of the house, she gives all that is at her disposal, the last corn from the granaries in order to save those dying of hunger who flocked to her court yard, during the terrible famine which afflicted Russia in 1605, under the Tsar Boris Godunov.

And one other woman's figure: a simple peasant woman, in the middle of the 19th century, from the district of Kostroma. All

night long this woman, Pelagia, prays secretly unnoticed by her relatives; during the day she sits at the spinning-wheel. At night she distributes her alms, secretly going to the cottages of the poorest families and dropping her gifts gently through the windows.

That is the humble, the quiet life in God, hidden from the eyes of men. It has exercised a strong influence on many figures in the devotional life of Russia. Some exceptional persons forsook all they possessed and high positions in the world, in order to lead a simple, even a despised life, a life of humiliation and penance, but of inward joy. Not only in the life of the cloisters, but also in the life of hermits, of poor day-labourers, of pilgrims, of religious wanderers or even of "fools of God." Characteristic is the legend (which, curiously enough, seems to gain more and more historical support) of the Emperor Alexander I. who renounced his throne (he is supposed to have died in 1825, but the body of a common soldier is said to have been laid in his coffin), in order to live the life of a homeless tramp or pilgrim, and who was even sent to Siberia, where, until a very old age, he lived a holy life as the widely-honoured "Starets" Feodor Kusmitch. The Emperor Alexander's motive is said to have been the desire to do penance for the involuntary part he played in the tragic end of his father.*

A similar figure is that of Prince N., who gave up everything after having involuntarily been the cause of the death of his serf and valet whom he struck in hasty anger, so that he died a few days later. He wandered as a beggar through the most distant territories of Russia, visiting all the monasteries. This figure meets us in the pages of *The Candid Confessions of a Pilgrim to his Director*, which date from the middle of the nineteenth century. Or only to mention one other, the remarkable and deeply pious "servant of God," Johannes, 1794-1829. He had an appointment in a church as lector in the district town of Livny, possessed a modest patrimony, but gave up all and fled from home to crop up again in the town of Tambov, a good distance from his native town, as a despised pauper without papers, giving himself out as mentally deficient and deaf and dumb. There he lived unknown and despised and mocked. He bore all with humility and submission; performed industriously the most difficult work, and gave himself whole-heartedly to a life of prayer and interior communion with God.

* At least it is certain that whoever the venerable and secretive old man, Feodor Kusmitch, may have been, he was the same age as Alexander I. and came from the highest society. He was of very good education, spoke foreign languages, and knew a great deal of the inner political history of the period of Alexander I. It is also certain that he voluntarily embraced a lonely life of poverty and self-denial on religious grounds.

THE SACRAMENTS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND NIKOLAI, BISHOP OF OKHRIDA.

THERE are seven Sacraments in the Church militant on Earth : Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Ordination (*Cheirotonia*), Marriage and Holy Unction. In the East the Sacraments are still called the Mysteries. Why? Because each one of them hides in itself a mysterious and miraculous action of God the Holy Spirit. The very kernel of each one of them consists of this mysterious and miraculous divine action. In the Christian Mysteries we do not know *How* but we know *That*, i.e., we do not know how the Holy Spirit works in a Mystery but we know that He works in and through It.

In the Mystery of Baptism God the Holy Spirit cleanses the soul from sin, so that the soul receives God's sonship by grace and is recruited into the army of Christ the Saviour. Baptism effectuates such a tremendous change in a man, that it is called the new birth (John 3, 5). Baptism was ordered by the Lord (Matt. 28, 19). "Whosoever is unbaptized cannot be saved, except the martyrs, who even without the water (but by the blood) receive the Kingdom of God" (Cyril of Alexandria).

In the Mystery of Confirmation God the Holy Spirit fills the soul previously cleansed and emptied from sin by Baptism with positive powers or gifts. And the gifts are different. Confirmation was ordained and instituted through the practice of the Apostles (Acts 8, 15-17; 19, 1-6; II. Cor. 1, 20-22).

In the Mystery of the Eucharist and at the moment of the priest's invocation, God the Holy Spirit descends on the bread and wine which have been set forth and sanctified, and transubstantiates them into Christ's body and blood (not transforms them but transubstantiates them, for the substance gets changed while the form of bread and wine remains to our eyes unchanged).

This Mystery of the perpetual love of God through sacrifice was ordered and instituted by the Lord (Matt. 26, 26-28; John 6, 53-57; I. Cor. 10, 16-17; 11, 23-26). So Christ Himself is our real food; He communicates Himself to us, that He may make us true men, citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven, the very members of His immortal Body. So great is the love of God that in this Mystery the Lord gives us not only His gifts, as in other Mysteries, but Himself. Greater love than this does not exist either in Heaven or on earth.

In the Mystery of Penance, or rather of Absolution, God the

Holy Spirit forgives the man his new sins done after Baptism. Thereby the man becomes again clean before his God. A sinner travels away from his God into a foreign land and becomes a companion of swine, throwing his pearl—his soul—to the swine. Sin being repented of, confessed and forgiven, man gets the liberty to enter again the house of his Father. The parable of the Prodigal Son explains clearly the origin and the nature of sin, of true repentance, of confession and absolution (Luke 15, 11 ff.). The Lord Jesus ordered and instituted this Mystery through His words and actions (Luke 7, 47; Matt. 18, 18). The Apostles understood their Master and followed faithfully His example and His commandment (I. John 1, 8-10; Acts 3, 19; 19, 18).

In the Mystery of the Ordination of priests, God the Holy Spirit gives the special grace of Orders to the priest, the minister of the Mysteries in the Kingdom of God, i.e., in the Church militant. This grace He gives through the act of the laying-on of the hands of the Apostles and their successors upon the head of those who have been found worthy. In the priestly performance of a mystery man counts almost for nothing, but the grace of God the Holy Spirit is all-important. The priest, therefore, is not allowed to say: "I baptize thee," or "I forgive thee," or "I unite you in marriage," etc., but: "the servant of God, James or John has been baptized, or forgiven, or united" in marriage, etc.; for the real performer of a Mystery is the Lord the Holy Spirit. This Mystery was commanded and instituted by the Lord and His Apostles (John 15, 16; Acts 6, 2-6; 14, 23; 20, 28; II. Timothy 1, 6).

In the Mystery of Marriage, God the Holy Spirit by His grace unites two human beings, man and woman, for the special purpose of the growth of the Church of God according to God's commandment (Gen. 9, 1) and for the mutual help of husband and wife in the work of their salvation. This Mystery was ratified by the Lord Jesus (Matt. 19, 5-6). He Himself sanctified the bond of marriage through His presence at the marriage in Cana of Galilee (John 2, 1). The Apostle Paul, seer of the highest mysteries, declares to us that marriage is a great mystery (Ephes. 5, 22 ff.).

In the Mystery of Holy Unction God the Holy Spirit comes to man's life in its last emergency and heals the sick. The purpose of the mystery thus performed is described by St. James (5, 14-15) as the restoration of health and the remission of sins. This Mystery was practised and ordered by the apostles from the very beginning (Mark 6, 13).

And thus we have seven divine Mysteries as the seven different workings of God the Holy Spirit, who is the true Dispenser, the Life-giver, the Mover and the Treasurer of all divine gifts in the Church of Christ on earth. Five of these mysteries are related

rather to the personal life and personal salvation of each member of the Church, namely: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance and Unction; and two of them are related rather to the good of the whole Church, namely: Orders and Marriage. The first five mean: Emptying (Baptism), filling (Confirmation), feeding (Eucharist), freeing (Penance), and healing in the last emergency (Unction). The last two mean: the increase of the Church (Marriage) and the ministration of the Mysteries in the Church under the all-powerful God the Holy Spirit (Orders).

Now when the question is raised as to which of these seven Mysteries is more and which less important, the question inflicts a wound upon the conscience of a believer. It seems almost an offence to the Holy Spirit. Throughout its whole past, down to our own times, the Church has gathered a rich experience of the effective workings of God the Holy Spirit in all these seven Mysteries. One chariot might look more sumptuous and another less sumptuous, but it is not the chariot that matters but the charioteer. Whenever the Holy Spirit descends upon men through His grace, is it not indifferent how He arrives, sumptuously or simply? It is He that matters. And since we know even from the present experience of the Church as well as from Holy Scripture, that His grace descends and works in the Mystery of Holy Unction, why then ask whether Confirmation, or Penance, or Marriage is something greater than Extreme Unction? The greatness of all the Mysteries, their brilliancy, their beauty and their miraculous character come from Him—God the Holy Spirit. Ask a doctor which is more important for a person in bodily sickness, that he should be cleansed from impurities, or that he should be filled with fresh vitality: that he should be fed or healed or helped in his last agony; what would he say? He would be bewildered. Or ask a householder which is more necessary for a house; that it should be cleaned or filled with fresh air and light; that it should be maintained or kept in repair, or saved when in danger of falling; he, too, would be bewildered. We empty our soul from the impurity of sin through Baptism; we fill it with fresh powers in the form of God's gifts through Confirmation; we feed it by Christ the living Lord through the Eucharist; we free it from new impurities of sin through Penance; we heal it and save it in a great emergency through Unction; and since we are many and not one, we need the growth of our sacred society, i.e., of the Church, and we get this growth through Marriage; and again, since we are many and not one, we need a divinely-ordered dispensation to prepare the soul for immortal life in the Kingdom of God. Thus the seven Mysteries represent the sevenfold drama of the Christian soul's ascent from the dark pit of sin to the height and glory of the Kingdom of God.

And if anyone should think that perhaps Baptism and the Eucharist (or other two or three of these seven Mysteries) are the only Mysteries, the only Sacraments, well—let him ask God about it; by fasting and praying tears let him ask God, and He will reveal to him the truth as He has always revealed it to the saints. As to us of the East, we are afraid to depreciate any of the seven marvellous Mysteries, we are afraid of God the Holy Spirit. For he whispered to the Apostles and to the saints the truth about everything necessary to man's salvation. Therefore all that we have said about the great Christian Mysteries is not an opinion of our own (if it were an opinion of our own it would be worth nothing) but it is the repeated experience of the Apostles in the ancient days and of the saints up to our own days. For the Church of God lives not on opinion, but on the experience of the saints, as in the beginning so in our days. The opinions of intellectual persons may be wonderfully clever and yet be false, whereas the experience of the saints is always true. It is God the Lord who is true to Himself in His saints.

May the Lord God the Holy Spirit, with the Father and with the Son, give to all those who tearfully pray to Him the grace of wisdom and the power to see and recognize the whole truth, necessary for the salvation of all of us, the baptized and the never sufficiently penitent children of God.

A VISIT TO JERUSALEM

By ATHELSTAN RILEY.

THOUGH familiar with many Eastern lands, I had never visited Palestine. To tell the truth, I have shrunk from this experience, fearing disillusionment. Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages have passed me by; I could never make up my mind to join them. But being in Egypt last spring, I resolved to take the night train from Cairo and, as it were, slip into Jerusalem; I would tell nobody I was going, and I could easily slip out again in a few hours if I wished. But to travel *incognito* was not too easy: I found myself in the same carriage with the Bishops of Salisbury and Manchester on their way to the Missionary Conference.

An advertisement of the hotel in Jerusalem—"dancing every Saturday"—had warned me off, and I had written to Miss Carey's House of Rest at Ain Karim in the Valley of Zacharias for a room. A car met me at the station, carried me out five miles from the Holy City, and deposited me in the village, whence a few hundred

yards' walk up the side of the valley brought me to where I determined to stay for the duration of my visit. I had the remains of trouble to one of my feet, caused by a poisonous bite in Egypt, and the first day I spent on the terrace of the house. The Arab village was beneath me and out of sight, but all round the valley were religious houses of men and women, the Franciscans opposite, on the traditional site of Zacharias' house, and the Chapel of the Visitation, where Our Lady burst forth in the Magnificat, barely a hundred yards from where I was. The house in which I was staying was one of two in the garden of a Russian Convent of nuns, the Russian Archbishop's house being close by, opposite the Franciscan Chapel of the Visitation. The view beyond the valley extended far over "the hills which stand round about Jerusalem" toward Emmaus, and the only sounds were the bells of the religious houses. "Here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein." Never have I been in a more peaceful, heavenly spot. For the first time out of my native land I felt "at home," and the peace seemed to enter into my soul. I could live here, I could die here and with perfect contentment I could be buried here. Before I had been twenty-four hours in Ain Karim two old friends called upon me, the Russian Archbishop Anastassy, and Archbishop Themelis of the Jordan, of the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. Both of them could not do enough for me, and from that moment all *incognito* was hopeless.

On Sunday I went to the Early Mass at the Anglican Cathedral of St. George. I suppose I am the only person living except the Archbishop of Canterbury—and his information would not be so intimate—who knows the history of the re-establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric by Archbishop Benson, and the acuteness of the controversy between the Archbishop and Dr. Liddon, so acute that neither of them would write to the other, and communication passed through me—somewhere I have all the letters. Nothing could have been worse than the position of the old Anglican-cum-Lutheran establishment, then in abeyance some years before Benson revived the Bishopric on a purely Anglican basis. Events have proved that he was right and that his policy of setting up a worthy representation of the Anglican Communion in the heart of Eastern Christendom and in friendly relations with the venerable Churches of the East has justified itself. As I looked round the beautiful and well-appointed Cathedral, only one thing seemed to be wanting to proclaim our Christianity to Orthodoxy—an Icon of the Mother of God. But all criticism vanished when I heard the *Ave Maris Stella* from the English Hymnal sung at the Office of the Annunciation!

I met the High-Commissioner and the Governor of Jerusalem at St. George's, and my Orthodox friends told me that the faithfulness of high English officials to their religion had made a great impression

upon the Christian communities in the Holy City. One thing I made certain would jar upon me—the many Churches and sects often struggling with one another in Palestine. But the impression upon my mind was the contrary. It seemed so natural and such an evidence of genuine religious fervour that all these bodies, even the most obscure and heterodox American sects, should eagerly claim a few feet of ground to be where their Lord had lived and died for them. Even the frequent contests (often very unseemly) between the Latin and Greek monks spring from a burning faith in Our Lord and the jealousy of any site, actually, or supposedly hallowed by His Presence when on earth, of which they may be possessed. As to the authenticity of the sacred sites, I suppose there is now no doubt about the chief ones in and about Jerusalem—the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, both in the Great Church, and, as modern excavations have proved, without the ancient wall of the City, and the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem (of course, places like Gethsemane, and the Mount of Olives are also beyond question). Others, like the Visitation at Ain Karim, are probably the actual sites, others again are only Ikons or devotional representations of places and things connected with the Gospel story.

The British Administration preserves the *status quo* of the Holy Places with absolute impartiality and the utmost rigour. That is the right and the only course, and the Orthodox themselves are fully conscious of the protection they enjoy. If any other power had secured the Mandate, their tenancy of the Holy Places would certainly have been in serious danger through political and ecclesiastical complications. The Russian problem is a very difficult one. The large properties, churches, lands and buildings, with the population of monks and nuns, formerly supported by the innumerable Russian pilgrims and the Russian Government, are in a desperate state. All revenues have ceased since 1914, the lands are heavily mortgaged and the religious are literally starving. The convent of over two hundred nuns in Ain Karim, to give an instance, bravely keep up their offices as usual, but have not enough food to maintain them in health. The Governor of Jerusalem, Mr. Keith Roach, is doing his utmost to assist Archbishop Anastassy, but the need is too great for local help: it may be necessary before long to beg for succour from England, and in that case I am sure readers of the *Christian East* will not be indifferent to the appeal.

On the Zionist movement it would be presumptuous for a passing traveller to give any very decided opinion. Of its unpopularity among all the original dwellers in the Holy Land, whatever their religion, there can be no doubt. Very large sums have been poured into the country, and Jewish settlements and villages with well-built little bungalows are springing up everywhere. Everything possible has been done and is being done to attract Jews to their "National

Home." But more Jews left Palestine last year than came in, and the whole scheme has an air of artificiality about it. What is a Jew to do in a poor country like Palestine? He is essentially a trader and a financier, and that not with his own people, but with Gentiles. He is a man of the towns, not of the country. He cannot dig himself, he must employ others. I confess I never passed a new Jewish village in the open country without commiseration for the inhabitants! Again I speak with great diffidence, but I should expect Lord Balfour's "child" to have a sickly, and perhaps brief, existence.

To conclude, if an opportunity occurs to any of the readers of *The Christian East* to visit the Holy Land, whether with an organized pilgrimage or alone, my advice is to go. If I am given a few more years of life, I look forward to another journey, with opportunity to visit other sacred places at a greater distance from Jerusalem, though in that small country no place is really far. They will do well to eschew all hotels and to separate themselves from all tourists, whether English or American; thus, and thus only, will they enter into the "other-worldly" spirit of the land. "To Jerusalem! Let us go to Jerusalem!" exclaimed St. Louis as he suddenly rose up on his dying bed. He fell back, and so, says his biographer, "he passed to Jerusalem which is above." To which, in His mercy, may God bring us all. Amen.

THE RÔLE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH DURING THE MONGOL PERIOD.

By SONIA E. HOWE.

(Continued).

Shortly after having received the Yarlik from the Khan, the Metropolitan Cyril died, and the Patriarch, returning to the custom of pre-Mongol days, elected the new Metropolitan from among the Greek clergy. It is probably owing to the fact that ecclesiastical life under the Tartar yoke was not only not interfered with, but was actually favoured, that there was no difficulty in finding a Greek willing to take up his residence in Russia. The first act of the new Metropolitan Maxim (1283-1305) was to visit the Khan, presumably on the Greek Emperor's business, but it was not until his return from Sarai that he entered upon his pastoral activities, of which very little is known. He it was, however, who transferred the Metropolitan Seat from Kiev to Vladimir, which

town had become a more important centre. This gave rise to many subsequent attempts to divide Russia into two sees and led, first to strife and, finally, to actual separation.

It was during Maxim's term of office that the two Russias began to be spoken of by the Greeks; "Great Russia," as the northern part was designated, and "Little Russia," which soon after was absorbed into Lithuania.

Maxim's successor, Peter (1308-1326) was a Russian whose reign coincided with a period of bitter strife and feud between the princes of Tver and Moscow as to who should have the pre-eminence, but it was also, if unconsciously, quite as much a question as to which of these two principalities should form the nucleus of the future Russia. The new Metropolitan, who was an able statesman, threw his whole influence on the side of Moscow and by his support greatly strengthened the claim of that hitherto insignificant Power.

He governed the Church wisely and well and with tender care looked after the spiritual welfare of the people who were in dire need of instruction, especially "the erring peasants." Indeed, from instructions laid down in his pastoral letters, it is evident that concubinage was still prevalent among them. That, on the other hand, many of the clergy were far from what they ought to have been, is apparent from the fact that he earnestly exhorted them to have a truer conception of the office of priest and pleads with them to be faithful pastors and not to condone the sins of those who bestowed rich gifts upon them. There was another point with regard to the clergy which he found it necessary to regulate, namely the position of priests who had become widowers. To these he gave the alternative of retiring into monasteries if they wished to retain their priesthood or, "if they loved the world," to remain outside, but at the cost of abstaining from taking part in the services of the Church.

There were somewhat strained relations between the Metropolitan and the Grand Duke of Vladimir who had put forward a rival candidate and now, evidently to avenge his failure, accused Peter of simony and made other allegations against him. These disputes were carried before the Khan with whom, however, the Metropolitan, because of his diplomatic gifts and *savoir faire*, was a *persona grata*, which fact may also account for the Pope's failure to establish a Roman Bishopric at Sarai. The astute Metropolitan, moreover, enjoyed the friendship of Yuri Danilovitch of Moscow, the rival of the Grand Duke of Vladimir, and, owing to his predilection for this friend, Peter often resided at Moscow instead of in his Cathedral town of Vladimir.

It was, however, Yuri's successor, Ivan Kalita, who realized

THE CHURCH OF CORINTH AND ITS BISHOP DURING THE EARTHQUAKE.

BY EUPHROSYNE KEPHALA.

THE city of Corinth lies in ruins; so do its churches. But if anything THE CHURCH rears itself with greater pride and to a greater height than before the disaster. For although the buildings "which are made by hands" are no longer there, yet among those ruined homes there exists, because imperishable, the spirit of love and mercy which makes all men brothers. There are no more churches standing in which to celebrate the Divine Liturgy; but the people gather in the market place, as in the Apostle's day, and join in the prayers of praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty; or they gather on the mountain side and listen to the comforting words of their father-in-God, their Bishop, who in these terrible moments of distress and anguish has been to them indeed their help and their protection.

Among those scenes of indescribable misery following the first earthquake shocks one figure emerges and compels our attention; becomes the centre, so to say, of the whole movement of succouring the wounded and comforting the bereaved. It is the Bishop of Corinth, Damascene, who has laboured in the vineyard of the Lord for five years, and is now reaping the splendid harvest of the devotion and love of his flock. For to him all look for guidance; to him every class of the community turns for help, whether it be spiritual help they seek in such an hour of catastrophe, or material assistance which is readily forthcoming. From the very first, as one man, the entire population turned instinctively to their Bishop. It is easy to account for this attitude of theirs, for he has during his term of office done the most wonderful pastoral work among all classes of the community. Besides, he has, in addition to his episcopal work, such as falls naturally to a Bishop, revived the faith by his illuminating sermons, in his teaching of the Word and its spiritual significance. He has by his example of piety and devotion to his Master raised the ministry to a higher level. His work for the schools and education alone has earned recognition by all as a teacher and administrator in secular as well as in ecclesiastical affairs.

So in this hour of trial he takes his place among his flock ready to sacrifice himself for them, and in defence of them.

Tireless in his efforts to be of assistance, the Bishop shared the dangers of the shocks, present among the ruins in the work of rescue, ministering to the dying, burying the dead. Living in a railway carriage over which floats the white flag, the emblem of the humani-



CORINTH.



THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, CORINTH, AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE.



DISTRIBUTING FOOD.

THE METROPOLITAN OF CORINTH WITH TWO
BRITISH NAVAL OFFICERS.

tarian struggle, he is there to issue commands, to give suggestions, money and clothes. With his help the schools are re-opened—in the open this time—and the children are able to continue their lessons under the guidance of their teachers. The Greek Red Cross is busy looking after the sick and injured; and there the Bishop goes as often as he can to visit them. The ladies of the Red Cross are doing splendid work under the direction of Miss Mesolora, the daughter of the eminent theologian, Professor Mesolora.

Sometimes this strong man, with the physique of a Hercules, turns his pastoral staff into the stout staff of the early Apostles and, like them, trudges over hill and dale to visit some remote stricken village of his diocese. Sometimes he spends hours poring over the plans of reconstruction, or piloting the foreign helpers through the ruins so as to explain the necessities of the people.

Again, he visits the British ships in the harbour to express in person his and his flock's thanks for their timely assistance in such tragic moments. No one can, or will, ever forget the intense feeling of gratitude to the British Navy, especially to the "Jack Tar" for his work among the people of Corinth. As a Greek newspaper put it, "After the storm and the terrible night spent in the open, the hopeful dawn, H.M.S. *Stuart* had appeared and was unloading tents and food. . . ." Thus, the gospel of hope, as derived from a steadfast faith preached by the Bishop, brought good cheer to the hearts of many, if not all. And this message of hope and good-will towards all in their hour of trial is what undoubtedly helps the people of Corinth to-day to face a terrible catastrophe.

While the shocks still continue, and amid the signs of ruin and devastation which surround them, the entire population, led by the Bishop, move across the ruins of their city in the great procession of the Litany for the cessation of the earthquakes.

Proceeded by the Cross held on high, the Sacred banners, the Hexapteriga and the choir, come the parish priests and the Bishop, followed by the people. All the air is filled with the chanting of the priests and choir of the prayers of the Litany. Then comes the solemn moment: The reciting by the Bishop of the special prayer (*κανὼν εἰς φόβον σεισμοῦ*) of intercession for the cessation of earthquakes, the first letters of the Greek making an acrostic "O Christ, make to cease the shaking of the earth," which the people hear kneeling.

By order of the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, after both the early and the later celebrations of the Liturgy, the special prayer of intercession called the "Canon for the fear of Earthquakes" was read in all the churches throughout the country, great crowds of people flocking to the churches to hear this prayer.

There are a few changes made in the regular order of the Liturgy, as, for instance, instead of the *Koinonikon* (*Communio* *Humana*) being

sung, a verse from the Psalms is recited, "He who watches over the earth and maketh it to tremble." The Gospel also is taken from St. Matthew (viii, 24). At the reading of the prayer all the congregation knelt, the ending of which prayer is in the form of an Epiclesis as follows: "Support the Universe, strengthen the earth, and cease its quaking, fix the quivering Universe" in the quaint and picturesque language of the Greek Orthodox Church services.

OUR BOOKSHELF

Ekklesia reports a new edition of the standard work on the *Canon Law of the Eastern Church* by the late Archbishop Milas, with a translation into Greek under the supervision of R. Kazimirovitz. In the translation, which is entitled—"The present ecclesiastical and canonical organisation of the Orthodox Church" the work has been brought up to date as regards the post-war conditions of the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church of Poland is added to the autokephalous churches, and the "autonomous" include the churches of Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Crete, Esthonia, and the Archbishopric of America. To these are added the following churches which have not yet acquired a definite status: the Ukraine, Latvia, Albania, Lithuania, and Georgia. *Ekklesia* highly recommends this new and enlarged edition of Milas-Kazimirovitz as containing in one volume the necessary information, systematically arranged, on the post-war conditions of the Orthodox Churches, which has hitherto been available only in articles scattered about in various magazines.

M.G.D.

Mr. Robert Byron's book on Mount Athos, *The Station*, recently published by Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 18s., describes a visit to that little ancient community which has lived on for centuries since Byzance held sway in the East, and her Church dominated the whole Christian world, a community which has in no way departed from these ancient traditions and faith despite the lapse of ages. Life in the cluster of monasteries, some twenty in number, belonging to all the Orthodox communities irrespective of nationality, goes on as in the days of Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, and the other Byzantine rulers. In chapter three there

is an account of the history of Athos from the earliest days down to the present time under its new status as an independent republic subject to Greek sovereignty. When once in the monasteries themselves we read of their history, and savour the antiquity of the atmosphere which reaches us in sea-borne whiffs across the ages. In the dim light of the old churches which the feet of the faithful have trodden for a thousand years, the ikons and frescoes keep watch in an austere peace which passeth the understanding of man. All the glory of the Christian Church in its Greek genius is revealed amid a splendour none the less grand for its being a thing of a very ancient past. The days spent by the author in the company of his two English companions and the monks are a succession of pageants of beauty, whether in the monasteries themselves or on the mountain side or by the sea-shore, so glowing are the accounts of all in this book. There are delightful human touches in his description of the monks and their ways and customs; humorous too, for the author is nothing if not endowed with a keen sense of fun. In the chapter on the monastery of Vatopedi, comes the epitome, so as to speak, of all the wealth of beauty collected in the previous chapters. Such descriptions as this are not often to be met with. "But it is at Vatopedi that the whole gamut of colour seems to have coalesced in one gorgeous *ensemble*. Nowhere are the tones so luxuriant, nor the principle of their application so clear. . . . And from this I can still picture to myself the vivid magnificence of the whole scene; the violent contrast of the snow-white campanile against the fevered, rust-coloured church, smooth as silken velvet." And so on, until one feels that all the splendour and magic charm of the East is at our feet while we peruse these 283 pages with their attractive illustrations.

E.K.

We have received a pamphlet, the interest and significance of which are out of all proportion to its modest size of some two dozen pages. It is the *Report of the Second Anglo-Russian Student Conference at St. Albans*. It may be taken as a small indication of the growing vigour of the "St. Albans movement" that this report is printed and sewn—the report of the first conference, if memory may be trusted, was issued only in duplicated typescript. It will be remembered that the conference was held in the Diocesan Retreat House at St. Albans at the beginning of this year, squeezed in, in fact, between the English and Russian Christmas festivals. The Report prints in full the programme followed on each of the six days of the conference, and an account of the formation of the "Fellowship of St. Albans and St. Sergius"

which grew out of it. The Metropolitan Evlogie sent his blessing and good wishes to its members in a message which is here printed, and there is a brief and business-like statement of the general idea and course of the conference. The bulk of the report, however, is occupied by "Impressions," first nine pages of Russian impressions and then about as many of English. It appears that members were invited to write after the conference was over their thoughts and feelings about it, and someone has achieved the trying task of collating and summarising these contributions from different minds. It must have been at least as difficult as the reverse process commonly associated with the Higher Criticism! At any rate the result is most instructive as a record of the impinging of the two points of view upon each other, not in a sphere of controversy, but in a spirit of interested and friendly enquiry and in an atmosphere of common worship and prayer. That same Higher Criticism, by the way, was not unnaturally a subject which figured rather prominently in the discussions, and upon which considerable divergence of opinion was revealed. The following passage is quoted from the Russian impressions:—

"The word 'meta-history' which was first used at the last Conference caused long and heated arguments. Perhaps this word does not adequately express what we want to say, but it is in connection with the idea itself that the difference between the Anglican and the Orthodox lies. 'Through the prism of reason towards faith, this is the way of the Western Christian. Through faith to knowledge and understanding, is the religious way of the Orthodox. The reflection of the supernatural, incomprehensible ways of God in earthly history of mankind, a contact between eternity and time in the narratives of the Bible, this is the stumbling-block on which our Western and Eastern mentalities seemed to diverge.' These differences seemed greater to some of us than to others, but what Professor Besobrasov said in his address really explains very well the difference in our attitude, 'It is difficult to explain in human language the conception of meta-history, to explain inwardly, in agreement with the spirit of Orthodoxy, divergencies in the Gospel narratives. But one analogy has constantly come to my mind—a comparison with an Orthodox ikon. An ikon is not a portrait. An ikon is devoid of naturalism. Its conventionally angular forms are not met with in life. The unrealism of the ikon seems to point to the mystery of another life. This analogy expresses the difference which exists between us. There exist higher requirements, sought for from an ikon, which cannot be satisfied by a historically exact, true, and even inspiring picture of a religious subject. The difference between such a picture and an ikon corresponds to a historical and a meta-historical interpretation of the Word of God.' That is where the difference lies, or rather, the emphasis."

There is no marked price on the Report, but presumably it does not cost more than a few pence, and it is well worth reading. It is published by the Student Christian Movement.

If anything was lacking to the status of the Russian Academy in Paris, it was perhaps the production of a Theological Review. However that may be, the first issue of *Pravoslavnaya Mysl* (*Orthodox Thought*) has now seen the light, and in an editorial foreword we are promised that it will appear "if not with complete regularity, at least periodically; from three to four times a year." The Academy is to be congratulated upon this first issue, which contains an essay by Prof. Bulgakov called "Studies in the doctrine of the Trinity," and another by Prof. Glubokovsky on "God the Word." Prof. Besobrasov writes on the "Evangelists as Historians." Other titles are "The destinies of Holy Russia" and "St. Martin of Tours, the hero of asceticism." Unfortunately for many of us in England, it is all in Russian; but we offer the Academy our congratulations both on the production in difficult circumstances of *Pravoslavnaya Mysl* and on the high standard of its first number.

Another first appearance is Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Logos*, a Quarterly with the sub-title *Revue Internationale de Synthèse Chrétienne Orthodoxe*, published in Bukarest. It is written in French throughout, and apart from an unusual number of misprints, its 160 pages are well and attractively produced. Special attention is naturally given to religious affairs in Rumania, but the scope of its contents is wide. There is an interesting article on Armenian influences in the religious architecture of the Lower Danube, and essays on philosophical and theological subjects such as the Nature of Faith, by N. Berdyaev (the Editor of *Pool*) and the Idea of Creation in Christian Philosophy by G. Florovsky (who by the way writes on a similar subject in *Pravoslavnaya Mysl*). Victor Popescu contributes some thoughts on the problem of the reunion of the Churches in which he compares the ideals of the Conferences of Stockholm and of Lausanne, and arrives at the conclusion—"Pour le moment les difficultés qui existent nous obligent à une fédération sur le terrain pratique. En poursuivant ce travail pendant très longtemps, car il s'agit d'une institution à laquelle on a promis l'éternité, je crois possible l'unité entre toutes les Eglises chrétiennes même sur le terrain religieux." There are some thirty pages of reviews and notices of religious publications both Rumanian and foreign.

Life and Work in the Diocese of Athens (1s. from the Author) is the title of a paper-covered booklet by the Great Archimandrite of the Greek Cathedral in London. It is prefaced by a portrait of His Beatitude Chrysostom, the present Archbishop of Athens, and a summary of his career and writings. The 27 pages which follow

contain an account of the organisation and pastoral activities over which he presides. There are a few pages on preaching, a few more on the catechizing of the children and so on. These are aspects of Orthodox Church life which are less realised among Anglicans than they should be, but they receive much emphasis in the diocese of Athens. We read a while ago of celebrations of the Liturgy during Holy Week especially for the children, and of a Good Friday Procession of children. Last March the Archbishop held a conference for priests of his diocese who are specially engaged in hearing confessions, to discuss matters connected with the administration of the sacrament of Penance. The Great Archimandrite's booklet gives a systematic, if brief account of this kind of work. Towards the end there are some pages about proselytising activity on the part of the Uniats which make sad reading.

We welcome a further addition to Williams and Norgate's neat and pleasing series of translations of Orthodox Services as they are performed at St. Sophia's Cathedral in London. The present volume contains the service of *Holy Baptism* with the Greek and English on opposite pages and it appears in every way to reach the high standard set by its predecessors in the same series which have already been noticed in these pages.

R.M.F.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

ON June 13th, His Holiness, the Œcumenical Patriarch, celebrated the third anniversary of his election to the Patriarchate and his ascension of the Œcumenical Throne.

The divine liturgy was solemnly celebrated in the Patriarchal Church, in the presence of a vast congregation, and during the entire day His Holiness received the respectful congratulations of great numbers of his flock.

* * * * *

His All-Holiness has had under consideration the pressing necessity of bringing the membership of the Holy and Sacred Synod up to its full complement, in view of the present reorganization of the internal administration of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. He therefore decided that from henceforward all the Metropolitans of Constantinople should take part in the sittings of the Synod. This decision was communicated by the patriarchal secretary on June 25th, to all the Metropolitans there; namely, those of Cyzicus, Nicaea, Chalcedon, Derkos, Brusa, Neo-Cæsarea, Principo, Sardis, Silyria, Rhodopolis, Imbros and Tenedos, Heliopolis, Theodoropolis, Irenopolis, Christopolis, Stavropolis, Myra and Laodicea. The Holy Synod of Metropolitans as thus constituted, met on July 31st, under the presidency of His All-Holiness who gave his blessing upon the beginning of its labours in a suitable address. At this session when all the above Metropolitans were present (with the exception of the Metropolitan of Imbros and Tenedos), the six last named, hitherto regarded as titulars, were inscribed by a Patriarchal and Synodal Act on the register of the Metropolitans of the Œcumenical Throne actually serving. The settlement of their place on the same and the style of each was deferred to the next session.

It appears that these proceedings of the Œcumenical Patriarch aroused resentment in certain Turkish circles, and shortly afterwards *The Times* reported a violent attack on the Patriarchate by the Turkish newspaper *Jumhuriyet*, the above act of internal



*Metropolita Dionisij.
21. 1928. W. G. Szawa.*

administration being the ground of one of the accusations upon which the attack was based.

The Œcumenical Patriarch has sent the following telegram to Dr. Cosmo Lang :—

Having learned with gladness of the designation of your Grace, in succession to the profoundly esteemed Archbishop, Dr. Randall Davidson, we congratulate you heartily, and hail it as securing the continuity of the relations of our Churches.

His Grace replied as follows :—

DEARLY BELOVED AND MOST REVERED BROTHER IN CHRIST,

With all my heart I thank your All-Holiness for the message which you most kindly sent me on my designation to succeed the present revered Archbishop of Canterbury when he resigns his office.

I rejoice to think of the good relations between our Churches, which have been established during his primacy. I earnestly hope that these good relations may be continued and strengthened; and I pray that the Most Holy Spirit may guide your All-Holiness in fulfilling, in the midst of many difficulties, the responsibilities of your high and ancient office in the Church of God.

I am your All-Holiness's Brother in Christ,
 COSMO EBOR :
 Archbishop of York,
 Archbishop-Designate of Canterbury.

During last June Dr. Kullman spent two or three weeks in this country. Dr. Kullman, who speaks English and Russian as fluently as he speaks his own language, has had a wide experience of work among Students in France, Germany and Czechoslovakia, and is closely associated with the Russian Theological Academy in Paris. His purpose in visiting England was to support the efforts of the Appeal for the Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund to raise funds for the Paris Academy and the Russian Student Movement. Acting in close co-operation with the Appeal Committee, he spoke in public and also had private interviews with possible subscribers, and his efforts were attended with considerable success. We understand that the Appeal Committee hopes that Dr. Kullman will be able to return to London and renew his campaign this Autumn.

A difficulty with which the Paris Academy has always had to contend is an insufficiency of books for the use of its students.

Funds have been scarce, and even if the money is available, Russian theological books are not always easy to come by, after the upheavals in Russia. Thus on the shelves of the Academy's scanty library, there is many a gap where this or that standard work ought to be found. By a circumstance curious in itself, a tempting chance has appeared of remedying this state of affairs. The American Methodist Mission in Prague has collected during recent years a Russian library of considerable extent and excellent quality. According to expert report the library consists of some 1,500 well-bound volumes in good condition. It comprises chiefly theological and philosophical works, including a large number of standard treatises on dogmatics, church history, patristics, and hagiology. Exegetical writings and works on the Old and New Testaments, the Canons, the Liturgies, and comparative theology are well represented. Especially valuable are certain important works on asceticism; and some of the books are not only essential, but rare. In short it is exactly what the Academy has been needing very badly for a long time. This library is now to be dispersed or sold as a whole, and the price is £600, which seems remarkably little. We believe about half of the money can be found. What an opportunity for some one to come forward with the other half!

In the course of an interesting letter just received, our correspondent in Serbia writes: "The Serbian Church of the present day is still in a state of post-war consolidation. The union of the various Orthodox Churches in the former Austrian provinces with the Church of Old Serbia, which formally took place immediately after the War, is gradually being strengthened by the co-operation of the parties in the practical effort to secure the better organization of Church affairs. The task is by no means easy, there are in the situation elements inherited from the past which could not fail to give rise to difficulties. But though progress is slow, yet it is taking place and the spirit of unity is growing. The most serious outstanding problem is the relation of Church and State. We are now in a midway position between that of an established and that of a disestablished Church. But in accordance with the terms of a new projected measure for regulating ecclesiastical affairs (which should pass the Skoupshtina), the Serbian Church will be completely disestablished. In that case it will continue only for a short while to receive a subvention from the State, *i.e.*, until the Church's income is so organized and regulated, as to enable her to be financially independent. Then at last the Church will be freed from State tutelage.

But while the Serbian Church is endeavouring to settle her internal affairs, her progress is hampered by the activity of foes outside. The majority of our educated people, the so-called

intelligentsia are prominent in opposition to the Church and to religion in general. This hostility is evident in every aspect of public and private life, in Parliament, and in the schools. As a result our Churches are empty, and the position of the clergy often very unenviable. No doubt much of the blame for all this must lie on the Church herself. Another great difficulty with which the present-day Serbian Church has to cope is the aggressive attitude of sectarians such as the "Adventists." These people have got hold of many pious folk and alienated them from the Orthodox Church to which they were formerly attached.

Although the Church took action against the Adventists through the medium of the Home Office, the sect continues to increase in numbers. They are not a recognized denomination under the State constitution, but the existence of a large Adventist organization in Belgrad itself was recently disclosed. And they are numerous in other places also.

The steady success of Roman Catholic propaganda is another factor to be taken into consideration. Before the War, there was one Roman Catholic Church and one priest in Belgrad. Now in that town alone there is a Roman Catholic archbishop, with full staff of co-adjutors, etc., three Churches, more than fifty priests, a nunnery and a monastery. . . . There is a vigorous movement of Church building in the Orthodox Church of Serbia. In Belgrad alone two are now under construction and a third is definitely projected, which will be perhaps the largest in the Balkans. The latter was indeed founded some twenty years ago, but wars and lack of money have hitherto prevented its completion. Now the matter is being taken up again, and soon work will begin upon it on the very spot where St. Sava's body was burned. It will be dedicated to St. Sava, and become the Cathedral of Belgrad. . . . Beside the Serbian translation of Dr. Headlam's *Jesus Christ in History and Faith*, which appeared last year and made an enormous impression upon educated people in Serbia, this year our poor theological literature is enriched by a large and very interesting book (1,000 pages), by Bishop Nikolai of Okhrida. It is entitled *The Prologue of Okhrida* and contains an account of a Saint's life for every day in the year, with moral instructions upon it, and material for meditation. There is no doubt that the influence of this latest work of our saintly Bishop will be very great."

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A Synod was held last May at Kharkoff in the Ukraine under the presidency of the Metropolitan Pimen and occupied itself with various questions which are engaging the attention of the Church locally. The representative of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in Moscow having received an invitation was present

and was received with honours. The Metropolitan of Moscow was also present and the President of the Russian Synod. This local Synod dealt with the following main questions.

- (1) The constitution of the Church was discussed; whether it should continue to depend on Moscow or should be set free. The question called forth lively discussions but the prevailing opinion was that it should depend on Moscow, inasmuch as the Ukraine as an autonomous Republic looks to Moscow as its centre. By this decision the ecclesiastical bond between the Ukrainian Church and the Russian Synod at Moscow is restored.
- (2) The question of the marriage of bishops provoked violent discussions. The opinion of the conservatives prevailed and the rock was avoided; the question being referred to the coming Œcumenical Synod.
- (3) The unsuccessful steps taken for the re-instatement of the "self-ordained" (*αὐτοχειροτονήτων*) bishops were communicated. These latter showed themselves unbending towards any conciliatory proposal and it was suspected that this implacability of theirs was not disinterested and unconnected with secret salaries.
- (4) There was a discussion as to the basis on which the restoration of relations between the Tykhonist party and the other ecclesiastical parties in Russia could be contrived.
- (5) The relations between the Ukrainian Church and the Churches in the East were examined.
- (6) A proposal for a conciliatory gesture was discussed and decided upon with the Tykhonist bishop in Kharkoff, Constantine, who looked upon the step favourably and promised that at the approaching Synod of the Tykhonists in September, he would do what was necessary for the peace of the Church.

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"From an interview which the correspondent of the Finnish daily paper *Uusi Suomi* had with the head of the Orthodox Church of Finland, we conclude," says *Pantainos*, "that the Church there, in opposition to the former political status of the country tends towards an extreme nationalizing of everything. The influence of the Russian Church is deep on the language, clergy, vestments and many other features of ecclesiastical life and divine worship in the Church of Finland.

The Abp. Germanos regards as his first care the introduction of the Finnish language into the worship and the replacement of the Slavonic inscriptions on the ikons by Finnish. The change in vestments will consist in the use of narrower phelonions of softer material, instead of the wide Russian vestment of stiff material. The national colours will be used for them, that is to say, the blue and white in Finland proper, and the red and black in Karelia. The plastering on the Churches is decorated with the same colours.

But the architecture of the former will be no longer Russian, but there will be free choice of the northern or Byzantine styles. The Finns feel such an aversion to everything Russian that their priests will no longer carry the double Russian cross (with 8 corners). To avoid the scandal proceeding from the fact that immediately after the celebration of a civil marriage in the Great Lent, the bride went to live with the bridegroom without waiting for the performance of the religious marriage, the Abp. of Finland seems inclined to the economy of performing religious marriages in Lent. He also seems in favour of the introduction of organs and stringed instruments into church, which has taken place in Estonia. Side by side, however, with this modernizing and anti-Russian Church, there exists also an Orthodox minority freely practising its religion—by virtue of the State law on religious freedom—with two parishes in Bimburg and Helsingfors. This minority stands for conservative and severely archaic principles.”

The dispute over the question of the Patriarchate, which has troubled the Coptic Church during this past year, unfortunately remains unsettled. The Government has extended the duration of the locum tenency of Bishop John in the hope that a settlement may be arrived at between the contending parties. If not, it has just lately expressed its intention of endeavouring itself to bring about a settlement. Both parties—the Holy Synod and the General National Council have drawn up a series of regulations for the election of the new Patriarch, which they have respectively submitted to the Government for sanction.

Another cause of dispute between the Holy Synod and the General National Council is that of five students whom the General National Council desires to send to England to study at our theological colleges, in order that on their return they may teach theology in the Seminary. Considerable objections have been raised to this, however, mainly on the ground of differences between the Anglican and Coptic Churches and a counter proposal has been put forward to send these students instead to the Rizareion School at Athens. The Holy Synod is violently opposed to the scheme and has declared that none of these students on their return from England shall be given places as teachers or priests in the Coptic Church. A society called “The Coptic Church Defence Society,” has been formed which is issuing a series of pamphlets on the subject. The first of these sets forth in parallel columns the doctrinal differences between the Anglican and Coptic Churches. The General National Council, however, persists in endeavouring to carry out its plans and has appointed a Committee to draw up regulations for these students, stating the qualifications required.

The matter remains unsettled, but the bishops are in favour of inviting theological lecturers from abroad to Cairo.

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The Living Church announces that the new church at Los Angeles, of the Empire Congregation of the Russian Orthodox Church, was consecrated by the Most Revd. the Metropolitan Platon of New York City, on Sunday, July 22nd. He was assisted by Bishop Alexis of San Francisco, the Revd. Michael Lototsky, rector of the church, and other clergy of the Russian and Serbian Orthodox Churches.

Throughout the elaborate five-hour service of consecration, the Rt. Revd. W. Bertrand Stevens, D.D., Bishop of Los Angeles, occupied a place of honour within the ikonostas with Bishop Alexis.

In the afternoon a complimentary dinner was tendered the venerable Metropolitan in St. Paul's Cathedral House. That evening the Russian choir sang in the cathedral by invitation of the Dean, the Very Revd. Harry Beal, and the Metropolitan Platon gave an address.

For the past five years the Empire congregation has held its services in the chapel of the neighbourhood settlement, by Bishop Stevens' invitation. Partly due to the moving picture industry, there are many Russians in and around this city. The president of the congregation is art director of the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer studio.

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AN ANCIENT CHURCH, AND A NEW VENTURE OF FAITH IN IT.

By MOTHER EDITH, O.M.S.E.

CUT off from the rest of India by a mountain range six to seven thousand feet high, lies the long narrow strip of coast-land called Malabar. It is a land of great natural beauty, with high blue mountains to the east, while on the west the sea runs inland in a chain of lagoons fringed with thick groves of coco-palms, and it is crossed by several large rivers sweeping swiftly from the mountains to the sea. The southern part down to Cape Comorin is the state of Travancore, and the northern part is Cochin, each ruled by a Maharajah of its own, under British protection.

This beautiful but secluded land is the home of the earliest

Christian Church in India, the ancient Syrian Church of Malabar, founded according to local Christian tradition (and modern research is tending to confirm its very ancient origin) by the Apostle St. Thomas himself, who after his mission to King Gondophoros in northern India, is said to have visited Malabar and made converts among the Brahmins there, before passing over to the Coromandel coast to meet his death by martyrdom at Mylapore, near Madras. Tradition also tells of an influx of several hundred Christians from Syria under Thomas of Cana in 345 A.D., and of another colonist party of Syrian Christians who settled about 825 A.D. at Quilon, one of the chief trading ports; just as two colonies of Jews from Syria settled in early times in the port of Cochin. Our English King Alfred sent an embassy with gifts to the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar, and one of the documents belonging to the embassy is preserved in the Record Office in London.

The heathen rulers of the land in early times granted various privileges to their Christian subjects, giving them the place they still hold among the aristocracy as next after Brahmins; but at other times they oppressed them, and made very stringent laws which are still in force to prevent Brahmins from becoming Christians; a Brahmin who does so loses not only all his property, but the guardianship of his own children. Yet still this little Christian community, far from Christian neighbours and support, continued to exist in India for more than a thousand years. Then in the sixteenth century, during the time of the Portuguese domination on the west coast, all the Syrian Christians, except a few who fled to the mountains, were compelled by the Portuguese to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and conform in their worship to the ritual prescribed by Rome; their own original Syriac liturgies and books being taken from them, and as far as possible destroyed. But after 80 years of Portuguese dominion the Dutch gained possession of the trading-ports of Malabar, and the Portuguese were driven back northwards to their possessions at Goa; and that district has ever since been the great Indian stronghold of Roman Catholicism, and was the last place in the world where Christians were burned for heresy, the Inquisition only coming to an end there in 1818.

During the Dutch supremacy in the 17th century the fugitive Syrians came back, and such of their ancient liturgical and other books as had survived were brought out from their hiding-places, and many of the Syrians who had conformed to Rome under compulsion returned to their ancient faith and manner of worship, re-establishing connexion with their spiritual kinsfolk at Antioch and Edessa, although a still larger number remained in their new communion with the Church of Rome.

Thus the primitive Syrian Church of Malabar was reduced to being only a poor remnant of its former self, deprived of half its members, of most of its books and places of education and churches, and of almost all its resources, and unable to obtain real help from the Church at Antioch, itself then suffering under Moslem oppression. The marvellous thing is that it survived at all. How poor and oppressed yet faithful it was at the beginning of the last century we learn from the letters of the Oriental scholar, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who in 1817 visited it from Calcutta, and brought news of its condition to Bishop Heber, who was greatly interested. And then returning to England (taking with him to Cambridge various Syriac manuscripts, and some very ancient charters inscribed on copper plates) Dr. Buchanan pleaded for help, especially educational help, to be sent to these isolated yet steadfast Christians of the east.

For nearly another century Malabar remained an isolated and almost unknown part of India, communication being cut off on the landward side by its high range of mountains, and seaward by the silting up of its harbours. But the last few decades have seen a great change; the capitals, first of Cochin and then of Travancore, have become accessible by rail from other parts of India; and right down the country the Maharajah's highway, with its splendid new bridges over the swift river, carries a constant stream of motor traffic from one end to the other of this land, where the former mode of transit was chiefly by slowly-punted boats down the peaceful lagoons.

Meanwhile within the country itself another great change had been going slowly forward during the last century of its isolation. In response to Dr. Buchanan's appeal to England, the C.M.S. sent out Missionaries to Malabar, by whom his hopes of raising the standard of education among the Syrian Christians have been amply fulfilled; although the type of mission-of-help to the ancient Church which he had in mind was perhaps too far in advance of the ideas of the day for its achievement to be possible at that time. Thanks, therefore, mainly to the influence of the schools started in the eighteen-twenties by the C.M.S. the Syrian Christians of Malabar are to-day a well-educated community (they were by inheritance an upper-class and intelligent one), and many of the high posts in the state are now filled by Christians; while the education thus started has gradually spread through the whole country, till the state of Travancore (which, needing no army, can devote 1/5th of its revenue to education and hospitals), has now the highest average of literacy for both men and women of any part of India; and Syrian Christians who go out from their country to study at other universities take high places in the honours lists. A Syrian Christian lady, who was one of the most brilliant students at the

London School of Medicine for Women, is now State-physician in Travancore, with a seat on the Legislative Council (the first woman in India to have this), and is in charge of a splendidly-run State Hospital for women; while another Syrian Christian, an ex-fellow of Balliol, is used by the Government of India as an adviser on financial matters.

Contact with the outer world is now freely open to Malabar; the land is full of eager young students; and since high-school and college education is carried on there in English, all that can be read in English is theirs to lay hold of and discuss; and every year great conferences are held, attended by thousands of students, and addressed by people from all parts of India, and sometimes from America, and new influences of all kinds are being brought to bear upon them.

Syrian Christians form 1/7th of the total population of Travancore and Cochin, and number about 770,000; of these 403,000 (more than half) are Romo-Syrians, and 250,000 are Syrians in the direct line of spiritual descent from the earliest Christians of Malabar, who call themselves the 'Orthodox,' but are popularly known as the 'Jacobite' Syrians, both rather misleading names from a historical point of view. Another large body of 110,000 are Mar Thomites, a semi-Protestant, progressive sect, who separated themselves from the main body in 1889; there is also a small body of Syro-Chaldeans in Cochin state, and several smaller sects. A certain number of Syrians have joined the Anglican Communion through the C.M.S., but the greater number of the adherents of the C.M.S. are not Syrians but converts gained from heathendom.

The above short statement shows what deep cleavages exist within the Syrian community, but it is not of this sad side of things, but rather of a venture of faith in the "Orthodox" branch of the Syrian Church that I have been asked especially to write, in the hope of gaining the sympathy and prayers of many of the faithful for the first community of Sisters in this ancient Church.

In the Malabar Syrian Church, as in the Greek Church, the parish priests are married, but all the bishops are monks. There are, however, no monasteries, for they are monks of the Order of St. Anthony of the Desert, each living alone, as in the earliest days. The bishops have no possessions, but at each church and seminary a room, as simply furnished as the prophet's chamber, is provided for the bishop to occupy while he is there, and this room generally communicates with a gallery at the west end of the Church, which serves the bishop as an oratory; wherever the bishop is, the faithful of that place provide him with food during his stay, and they convey him by boat or palanquin to the next place he is visiting.

The liturgy in use is the East Syrian form of the liturgy of St. James, and it is said mostly in Syriac; so all priests before their

ordination study Syriac in the seminaries, and bishops are required to have attained a yet higher degree of scholarship in Syriac, which is the ecclesiastical language; all the entries, for instance, that they make at the end of their "Pontificals" recording the use of the services in it for making a monk, or consecrating a church or a bishop, must be made in Syriac. Their Pontifical descends from that of St. James of Edessa; and, besides the Order for making a monk, it has also one for making a nun, which until lately had not been used for 400 years, since the time of the Portuguese ascendancy.

The Romo-Syrians of Malabar, however, have about fifty convents of Indian Sisters as well as seventeen monasteries, all connected with western Religious Orders, and a desire for religious life *in community* has been growing among the "Orthodox," both in men and women, and has already reached its first expression in the foundation of the order of the "Imitation of Christ," under the guidance and inspiration of Fr. Gevergese (George), who has lately been consecrated as the first missionary bishop of the Syrian Church with the name of Mar Ivanios. Mar Ivanios (who besides being a Syriac scholar took the M.A. degree with honours at Madras University), has gathered round him at Bethany for the past sixteen years a keen band of young men, of whom 20, after long probation, have been admitted to the Brotherhood, 6 of them having been also ordained as priests and 5 as deacons. Their aim is to follow our Blessed Lord in His two-fold life of much prayer and of active work for the coming of the Kingdom; and their work, especially among the outcasts, is already bearing fruit.

But besides the men who gathered round Fr. Gevergese to devote themselves with him to the religious life, there were those among their sisters and cousins who were feeling drawn by the same call from our Lord to the life of absolute dedication. What could be done for them? Fr. Gevergese turned for help to the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, with whom he was already in touch through the O.M. Brothers' coming yearly to speak at the Students' Conferences in Travancore.

Far away in East Bengal a little group of Indian women in connexion with the Oxford Mission were trying to prepare for the Religious Life, and he asked that a few Syrian girls might come there too, to study and pray and wait for guidance. The first to take the long six days' journey to Barisal were three young girls aged 11 to 16, who came in the summer of 1916; they were followed by several others, among whom was a rather older but still young widow, who under the guidance of her uncle, a hermit-monk, had been living for some years a life given to prayer and good works. Fr. Gevergese arranged that whenever possible a Syrian priest and deacon should be at Barisal, so that they might not be cut off from

the ministrations of their own Church, and three other Syrian girls, who were studying in Calcutta for the B.A. degree, came to spend Christmas with them, one of whom has since joined their Sisterhood. After a time the child who came at 11 years old was sent back to finish her high-school course, but she too returned afterwards to the community. The Bengal women found the arrival of these Christian girls from another part of India deeply interesting. Here were women not western but Indian, whose families had been Christians for centuries, so that they had grown up in Christian homes, and had generations of Christian tradition and training behind them; while they in Eastern Bengal were either themselves converts or children of converts, and had all lived surrounded by a wholly heathen atmosphere. One of them expressed the difference they felt by saying, "We can't be good even when we try; while they don't know how to be bad even if they wanted to be."

The Christian home-life in Travancore is often very beautiful; the women, who are held in honour and educated, have charming manners, and are very gentle and affectionate. A noticeable feature of Syrian home-life is that every household comes together three times a day for prayer and worship led by the father of the family; even among the poorest the father of the family gathers the children together for these prayers before going out to his daily work, however early he has to start. And the Syrian girls who desired to be Sisters seemed to have great natural aptitude and gifts for the prayer side of their life. The great public corporate religious service of the Syrian Church is the celebration of the Holy Liturgy, which they call 'Qurbana,' the Gift, every Sunday and on the twelve great festal days of the year; all are present at this and take their part in the singing and prayers, but very few make their Communion frequently, except some specially pious persons. Beyond this there are very few services in the Churches except during Holy Week, and sermons are only preached occasionally, generally by a bishop; so that, although trained in offering worship both public and private, the 'Orthodox' Syrian Christians have very little public instruction in their faith, or in the Holy Scriptures. Another difficulty in the way of Bible-study has been that the printed scriptures are translated into such difficult language that people say they can understand them much better when they know enough English to read them in our version than they ever could in their own vernacular. So a good deal of the time of the Syrian candidates at Barisal was spent in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and in learning how to give religious instruction to children, as this was likely to be an important part of their future work.

When the Brotherhood of the Imitation was well established in its community life and work, and the women candidates had spent

over four years in preparation at Barisal, his Grace the Metran Dionysios, with the consent of the other bishops, allowed them to come and make an experimental beginning of community life at Tiruvalla in Travancore, under the charge of an Oxford Mission Sister; but it was another five years before any of them were actually clothed and consecrated as Religious, for the bishops felt that each step onward must be most carefully prepared for. But several of the candidates were by this time admitted to "discipleship in Holy Religion," which corresponds to the western noviciate, although the Religious Habit is not given until Profession.

At Tiruvalla the house and chapel of the Novices adjoined the grounds of the Syrian Church High School for girls of the "Orthodox" community, so they gave religious instruction to the girls in the High-school, and in a vernacular school close by, besides having Sunday-school classes in connexion with the Parish Church; and later on they started a very interesting and successful day-school for children of the outcasts, who are in Travancore some of the most down-trodden and degraded people in the world.

Then in 1925, on September 21st, which in the Eastern Churches is the Festival of our Lady's Nativity, the first three Syrian Sisters were 'Clothed' at Tiruvalla. A description of the service may be found in the Oxford Mission Quarterly paper for January, 1926; it took place in the Qurbana, and began at dawn, lasting for four hours. For one year more an Oxford Mission Sister stayed to see the Sisters well started in their new life, and then in September, 1926, another Sister was professed, and the eldest of them, the widow-lady, became their first Superior, and the little community of four professed Sisters and six 'disciples' or novices, began its own independent life.

The Sisterhood has as yet no formal Constitution, but has a simple rule of daily life approved by the bishops, and a 'Guide' as to the principles and practices of the Religious Life compiled from the teaching of St. Basil.

After a year the Oxford Mission Sister who had trained the Syrian Sisters went back to pay them a visit; she writes, "There is a most beautiful feeling of peace and joy and prayer, and everyone looks well and very happy. The Sisters are evidently succeeding almost better than we could have hoped in making their community a happy and united family, and a home of love. They seem to be just the best material for making Sisters, for they are naturally religious-minded, affectionate and teachable, cheerful, and calm, though they may not have the originality of English women."

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH ON RUSSIAN CULTURE.¹

IT is very natural to associate the ideas of Religion and Culture. They are correlated ideas, like those of Culture and Nationality. Cultures are individual, *i.e.*, national and denominational. And that is intelligible, for the creator of culture is the soul of man, and the soul is moulded by the potent influence of religion. The culture of Thibet is Buddhist, that of the new Persia is Mohammedan, that of the United States of America is Protestant: and Russian culture is Orthodox culture. Professor N. Miliukov, in that gifted product of his earlier years, *Outlines of the History of Russian Culture*, has with good reason devoted more than half of the second volume to the Church.

THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIAN CULTURE.

Formed as it is by the operation of many other factors, geographical, climatic, ethnographical, etc., from the religious point of view Russian culture, as one of the East-European cultures was born at the moment that St. Vladimir, after long reflection and the conflict of competing influences, chose the Byzantine baptismal rite and resolutely imposed it upon the whole Russian people. That was the decisive moment, providential for the whole of our history. According to the mystical teaching of the Church, baptism is an "indelible impress," and in fact, while the soul of the Russian people was christened, as it were, accidentally, from above and by imperial decree, it did become, historically, imprinted with Orthodoxy. In this way the Prince ("The Little Bright Sun") formed the collective historical soul of the people and became the true father and creator of our culture. Some of our fathers and forefathers, impressed by the cultural achievements of the West, doubted the positive significance of St. Vladimir's action, and with the paradoxical boldness of Chaadev regarded it as our unlucky fate. In opposition to them we are not disturbed by any inner tragedies of our culture, but on the contrary seeing in them the sign of a great vocation (*per aspera ad astra*) we acknowledge the Eastern baptism of St. Vladimir not as a curse but as a blessing in our history. We see in the fact that in contrast to other nations we have no special reverence, either culturally or even ecclesiastically, for the man who brought us to baptism, a sign of the immaturity of our national self-consciousness.

Russia was not severed from the Eastern type of Christianity by the blow of the Mongol invasion, a time when Princes of Galicia

¹ The substance of a speech delivered at the Sorbonne by A. Kartashev and reported in *Poot*. Translated by L. Patterson, D.D.

coquetted with the West. She did not follow her leader Constantinople in the 15th century into union with Rome. In 1441 the Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasili IV., expressing the general opinion of his country, arrested and expelled the Greek Metropolitan Isidore who was trying to bring about this union. This rejection of the Florentine union by Muscovite Russia has been truly characterized by our historian Soloviev. "It is one of those great decisions which for many centuries to come determine the destiny of peoples . . . Loyalty to ancient piety proclaimed by the Grand Prince Vasili preserved the independence of North-East Russia in 1612, it made impossible the accession to the Muscovite throne of the Polish Crown Prince, it led to the struggle for the Faith in the Polish dominions, it brought about the union of Little and Great Russia, it occasioned the fall of Poland, the might of Russia and the connection of the latter with the Balkan peoples who were of the same faith." The thought of the historian runs on purely political lines, but parallel with that and on lines of cultural interest we must note the moment of the refusal of union as introducing a complete epoch. The inner separation of the Russian world from the West (under the influence of the dream of Moscow as the Third Rome); firmly established the East-European character of Russian culture, which was not guarded either outwardly or still less inwardly by the great westernizing reform of Peter the Great. This was, so to speak, the "ontological" influence of the Church on Russian culture.

THE CHURCH AND THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

Another well-known activity of the Russian Church is related not to the very core of culture, but to one of its important constituents. We think of the church as educating, on the basis of Byzantine teaching about the Orthodox Empire, the Russian imperial power in the spirit of theocratic autocracy. That power was afterwards profoundly changed by Peter the Great and transformed from that time into secular absolutism. The process of this ecclesiastical education of the imperial power has been excellently expounded in a work of the late academician Dyakonov *The Power of the Muscovite Emperors*. It must be admitted that our supreme rulers were powerful agents of culture for their subjects. In a primitive agricultural country where only the Church is literate, our emperors actuated by motives of imperial defence or prestige, established with the help of foreign exponents a high technique, a lofty art, and the requisite science. Culture was imposed from above. But thanks to this aristocratic method of culture Russia produced the "effect," of Lomonosov, Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoi, *i.e.*, a culture not only on a European level, but universal. This universal level of culture once attained became the hoped-for

support for further efforts. The imperial, legal, and social aspects of the life of ancient Russia revealed the influence of the examples and ideas of the Byzantine Church. Kliuchevsky has given a brilliant analysis of this material in its application to the pre-Mongolian period. He shows how our law (criminal, civil, contract, marriage, etc.), was transformed according to Canon Law. Woman's position was raised, slavery diminished, usury checked, and so on. Kliuchevsky's analysis is applied to the whole Old-Russian period, to the Law Book of Ivan III. and Ivan IV. and even to the Code of Alexis. It is true that to this sphere of Byzantine influence there is another side, for example, the introduction among us of penal severity. Everyone knows how the Bishops persuaded the "kindly prince" Vladimir to introduce the death penalty for criminals.

THE CHURCH AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The rôle of the Church is vast in the domain of material culture, in the spheres of political economy and imperial colonization. The churches and especially the monasteries played a gigantic part in the economic development of Russian lands on an equal footing with all the working and peasant classes. They colonized forests, dales and fens, they ploughed up virgin soil, they established business and commerce. In the 16th century one third of the imperial territory belonged to the churches and monasteries, with rights of judging and hiring the population settled on it, of collecting taxes and furnishing recruits. This was a sharing of the work of government with the central authority. The specific thing that the Church did in this connection lay, however, not in the sphere of economy or government, but consisted in the Christianization and "Russifying" of aliens who stood on a lower level of culture in comparison with Christian Russia.

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION.

But the most specific, direct, and at the same time universal influence of the Church is concerned of course with education, *i.e.*, with the very soul of culture. This is for Russia a fact which it has in common not only with all the mediæval West, but with many Eastern countries. Faith and worship demanded a minimum of literacy, book-learning and skill. Schools, books and science were for centuries the exclusive property of the Church. All literary and intellectual creation was either directly the work of the Church or permeated by its spirit. The world of the other arts accessible to ancient Russia was naturally almost entirely a religious world. Architecture, painting and music were embodied in purely ecclesiastical monuments. The height of achievement in that sphere is seen in our Old-Russian Ikon, a masterpiece of enchanting un-

earthly beauty. The educative results of these civilizing and spiritualizing influences of the Church are shown in the Orthodox Russian soul. It has subsisted upon the principal elements of Orthodoxy, asceticism, humility, compassionate brotherly love, and eschatological dreaming of the righteous City of God radiant with the beauty of wisdom.

THE REFORMS OF PETER THE GREAT.

That timid soul of Orthodox Russia was scared by the ominous union of Russia with the West in 1591 at Brest Litovsk (a fatal town in Russian history!), by the threat of Latinism in the troublous times and the rolling wave of Latin-Polish culture in the reign of the Tsar Alexis. She plunged into the Dissent of Old-Ritualism, fled to the forests and hiding places, and was there confirmed in her impression of an utterly strange and painful element in the reform of Peter and the new European Enlightenment. The childlike simple instinct of this soul was not deceived. With Peter there entered into Russia and reigned over it a completely different enlightenment which sprang from a different root and had a different foundation. Then (under the old system) the aim had been heaven, now it was earth: then the lawgiver had been God, now, the autonomous man with his scientific intellect; then the criterion of conduct had been the mystical principle of sin, now, though refined, it was in the last resort the utilitarian morality of social life. Peter grafted on to Russia the great experiences of the Renaissance and of Humanism, and it was a brilliant success. Within fifty years we had the Russian Academy of Sciences in the person of Lomonosov, and within a hundred years—Pushkin.

Pushkin, as the enchanted twin, the double star, was directed in all his being towards Peter. He showed his mystical affinity with the promethean, human—solely human—genius of Peter. Pushkin was the greatest of the birds of Peter's eyrie. Peter dreamed of giving to Russia a European *intelligentsia*, and he gave it in the person of Pushkin. In Pushkin there came to completion all the achievements of the Renaissance and the age of Enlightenment. He became the irrepressible demonstrator of the European nature and vocation of the Russian genius. In Pushkin not only was the Russian language fixed as an instrument of world culture, but also the very spirit of European secularization was incarnate.

REACTION FROM PUSHKIN.

Already among the contemporaries of Pushkin, Lermontov and Gogol, different and jarring notes were heard. The further we go, the more we hear these discords in all the cultural experiences of the Russian intellectual class. There is, of course, a Pushkin line of descent in literature. We can trace it distinctly through

Turgenev and Chekov to Kuprin and Bunin. But the conflict of Gogol and Byelinsky revealed a series of moral dramas and passionate strife in the soul of the Russian *intelligentsia* and its creative leaders. In various degrees and different environments the spiritual depths of Russian culture were all the while disturbed by tragic, "accursed" (as they called them), questionings. From the sphere of pure thought where they were embodied in Tolstoi and Dostoyevsky, they spread tempestuously over the realms of public life and political idealism. Tragedy, stark tragedy seized upon the Russian intellectual soul. There was not a word of the classic serenity of Pushkin. At first the rationalistic publicists were at daggers drawn with it, and afterwards the moralizing democracy, yes, even the vulgar herd. The imperial repose of Pushkin's culture called forth fanatical enmity in whole generations of souls who were thirsting for unlimited social truth, longing for catastrophes and revolutions, and believing in the birth-throes of a completely new life on earth bringing consolation to all the degraded and despised. They strove for that heroically, practising asceticism inwardly and even outwardly, and sacrificing their personal happiness for the benefit of the weaker brethren. All these were essential features of the Russian national soul brought up in Old-Russian Orthodoxy. Here was her asceticism, humility, compassionate love, and search for a City not of this world. The Russian soul, Orthodox for a thousand years, impressed with its tragically mystical, almost apocalyptic tone all new Russian culture, by which it attracts to itself subconsciously, the attention of the whole world.

Losing her fiery elements in the face of the reform of Peter, the somewhat weakened Russian Orthodox soul gave way to the superior system of the new Enlightenment. Outwardly she could not but evolve under the influence of the Enlightenment. The Orthodoxy of the new Latin-scholastic school, of new churches and paintings in the baroque and renaissance style, of new operatic music, was a secular imperial Orthodoxy, alarmed by scientific Protestant problems, and modernized by the puzzles of the Inner Mission. There was the result of that evolution. At the same time Orthodoxy, not taken captive in the depths of her being by the historical and cultural movement, remained of course crystallized and immovable and did not adopt the new style. The types of Russian saints, those exact reflections of Orthodoxy, even in the 18th and 19th centuries were in nothing essential distinguishable from the heroes of the Kiev asceticism of the 11th century. St. Seraphim and Pushkin were contemporaries, but they did not know or need one another. They were inhabitants, so to speak, of different planets.

But the notable destinies of the Orthodox Russian soul in the last

centuries of Russian Europeanism relate to a specially religious sphere. The secular Orthodox soul having as it were lived through the silence and perplexity of the 18th century, the century of its tutelage, and received a certificate of its maturity began to make itself felt even on the surface of cultural creativeness. The alien mysticism of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries was only a preparatory school. In the forties secular Orthodox creativeness begins to make its appearance. Khomiakov theologizes genially and Gogol burns from the volcanic depths of his Orthodox soul. Pushkin, paganly charming in the magic of his perfection, put an end to all possibilities for Orthodox mysticism, and almost frightened Orthodox souls with imminent suffocation. But they rebelled again and emerged from the depths crying *de profundis*. Dostoyevsky in his youth hated Byelinsky for his anti-Orthodoxy, but bowed down before Pushkin. Why? Because Dostoyevsky was an Orthodox believer, not of the simple style, but of the new style, a Christian *couleur de rose* in the malicious description of K. Leontiev. Dostoyevsky with prophetic boldness united in his consciousness the human truth of culture and the divine truth of Christianity. He acknowledged Pushkin, for Pushkin was non-orthodox, but not anti-orthodox. Dostoyevsky who raised the Russian creative synthesis to an unusual height, and combined the Orthodox foundations of his soul with lofty and genuine values of European culture, possessed the power of rapturously rejoicing in and adoring Pushkin, who provided living material for the synthesis which was sought. Without him it would have been impossible for anyone to apply the Orthodox elements which Dostoyevsky carries in his soul for secular not denominational ends. Tolstoi did not solve this problem of synthesis. He sacrificed culture, and Pushkin with it. He was eaten up by the acid of asceticism and compassion, without the necessary humility and mystical "apocalypse" in the Orthodox sense. The creativeness of Tolstoi was produced by the inner convulsion of the Orthodox element in his soul, only it was complicated by his own Russian type of rationalism.

Vladimir Soloviev, a synthetic and modernized Christian, found no spiritual harmony with Pushkin, because he redirected the contemporary generation of cultured workers who were consciously and deliberately labouring for a synthesis of Orthodoxy and modernity. To the theological mind of Soloviev the pagan roots of the drama of Pushkin were already all too evident. A return to this was completely barred for the followers of Soloviev.

ORTHODOXY AND CULTURE IN THE FUTURE.

The specially Orthodox tendency in Russian culture, compared with other tendencies, maintained itself with power and ability up

to the Revolution, it has now its continuation and adherents, so that the question of its destiny in the new liberated Russia is opportune.

Will Russian culture be religious in the sense of Gogol, Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, Vl. Soloviev, the Trubetskoys, Leontiev, Rosonov, Merezhkovsky, Berdyaev, Novgorodtsev? Can there be any doubt that it will? But this is not to say that the country of Russia will be converted into a compulsory, police-guarded Orthodox monastery. Some of our young nationalists, ignorant of science and the experience of the past, talk nonsense about denominational autocracy. This is a nightmare, fortunately quite impossible in the atmosphere of contemporary life, and frankly, from the Christian point of view, a mockery of sacred things. There will simply be free competition in the arena of cultural creativeness among Orthodox, non-Orthodox, and non-religious groups. Allow me personally, as an Orthodox believer, to express in conclusion, the hope that we shall be victorious in this competition. What grounds are there for such hope? They are there already. When the filament of ascetic Orthodox idealism, like a sort of negative electricity, was led from the 17th through the 18th to the middle end of the 19th century, and united with the filament of positive electricity coming from Europe through Peter and Pushkin—you yourselves know what a blaze of light and splendour there was!

THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL AND THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.

By PROF. S. BULGAKOV.

DURING the summer of 1927, a Conference met at Lausanne and discussed questions of Faith and Order. This Conference would appear to be the most striking and vigorous expression which has hitherto occurred of that inclination towards unity which has been displayed by the whole Christian world in recent years and in a particularly active form since the War.¹

It was a solemn manifestation, not yet indeed of unity, but in any case of inclination towards unity, and an inclination which existed throughout the whole of Christendom. Its direct *dogmatic* results—in the sense of abolishing divergencies—were not of essential importance; these divergencies were simply stated, and no attempt made to arrive at agreement upon them. But the positive *religious* result was considerable. It was felt once more and with a new strength of conviction that the Christian world,

¹ Bell: *Documents on Christian Unity, 1920-4*. London 1924.

as an entire whole believes in the Lord Jesus Christ and loves Him, that it finds its Spiritual nourishment in the Holy Gospel and the Word of God, thanks to the Holy Spirit who lives in that Word and "bloweth where it listeth" without any man knowing "Whence it cometh or whither it goeth."

That is the good and lasting "panchristianity" of the Conference—to adopt the cruel phraseology of the papal encyclical *Mortalium animos*, which warns Roman Catholics against participating in this movement. For, for all Christians, Christ is truly One. He is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, and the fundamental significance of this fact cannot be concealed by any division; not even by the Roman Catholic "panpapalism" which in the Encyclical is plainly set over against the "panchristianity."

Certainly, in the conscience of the Church there is no place at all for any distinction between truths of the faith as *fundamentalia* or *non-fundamentalia*, for all alike are truths and equally essential. Nevertheless, a difference exists in the degree of manifestation of these truths (*dogmata explicita* and *implicita*) and also in the relation they bear to one another at the outset. The seed from which all Christian dogma springs, slowly and little by little, by a historic process which is not without its waverings and deviations, this seed is in a word the confession of the Apostle Peter on the road to Caesarea Philippi: "Thou art the Christ; the Son of the living God" (St. Matthew xvi, 16.). That faith is the foundation stone of the Church and it is precisely that which was preached by the Apostles. Without that faith, there is no Christianity, and it includes within itself already the possibility of accepting all the dogmas. These latter, once brought to light, are all seen to be equally essential.

But up to that moment it is possible that they were absent from the consciousness of the Church, just as to-day they are lacking (as the result of error or narrowness), in many Protestant communities. That primitive Christian simplicity which pious Protestants seek after, is precisely the *initial* state of dogmatic faith. It would be wrong, certainly, to manifest the faith in this initial stage, but none the less the first foundations must not be depreciated. And at Lausanne there was something of that primitive Christian enlightenment in the quickened feeling that all Christians believe in and love and adore Jesus Christ, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and that one single Gospel of the Kingdom embraces them all.

It was expressed formally in the acceptance with unity of heart and voice of the first Report, the Mission of the Church in the World—the Gospel. It sometimes happens in the Spiritual life, that one has a quickened experience, not only of new truth, but

of truths already known, but which in practice had been forgotten and so had lost touch with life. It was in that way that the Lausanne Conference also on its part was aware of a quickened collective experience of faith in Christ, and the enlightenment and blessing which comes from nearness to Him. "Did not our heart burn within us while He talked with us by the way?" (St. Luke xxiv, 32). Men who were strangers to each other, remote from one another, of different races and languages, were, by that experience brought near to one another; something was achieved; and those who took part in that Spiritual event, preserve a memory of it which lays a responsibility upon them. Nor must we under-estimate the psychological and religious importance of personal contact and bonds of friendship which were formed among representatives of different denominations hitherto more accustomed to accusing and condemning each other than to listening with a view to understanding one another. Here is what Cardinal Mercier wrote to his clergy on this subject in connection with the Malines Conversation: "Men are made to love one another. Not rarely does it happen that the hearts of strangers, who from a distance believed themselves enemies, on understanding each other experience an intimate delight which they would not have suspected. It is perhaps the first time for four hundred years, said one of them, that studious men, Protestants and Roman Catholics, have been able to converse with entire frankness for hours and hours on the very grave subjects which separate them intellectually, without the cordiality of their relations being for an instant impaired or their confidence in the future disconcerted. Assuredly the drawing together of hearts is not unity in faith, but it makes for it."¹ "Why these conversations?" asks Cardinal Mercier, and he gives this answer: "First of all because I have no right to avoid an opportunity offered me of performing an act of brotherly love and Christian hospitality."²

To set over against these declarations the prohibition of taking part in meetings (*conventus*) with non-Catholics which the Encyclical lays upon Roman Catholics, is an adequate measure of the divergence between these two lines of action. The present declaration *apostolicæ sedis* was particularly unexpected from the lips of a Pope who envisaged the unity of the Christian world (in the Roman sense), as the task of his pontificate. The gist of the Encyclical is this: Roman Catholics are forbidden to meet non-Catholics in the field of dogma; unless the non-Catholics,

¹ Bell: *loc. cit.* 354-5. Later on Cardinal Mercier refers as an example to the Encyclical *Ecclesiam Dei* of Pope Pius XI., in which the Pope exhorts Latins and Easterns to mutual understanding and the laying aside of prejudices.

² *Loc. cit.* 357. Later on the Cardinal refers to Pope Leo XIII.'s letter *Amanatissima Voluntatis (ad Anglos)*, April 14th, 1895, where the following passage occurs: "In rebus enim magnis atque in arduis si modo sint sincero et bono animo suscepta, adest homini Deus."

repenting of their errors, enter the Roman Catholic Church, and in particular, unless they accept the Vatican decree and submit to the Pope. The encyclical is distinguished by this extreme exclusiveness not only regarding the possibility of union (of which up to this point nothing has been said), but also even regarding those extra and intra-ecclesiastical relations which in our time are acquiring such a vital importance. The conversations with "Protestants" which quite recently took place at Malines are as it were prohibited by the last Encyclical; not to speak of the various relations with the Orthodox authorized by Rome so short a while ago—the Velehrad Conferences which were officially encouraged, as well as the personal contact of Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians which apparently gave much spiritual satisfaction on both sides and seemed to be desirable and fruitful. (Non-Catholics, notably the Heads of the Orthodox Churches, had even been invited to take part in the Vatican Council.)

Certainly, such exclusiveness bears most heavily, and with all its weight, on Roman Catholics themselves, who are placed in a position of unnecessary isolation, and prejudicial to Christian activity. We hope that life will rectify the situation; but, so far as the Conference of Lausanne is concerned, evidently there can be no going back on the decision. Nevertheless, the Lausanne Conference itself was filled with the desire to have representatives of the Roman Catholic world in its midst, not in the least as a party, but as representing the most powerful branch of Western Christianity.

They would have set forth their own doctrine, and their presence would have allowed a spiritual *rapprochement* among the persons concerned. In a word, their presence would have served the same ends as those which led Cardinal Mercier to bless the Malines Conversations. As it has been pointed out on several occasions on the platform and in the press, it is beyond doubt that the *rapprochement* of the Christian world which has begun, will be one-sided and incomplete so long as Roman Catholics hold aloof. And, however irreconcilable the Vatican may be, from the other side, everything possible must be done, as it has been in the past, to bring Roman Catholics into participation in the world-wide movement now set on foot. Unhappily, we must once more state plainly that the western ecclesiastical world has not yet got beyond its divisions and that spiritually it suffers from the fact.

The strength of the Encyclical *Mortalium animos* lies in the fact that it raises the question of the bare possibility of such an enterprise as the Lausanne Conference—the question of the dogmatic meaning and the antecedent conditions of the enterprise. In this respect, an analysis of the Encyclical is of an interest all the greater from the fact that a similar exclusiveness is characteristic of

Orthodox circles of Roman Catholicizing tendency, although fundamentally the difference between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy is seen with particular clearness in this matter.

II.

What then is the effective basis of the Lausanne Conference and of the inter-denominational movement towards unity? What are its dogmatic pre-suppositions? How is this movement possible if one considers the profound dogmatic divergencies which exist? It is understood that here there can be no question whatever of any doctrinal *amalgam*, or of a new confession of faith based on an agreement which is arrived at by throwing into prominence beliefs held in common and rejecting all the rest. It is just in this way that the papal Encyclical puts the problem. But such a relativity would satisfy hardly anyone, unless it were some small Protestant sects which readily come into being by a process like the picking of grapes from a bunch and disappear with the same facility by joining up again. Doubtless the unifying of these sects is in itself a visible good, and it constitutes a certain gain. But relativity of that kind, foreign indeed to most denominations, is supremely incompatible with Orthodoxy, which sees in herself the one true Apostolic Church, holding the tradition in its entirety and unchanged purity, and possessing the apostolic inheritance of the hierarchy. In this sense the absolutism of Orthodoxy is not less than that of the Roman Church, although their paths are different. And in a word, the union movement can, for Orthodoxy, have no other task than the re-uniting of all men in the bosom of the Orthodox Church, that there may be one flock and one Shepherd. In other words, as the Encyclical says, "*Christianorum enim conjunctionem haud aliter fieri licet quam fovendo ad unam veram Christi Ecclesiam reditum.*"

It goes without saying that the participation of representatives of the Orthodox Church in the union movement is only possible on condition that the fulness and purity of Orthodoxy is safeguarded. Solemn testimony was borne to this by a special declaration signed without exception by the Orthodox delegates who took part in the Lausanne Conference. Only, this doctrinal *maximizing*, supremely essential and unquestionable for the Church as it is, does not compel the Orthodox to infer from it those consequences which the Roman Church deduces from the same doctrinal *maximizing*. No doubt the most direct deduction from it appears to be abstention from all intercourse with heretics, as the canons themselves enjoin. This logical result, which is not foreign to certain Orthodox circles also, answers but little to the example of the Apostle Paul who desired to be "all things to all men" if by any means he might save some. It is true that the

canons forbid prayer for heretics and intercourse with them, but the meaning and force of this prohibition consist in this—the avoidance of that shows itself to be an insensibility to religion or even a will to heresy. When such a will does not exist, and when, on the contrary, there is an effort towards unity in Christ, the rigid application of these canons would be to strain out a gnat and swallow a camel like the Pharisees. It is on this account that the strict letter of these canons is, quite properly, not put into operation, and that just as much by Orthodox bishops when for instance they associate, even for common worship, with Anglicans, as by Roman Catholics when they meet for the Conversations of Malines and Velehrad and bless them with their prayers. The united prayer even constitutes the particular strength of such gatherings. It need hardly be said that this sort of union has its limits, and what is more, fairly narrow limits. For Churchmen, the possibility of sharing in the sacraments at the Lord's Table with the heterodox is excluded; they cannot take the step which is, in comparison, so easy for Protestants. At the Lausanne Conference, representatives of Protestant communities previously separated from each other, yielded to their inclination towards unity and made their communions together. Sacramental Communion, pre-supposing the unity of a hierarchy of apostolic succession, is no doubt a matter of a still distant future. It is on account of dogmatic differences that such communion does not yet exist between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism in spite of the mutual recognition of both their sacraments and their orders by the two Churches.

Militant heresy and schism which rend the Church do no doubt call for defensive action on her part, self-protection is unavoidable. That is what is still taking place to-day in reference to the warring sects. But a community which has overcome, or is overcoming, its actual will for separation, and wherein on the other hand there can be perceived an effort for union *in spite of* the separation, which was already brought about and which was inherited—does such a community deserve to be brusquely repelled by an unreasonable and rigid demand to repent and submit? Why must one repent and submit before one realizes that that is necessary? Perhaps a method which is suitable at times is this—to be all things to all men that one may save some.

Communion among Christians is necessary and possible, not only among those who live within the Church but also between these latter and those who are separated from the Church and who even do not yet notice separation which they are unaware of as an accomplished fact.

The Church is a whole, not only in the sense of that Catholicity which is opposed to all spiritual provincialism, but also in the

sense of a gathering together of hearts in love and unity of thought. And the whole is realized in *the fact of the gathering together*, a fact which may be produced very often and in very different ways. At the time of the first Œcumenical Council, even pagan philosophers were admitted to the discussions, and in this respect the picture with which the first Œcumenical gathering presents us is most significant.

The fact of members of different Christian denominations meeting together, once it has become spiritually possible, and even necessary, opens up vast possibilities of *rapprochement* and of grasp of each other's doctrinal position. Previously, that could take place only through the medium of cold print, with no personal mutual understanding in love. Hence objective differences became still greater from the fact that each side failed to understand the other.

How many of the injuries that history records, how many misconceptions in the sphere of doctrine, have been due to one-sidedness of expression and the inexactitude of human language! These injuries and misconceptions may be treated remedially and perhaps even got rid of, and thus knowledge of the one ecclesiastical truth which conquers by its irrefutability, will be brought nearer to hand. Of course, we must give up any premature ideas of making all psychologies and all local traditions uniform and on the same level; and as a matter of fact, speaking generally, the unity of the Church does not require that.

The Lausanne Conference is not an ecclesiastical council, in the exact sense of the word, for a council can include in its midst only members of the Church; but on the other hand neither is it a purely secular extra-ecclesiastical assembly, or a congress. It is, so to speak, an assembly "near the Church," and even to a certain extent an ecclesiastical assembly. It is well known that catechumens, though not yet baptized, are admitted to the Liturgy of the Catechumens, and it is a plain fact that they are not strangers to the Church. How then can it be shown that these Christians who have received baptism (baptism in the Name of the Holy Trinity, which is always valid), are *outside* the Church? And *a fortiori*—what is to be said of those who, by maintaining a valid ministry have all the other sacraments also, although they remain in separation? It is clear that the customary dogmatic and canonical conceptions which know but two positions—belonging or not belonging to the Church—are inadequate for the present state of things, they must be made more subtle and complex. Baptism, a living faith in the Lord, a love for Him, the Holy Gospel—these do not remain powerless and ineffective.

It is a mystical, but a real, soil for the germination of union,

and this latter contains the possibility of growth. The re-union of the Christian world will not be achieved by a "pact," an agreement, and a human contrivance. It can be accomplished only by the inspiration of love for Christ and by the operation of the Holy Spirit. It is a miracle, which transcends human powers; but Christians should pray for the miracle and believe in it. We must not *make peace with* the divided state of Christendom; we must always feel our hearts wounded by the fact of its division. And the Orthodox "gathering" (*soborovanie*), throws open its heart in love even to the heterodox, because of the genuine and sincere love of the Lord which they possess and in spite of the many things they do not possess. And the blame for what is lacking in many cases does not attach to those who are living now, but is to be found in past history. Orthodoxy is not only static; not only a secured condition of plenitude, the treasury of the true faith maintained unchanged to the end of the ages; but it is also dynamic, operating in the Christian world, it is, so to speak, the leaven of it—it is the interior logic of Christianity.

To remain aloof from this great and holy activity, which is taking place in the world, would be, for Orthodoxy, to sin by lack of love and want of earnestness. Doubtless that lays upon us a burden hard to bear, weak and feeble as we are, but the power of God works even through weakness. In the light of what has just been said, Orthodoxy, while abiding in all her unchangeableness and in no sense putting herself in the position of one of the contracting parties, is entirely able to *gather together* with Christians of another denomination and to help them in their search for the only true "Church life." This requires of the Church maternal care and love for the dispersed children of God, to the end that they may be one in the Lord and in His Church.

But why could not these considerations have the same force for Roman Catholicism also? Is it possible that Roman Catholicism was held back by a sense of humiliation, external and purely imaginary, at coming into the Conference as one of many "Churches" and not as *the* only Church? But such a touchiness would be contrary to the spirit of pastoral love and the readiness to be all things to all men. Could the Protestant Churches have been asked at the same time, to abandon their position and decide their mutual relations in some other way? Has the Roman Pontiff never called himself *Servus servorum Dei*?

It would seem that the real cause of the negative attitude of Rome is deeper and more general in character, and lies in the fact that the Roman Church is *before all else* the ecclesiastico-legal organization of a hierarchical *dominion* which has its centre in the Pope and that it relegates unity in love to a second place only.

¹ "ecclesiasticid."

It is not for nothing that the Encyclical speaks so much of the Vatican decree, which it puts on a level with fundamental Christian dogmas, and in general of the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Recognition of this authority and submission to it are the *præsumptions* of a gathering held in common with the Roman Church. The Vatican decree has here come before the Nicæan; Papal infallibility has disguised the Gospel.

Such an obstacle is absolutely lacking in Orthodoxy. To her, Canonical Communion is not the preliminary condition, but the result and the realization of achieved unity of the Church; and to her love is higher than law. For this reason she advances *freely* along the path of assembly in common, a path which for Catholicism is seen to be barred by the Vatican decree. That is the main conclusion we come to as we leave the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI., of the Pope who began precisely with an appeal to unity and for meeting on the common ground of conciliatory approach and reciprocal understanding. These conciliatory inclinations are seen to-day to be vanquished by the tendencies of the Vatican.

There remains the hope that even this Encyclical will not destroy the possibility and close the avenues of intercourse with representatives of Roman Catholic theological thought. I know that in spite of all I have been saying, all the real danger of interdenominationalism can be pointed out. But the time is passed already when one could shut oneself up and hold aloof from the world, as if in a monastic cloister. To-day the Church is surrounded by tempests, the waves of which dash unceasingly against the ship. And in face of the aggressive anti-Christian movement, the ill-sorted forces of the Christian Army must close their ranks, and look for and determine to find mutual comprehension. "Seek and ye shall find." But certainly, to that very end, we must maintain a strong and living bond with the Church, we must know our spiritual fortress, we must know the gate by which we can come out of it, and by which we can return within for purposes of defence. That fortress is our holy, universal, apostolic and Orthodox Church.

III.

The work of the Lausanne Conference must be continued in the world. But along what lines? Evidently a simple repetition of the Conference is not desirable, nor even possible; *non bis in idem*.

After the first step, longer steps should follow. What was accomplished at Lausanne was the common confession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God; and on this rock His Church must be consolidated. At Lausanne faith was professed in the Holy Gospel as the book of Eternal Life; and now that

faith must be put into evidence. At Lausanne the confessions of faith of Nicæa and of the Apostles were proclaimed; now their full content must be developed. At Lausanne the principal task was to establish the indispensable unity of faith and the unity of thought which derives from it, before examining the points of divergence and attempting to get rid of them; now it is time to pass on fearlessly to the scrutiny of the matters wherein differences exist, and that in a spirit of edification, patience and love; above all, with the desire to understand each other and to grasp the direction and the strength of our divergencies.

The one general current should be separated out into canals; the "œcumenical urge," should be actualized in detailed labour. We must set on foot education in comparative Christian doctrine, only it must not bear the character of "accusatory theology," its purpose must be not attack and defence, but conciliatory dealing with questions upon which controversy has arisen and schisms have been formed. Such a relation of love and peace with a doctrinal opponent by no means implies indifference to doctrine (the indifference which the Encyclical makes into a bogey for us), for steadfastness in the truth and fidelity to the truth are not by any means synonymous with hostile intolerance. It often happens that errors are half-truths, and one-sidedness of truth, or even just of its expression in words. They are, in Vladimir Soloviev's phraseology, "abstract principles"; and in the light of the whole truth, these partial truths can find the place which is proper to them.

It follows that controversies must not be feared, we must even meet them half way. Such is the path that opens out before us now. The success or failure with which this work meets will at the same time indicate the degree of maturity which the enterprise as a whole has reached. But all the same the enterprise cannot remain in the stage of irresolution and semi-explanation.

But on a level with this negative method of controversy, a positive method must also be applied. And that is, to learn from one another what is the real treasure and what are the spiritual gifts peculiar to the religious life of each.

From this it follows that labour upon doctrinal studies and upon comparative knowledge of the religious life of the various Christian communities, should be for a prolonged and indefinite period, the principal undertaking in the movement for unity. We must set about realizing this "conciliar atmosphere" as an effort of long duration which will prepare for the *Council of Œcumenical Christendom*. With such an effort in view, suitable institutions should be planned and founded. Hence above all I support with Professor Heiler the idea of founding a permanent institute or

¹ *Conciliarit.*

academy, "for Œcumenical research." Competent theologians belonging to the different streams of Christianity, would share in the labours of this institute. It would be necessary then, of course, to make a fresh attempt to draw in Roman Catholic theologians also. Such an establishment would organize theological Congresses and prepare materials for a future Conference, though this should only be held after a long interval of time. The second task of the institute would seem to be to create an Œcumenical literature: journals, collected extracts, books on the fundamental questions from which the divergent confessions of faith have arisen.

The aim of this literature would be, not so much to produce "conviction," as to provoke doctrinal discussion and even controversy, to assist in bringing about mutual understanding. The lack of literature of this kind is no small hindrance to further *rapprochement*. "Love believeth all things and hopeth all things."

The usual thing in the case of doctrinal differences, is to make the essential presupposition that one's opponent is an obstinate and ill-willed heretic. But with such an institute one might hope effectively to discover the paths which lead to the opponent's reason and heart.

The Stockholm Conference has already embarked upon a corresponding enterprise—an international social institute with its periodical publications. Such a foundation is imperatively needed for the Lausanne Conference also.

What are the questions which come to the fore in Œcumenical deliberation, or universal "conciliar atmosphere"?

They are first of all ecclesiastical questions: the Nature of the Church; the priesthood; the sacraments and in particular the Eucharist. With this is naturally associated the question of redemption. But absolutely in the very front rank must be placed a matter which springs directly from acceptance of the Nicene Creed, that is to say, what are the meaning and value of the *culte* of the Mother of God. I pointed out the necessity of this at the actual time of the Conference. That subject more than any other has divided the Christian world, and the attitude one adopts towards it should be settled with absolute clearness.

All this pre-supposes a long and difficult path, of study, deliberation and controversy. Only the controversialists are already no longer enemies, but friends who seek to understand each other. They are, above all, brothers in the Lord, though hitherto they have been *fratres separati*.

Assuredly what has been said does not exclude the possibility and even desirability of holding congresses both on a general scale and privately. Such congresses would arouse brotherly feeling, they would provide opportunities of personal contact, in them particular isolated subjects would be dealt with, which were already

prepared and ripe for discussion though not at that moment constituting the centre of gravity. I would desire to put forward the suggestion that the first of these congresses should be devoted to the subject of Mariology.

ROMA LOCUTA EST.

By PROF. HAMILCAR ALIVISATOS.

ROMA locuta est! Rome has spoken. The highest authority in the Roman Church, Pope Pius XI, has issued his celebrated encyclical *De vera religionis unitate fovenda*, or, as it is known from the first two words of the text, *Mortalium animos*. This encyclical has been occasioned by the Pan-Christian Conference at Lausanne and by that general movement towards unity which is such a marked feature of our day amongst all Christians except the Papalists, particularly since the end of the world war. And it was right and proper and generally expected that the voice of the Roman Pontiff should be heard on the occasion of such a truly world-historical event as the World Conference at Lausanne. Because, independently of the recognition or no of the authority claimed by him, it was his duty to speak as representing that authority; granted of course that this event was to be regarded as important and worthy of attention. And actually it seems the Conference at Lausanne was regarded as a remarkable event and consequently the Roman authority has spoken. But how?

Everyone expected the Roman Pontiff, from the height of St. Peter's watch tower, to explore and appraise the situation successfully and that the criticisms and arguments which he would subsequently bring forward would fit the circumstances and be in every way worthy of the famous and accredited Roman tradition, "And thou, when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." Unfortunately Rome has spoken and again in a negative way, and the whole world is perplexed and astonished at the negative utterances of the Papal encyclical. Papal authority demands obedience to its utterances, but only when these utterances are irrefutable can they ensure obedience.

Otherwise it is open to criticisms and censures which are the more objectionable in proportion as they refer in any way to some higher authority. It is astonishing how His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, following the bad tradition of his predecessors, has spoken so unseasonably, contrary to all expectation and once again in opposition to what the Christian world was looking for. Because, either the Assembly of representatives of all the Christian Churches in Lausanne is a historical fact worthy of the Pope's attention, and

then the Pope's words ought to be worthy of Christ and of Peter, or it is not such, in which case Rome should be silent, and not speak; she should disdain to speak. And we, in our insignificance, regret being so bold as to point out respectfully this new mistake on the part of Papal authority, and being obliged to refute again the dogmas of Rome, while we should have been the first to applaud the words of the Roman Bishop so long as they were in absolute agreement with reality. Rome knows the desire which inflames, not merely (as she says), the souls of men, but those of true Christians, towards the attainment of peace, of the stability of the holy Churches of God and the union of the whole world. And she follows the truly wonderful movement which is taking place and the moral effort—surpassing imagination—on the part of all the moral forces of Christianity, to hurl back the anti-Christian Evil, which like another savage beast of the Apocalypse rears its head to-day against the men who have been truly sealed with the grace of Christ. It does not escape the attention of the Vatican that a new era has arisen in the history of the relations of mankind and that despite the thistles and tares which the Evil One sows in the path of good, yet the divine finger is clearly to be discerned, guiding and directing all towards unity.

And Rome would be excessively short-sighted if she were not able to comprehend the truly miraculous change which has come over the souls of men after the world war, and how they seek at any sacrifice the replacement of the already outworn and despised materialistic ideas and tendencies by other higher claims, which, even if they are not confessedly Christian, yet trace their descent from Christianity.

For even if it were maintained that, to-morrow perhaps, humanity might find itself confronted by a new and more terrible war, who does not recognize, nevertheless, that we are at an exceptionally critical and changeable epoch, the direction of which from a spiritual and moral point of view has an incomparably higher aim than hitherto? And if Rome sees this movement how does she understand and follow out the Lord's command "And thou, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."? And are the gates of St. Peter's fold wide open that the Great Shepherd may come out to seek and strengthen the flock as it returns to its senses, and does he come to meet it through the feeling he has of the necessity of unity, even if it be (we will accept it for the moment), as the father of the prodigal son who comes to meet the returning prodigal? Or are the gates of the Vatican hermetically sealed and is the Castle of St. Angelo fortified and from out the depth of this mausoleum of Hadrian is the querulous voice, not of Christ and the Apostles, but of the Cæsars, heard, saying with Roman, assuredly, but not Christian persistence, *Non possumus?* And

further what meaning have these details about "Protestants" and "Pan-Christians" and "Modernists" and "Followers of Photius" and their errors, over against this central idea which ought to govern the Papal encyclical positively while it rather governs it negatively? The Papal encyclical, like another Martha is careful and troubled about many things, since almost the whole scholastic theology—though certainly not in a very systematic order—is set forth in it, with the final aim of enhancing the dignity of the supreme Bishop of the Church.

But what sort of Christian and Evangelical conception is this, Holy Father, which the traditions of the body of the Vatican expound over your august signature? Is the problem before Your Holiness the theology of the Papal authority or the admission and reception into the one fold (granted for the moment, the Roman fold) of those hitherto in error? And leaving aside the other efforts and organizations of our time for promoting unity, was not the picture of the Conference at Lausanne worthy of attracting the earnest and positive attention of the ruler of the Roman Church, just when truly marvellous things were happening there? When almost all there were acknowledging the importance of tradition and seeking the sanction of ecclesiastical authority and all were striving and labouring after ecclesiastical unity no matter how each conceived it in principle?

And ought the Father of every Christian soul—as he claims to be by nature and position—to be indifferent to such a striking confession and attitude on the part of those precisely who in his conception (we accept it for the moment), have rent the robe of Christ? Or should he not, on the contrary, full of love and compassion, strengthen this inclination and invigorate those who are faint-hearted and show the way and open the door, but never close it hermetically? I do not desire, and could not, in such a limited space, repeat the more commonly known objections of a soundly thought-out Orthodox Christian theology with respect to the theological questions touched upon. Because, in addition to repeating what is well known, I should require a whole treatise for their exposition. But I ask, leaving aside for the moment these theological particulars (and I ask this as if sharing momentarily the purely Papal conceptions), is the course pursued hitherto by those who are ironically called "Pan-Christians" towards the truth they formerly disdained, so worthy of contempt that this terrible voice from Rome should be heard, which can naturally have no other result than to cause those who were moving away from error to return and go back hastily to the starting point of their error? Might this be blameworthy perhaps? And would perchance a suitable strengthening of the brethren at this point, so that they could return to the full truth be characterized as more

Christian? In truth, I am astonished, not at the contents of the encyclical—for they are commonplaces—but at its tone, and the negative result which it may possibly have on those (hitherto) prodigals who have started to return. Assuredly, from this point of view, the words of the successor of Peter and the Vicar of Christ should have been different. But unfortunately the spirit of the world continues to triumph, just where in accordance with the existing claim to authority there should prevail the spirit of "My kingdom is not of this world." But finally, let us see in contrast to Rome's conduct what is the attitude of Constantinople. We know that Rome, despite her efforts and her straining after Unitism, at bottom hates and despises the real Catholic Church, which is called and truly is, Catholic. This Orthodox Church then, full, as always of humility and truly Christian spirit, and inspired by her tradition with a well-understood spirit of freedom, did not turn away her face nor shut her eyes and ears, but, full of sympathy and love, turned towards those who were approaching and without deviating by one jot or tittle from anything laid down by Our Lord and the Apostles—but on the contrary laying emphasis on the place of absolute truth—addressed to them sincere words of friendship and sympathy and co-operation, though it may be granted she was not in agreement with their conceptions. And this without attempting in a spirit of arrogance to draw them to herself or stressing her own authority, but simply pointing out and emphasizing the truth and leaving what is weak to be healed and what is lacking to be supplied, not by violence, but by the grace and action of Christ. And we can have no doubt that the joy which the Orthodox Church actually feels—with the path of her sufferings not yet consummated—as she sees the progress which other Christians have achieved in the field of the Christian life, must find an echo in their Christian consciences.

Who knows but that very shortly, as in a new Pentecost, if we are glad-hearted and strong—but never, God forbid—if we are heavy-hearted, impatient and discouraged, the unity of all may be attained to the glory of Christ, just in measure as we look, not to our own benefit, but to the building up and glory and completion of the Body of Christ?

THE SLAVOPHIL DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.

By N. VON ARSENEV.

THE Russian Slavophiles grew out of the very heart of the Eastern Orthodox Church and are permeated by its spirit. For that reason it is particularly profitable to investigate their teaching about

the Church, for that teaching is itself born of the innermost spirit of the Church; it has laid hold upon this spirit in the depths of its being and brought it to expression.

Khomiakov's doctrine of the Church is not simply an individual theory: the spirit of the Church lives in it, it is her witness, flesh of her flesh, spirit of her profoundest spirit. And therein lies its value and authority. For it may be affirmed that Khomiakov's doctrine of the Church has in its main outlines become authoritative. Or rather, the Russian Church has more and more recognized that it fell to him to find the right words for that which has always been authoritative for the Church, that which constituted her innermost being.

One doctrine, or rather *one* experience, permeates the whole of Khomiakov's presentation of the nature of the Church, *i.e.*, the doctrine of the operation of the Holy Spirit. His doctrine of the Church is therefore a mystical doctrine. By this operation of the Holy Spirit everything is explained, from it everything in the nature of the Church is derived. The Holy Spirit who dwells in her is entirely objective and absolute, for He is God, and He is at the same time the Spirit of Liberty. Thus the inner life of the Church is not a combination of human, subjective and transitory feelings. She has within herself her objective, firmly grounded, unshakeable divine substance; and at the same time, precisely because of her knowledge of the divine Spirit, she has liberty within herself in the highest degree, for where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty. In this way inward strength and unshakeableness (for the Spirit of God cannot change) are conjoined with liberty. And throughout Khomiakov's teaching the stable grounding in an objective-absolute substance and the spirit of liberty are harmoniously combined. And further, this spirit of liberty is united with reverence for the external standards and forms of Church life, and with reverence for Church tradition, which, however, itself has its value as a vehicle of the spirit. For the united life of the Church maintains its value and continues to justify and explain itself, solely from the Holy Spirit who dwells in the Church, dwells in her tradition, speaks in her scriptures, prays in us, accomplishes good works in us, and sanctifies us by His Grace.

Khomiakov even allows himself to say: "Scripture is, in and for itself, external, and works are external, only what is interior in them is the Spirit of God." "Therefore it is not even everyone who prays and does works, or professes himself a holder of the Church's Creed, who is pleasing to God, but he is pleasing to God who does works and confesses the faith and prays in the Spirit of Christ which dwells in him." That, however, is not to be taken as a subjective view of the Church, for the life of the divine Spirit in the Church is entirely objective, or rather it is *the reality*: for it is the life of God in His creature, which is thereby sanctified, it is the actuality of God.

Into this actuality of God, only the *whole* man can become rooted with all his spiritual powers;¹ and even so, not alone, but in the community of love. For the being of God is love, and only to the lover does He reveal Himself. "But man cannot love God, whom he hath not seen, if he loves not his brother, whom he hath seen." Thus only as we love the brethren can we attain to God. As also the Apostle says:—"That ye, *being rooted and grounded in love*, may be able to comprehend *with all saints* what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God." That is the meaning of the Church: that is the spirit of love which dwells in the Church. Before all else, this life (of the Church) is mutual love in Christ Jesus, says Khomiakov. We shall not and cannot be saved and sanctified as separate individual personalities without our brethren. "We know," writes Khomiakov, "that if one of us falls, he falls alone: but no one will be saved alone: he that is saved will be saved in the Church as her member in union with the other members. Does any man believe? Then he is within the fellowship of faith. Does any man love? Then he is within the fellowship of love. Does any man pray? Then he is within the fellowship of prayer. Say not, 'What prayer can I allow to be allotted to the living or to the dead, since my prayer does not suffice even for myself?' For in that case thou understandest not how to pray; to what purpose would it be, that thou shouldst pray even for thyself? But the spirit of love prayeth in thee. . . . Again, say not, 'The judgment of God can certainly not be altered,' for thy prayer itself lieth in the pathways of God, and God hath foreseen it. If thou art a member of the Church, then thy prayer is needful for all her members. But if the hand says that it has no need of the blood of the rest of the body, and that it will not give its own blood to it, the hand will perish. Thus also art thou needful to the Church so long as thou art within her: but if thou withdrawest from the fellowship, thou diest, and art no longer a member. . . . And the blood of the Church is prayer for one another, and her breath is the praise of the Lord."

For the Church is the great *organism*, not merely an external institution, but the great body—the mystical Body of Christ, the great stream of the life of grace which shall embrace everyone and everything. It is recognized in mystical wise: "The believer knows the truth; he who does not believe, does not know it; he knows it only with an outward and imperfect knowledge." There is no external authority, before which man must bow; such a conception is inappropriate here. "Authority" is *too small*, too external for this

¹ "The Spirit of God, Who speaks in Holy Scripture, and Who instructs and enlightens us the Holy Tradition of the Ecumenical Church, cannot be apprehended by the mere understanding. He can be apprehended only by the *fulness of the human spirit* under the operation of Grace."

mystical reality. Nay, it is the innermost foundation of our life, it is our own higher life, or rather the life of grace within us, which has seized upon us, flows through us, by which we are led, so long as we have not severed ourselves from the whole. Khomiakov again has eloquent words of mystical power; "The Church," he writes, "is not an authority, just as God is not authority and as Christ is not; for authority is for us something external. Not authority, I say, but truth, and at the same time the life of the Christian, his innermost life; for God, Christ, the Church live in him with one life, which is more real than the heart which beats in his bosom, or the blood which flows in his veins. But they live in him, in so far as he himself lives the ecumenical life of love and unity, that is, the life of the Church." Is there, however, a criterion of truth by which man can judge, where the true Church is found? Not an external one—only the self witness of the Spirit which dwells in the Church. "The Church and her members know, *by the inner knowledge of faith* the unity and incomprehensibility of her Spirit which is indeed the Spirit of God." "The Church is manifested neither as Scripture nor as Tradition, nor as Works; but she bears witness of herself, as also the Spirit of God which dwells in her, bears witness of Himself in Scripture. The Church does not enquire: What scripture is true, and which tradition is true, and which council is true, and what work is pleasing to God? For Christ knows what is His, and the Church also, wherein He dwells, knows, by interior conviction, and cannot help but know the outward expression of her own life." Holy Scripture, Tradition, and Works pleasing to God, are not external formal manifestations, but vehicles of the Spirit, witnesses of His life in the Church, and therefore only intelligible to, and only binding upon, him who himself shares in this Spirit.¹ And the Ecumenical Councils are not external law-makers, but simply witnesses of the truth; for that reason, that they announce the truth, were they acknowledged by the Church as ecumenical, *i.e.*, as authentic witnesses of her faith.

It is a mystical doctrine of the Church of soul-stirring grandeur; wherein the principles of freedom and of the great fellowship are most intimately united in the free fellowship of love (*Sobornost*); when each surrenders himself to the whole, nay, more, each prays for the others.

It is entirely wrong to believe that the Church desires an enforced unity or an enforced obedience. On the contrary, she abhors both: for in matters of faith, an enforced unity is a lie, and an enforced obedience is death. It is the freedom of love of the common posses-

¹ "All marks of the Church, inward as well as outward, are recognized only by herself and by those who are called by Grace to become her members." Moreover: "There has never been and never will be any inconsistency in the Church, either in Scripture, or in Tradition, or in Works, for in all three is the one and unchangeable Christ."

sion by the same spirit, the common rooting in the same life; it is the Church not as an external power, but as a living harmony of all the brethren, whose highest expression is the prayer of love. "We pray, since we cannot but pray, and this prayer of all for each and each for all, which is always effectual, and always spending itself, imploring and triumphing at the same time, always addressed in the name of Christ our Saviour to His Father and God, is as the blood which circulates in the body of the Church. It is her life, the expression of her life, the word of her love, the eternal breath of the Spirit of God." It is not, however, a making transitory of the idea of the Church. The Church is not simply an invisible quantity, no formless and lifeless abstraction, for the Lord Himself was made flesh and dwelt among us, the Church is indeed comprehended in her *mystical nature* in her *mystical depth*. It is an entirely other life—a higher one. It is an entirely other principle of knowledge—the Holy Spirit, the Spirit which dwells in our hearts and cries, Abba, Father. And into this Spirit man must be born, and grow. Not through mere externalities can man become a sharer, but through inward participation in it; although this manifests itself in outward things also, and grips the whole man, body and soul. That is the meaning of the Sacraments of the Church. The objective divinity of the Spirit, the Grace of God, and the moral freedom of man are here united in one organic reciprocity. The heart of the Church's life is the Eucharist. "Only he understands the Church who understands the Eucharist."

Thus, to state it expressly once more, it is not something subjective, transient, but something *endlessly objective*, this life of the Holy Spirit in us, in each one of us; not, however, in us, as we exist individually, but in us in so far as we belong to the great whole of the Body of Christ. It is a *pathos* of totality, a *pathos* of organic totality, of the great organism of Christ which sweeps through Khomiakov's doctrine of the Church. Thus it is secured against a superficial rationalism. Only he can understand the Church who is possessed by her Spirit, by the stream of the grace of the Spirit, Who dwells in her. Then his eyes are opened more and more, and he sees a new actuality—the actuality of the Church, of the Spirit of Christ, Who dwells in her, which is more real than all earthly realities.

This organic conception of the Church as the great Body guided and permeated by the Spirit has proved itself true also at the present time, in the persecution and calamities which the Russian Church is now suffering under the Bolshevik yoke. She is not shattered, but inwardly strengthened: she is not overthrown, but is overthrowing her adversaries—the Soviet Church¹ and the "Atheist Front" (a

¹ On the schism called into being and supported by the power of the Soviet, see the Essay by Prince G. Trubetsky in the *Internationalen Kirchlichen Zeitschrift*, 1927, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

Bolshevik expression). The "Atheist Front" is falling to pieces, and has no successful results. From the sufferings of Confessors and Martyrs a renewed and deepened faith is springing forth. They seek to mutilate the Church, but she remains entire. They try to strangle her—she encounters prohibitions of all sorts, has no schools, no facilities for printing, no academies, her inner organization is forcibly suppressed—but she is living, victoriously living, and makes herself known everywhere. They kill the body of the individual person, but there arise new members and the unity which was to have been forcibly destroyed is stronger than before.

The persecuted Russian Church in Soviet Russia is proving itself to be a great and mighty organism, a great uniform body. All the schisms cunningly bolstered up by the Bolsheviks are more and more vanishing into thin air. The persecuted Russian Church might say of herself with the Apostle Paul—"as dying and behold we live, as unknown and yet well known, as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing, as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

As a short illustration I may conclude by quoting here from a letter from the South of Soviet Russia (written by a priest at the beginning of 1927). From it may be vividly felt the inner justification of the *organic* conception of the Church. "The people are impressed by the significance of the present historical moment"—so the letter runs—"and in regard to their faith, there is a wonderful spiritual movement, a sure instinct for the preservation and defence of spiritual good in these times. The part they play in the life of our Church is very striking. They remain unshaken and serene of soul. The schisms enforced from above do not touch them. While taking part more and more in political life, they are jealous and reserved in what touches their faith, which is now especially a matter of inward experience to them. In the present situation, when—are not with us¹ when the leaders are enfeebled, the destinies of our Church are in sure hands. We have no Church-administration at all.² It might appear that each of us is a Metropolitan, that complete chaos reigns. And yet how regularly and harmoniously parochial life flows on. Not only the parishes, but the whole body of the Orthodox, hold fast to one another, have excellent information about everyone and everything concerned with Church doctrine. Without official recommendation and approbation, the reputation of a clergyman is established in an unambiguous and certain manner. In distant places there are even men of prayer, beloved by the people,³ who flock to them on pilgrimage."

Here is evidence that when official central guidance is lost (for it is

¹ Imprisoned and exiled, or at least forcibly separated from the faithful by the Bolshevik authorities.

² It is forcibly suppressed by the Bolsheviks.

³ The German word is *Volksliebende*, which I take to correspond with the Russian *Startsi*.—R.M.F. Transl.

rendered powerless by the Bolsheviks: every contact of the Locum Tenens of the Patriarch with the faithful, even of the Bishops with their flocks, being forcibly severed) the unity of the Spirit stands out all the stronger, as a compensation for the external contact which is lacking. The unifying bonds of the Church are more firmly and more intimately strengthened.

Incredible distances (many bishops and priests have, for instance, been sent to the farthest north of Siberia) and—fellowship in unity; persecutions and—unity; exile, forcible separation of the shepherds from the flocks, and—unity; unity of the spirit in prayer. Yes, that is an organic whole, a great mystical body which does not allow itself to be broken into fragments.

It shines out also with irresistible force of evidence from another letter from which I will take only a fragment or so. The letter emanates from a Russian bishop who was banished to the farthest north by the Bolsheviks (3° north of the Polar Circle). It was also written recently. "I find a great consolation in the fact that now I can, together with S., celebrate the Divine Liturgy in my hut. Not in the presence of the people, but still for the people, for you all, for the whole world. And as I bless with the Cross on the four sides, I have before me my whole flock, all my dear ones, all of you, the whole world."¹

The same message—that the Church is a living mystical organism led by the Spirit of God—is heard also in the words of the Eucharistic prayer, "Thine own of thine own we offer to Thee for everyone and everything."

PRAYER.

By THE REV. N. BEHR.

PRAYER is the highest requirement of the human soul; the most essential element in worship. Prayer is the breath of religious life and its most genuine exponent. Prayer is the soul of every religion. The essence of prayer consists in the uplifting of our minds and hearts to God; only our prayer can show whether our spirit is near to God, or far from Him. Prayer is devoted intercourse between man and God—a constant abiding of our soul in the Lord. Such a condition is a great gift of God; it can be only acquired by persistent effort. The art of prayer has to be practised persistently. Our Holy Fathers, the Ascetics, developed a whole science of prayer. We must acquire the habit of keeping our Lord, His Divine attributes and His doings constantly in our

¹ Vide the whole letter in *The Christian East*, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

mind. The more we grow in the consciousness of God in our hearts, the more our thoughts will settle in the right direction and the more helpful will be our prayers. A fundamental rule in the art of prayer is to pray incessantly and insistently even when we feel least inclined to do so.

"When prayer tempts thee least, then learn to say: 'Now O my soul, 'tis time that thou shouldst pray.'"

It may often be necessary to apply strong will-power in order to compel oneself to concentrate on prayer with the necessary patience, endurance and self-restraint. Then our prayer begins to warm our soul and becomes a true prayer.

Every time we pray, if our prayer is sincere, there will be a new feeling and a new meaning in it; it will give us new courage, and we shall realize that prayer is education in, preparation for, and the way to, salvation.

St. Macarius of Egypt says in his 19th letter: "If any one of us does not feel inclined to spiritual prayer, he must compel himself to pray, and then God will send him the gift of true prayer for his persistence and for his endeavour to master his thoughts and the craving of his heart."

If we want to experience prayer as a constant communion with God, we must bring our hearts into a condition of receptiveness. We must open our souls to our Lord. We must concentrate our thoughts on eternal life, on the principles of the Christian faith, on communion with Christ and on our salvation. The psychology of Orthodox prayer implies a contemplative mind tending upwards: towards a heavenly Realm, and towards communion with the dwellers in that Realm by worshipping the Saints and by praying for those who have passed away. The practice of Orthodox prayer is marked by the effort of believing Christians to come into contact with the Divine Source and to remain in incessant communion with it. All earthly matters are looked upon as secondary and unstable, and all thoughts and strivings ought to be concentrated on a higher world. During prayer our soul must be filled with profound contrition, with consciousness of our shortcomings before the Lord, our sinfulness and the inadequacy of human strength. The spirit of humility lies in the main foundations of the Orthodox Faith.

The prayer of an Orthodox soul must always be filled by this spirit of humbleness as a bequest of our ancient faith.

Besides the spirit of humility, simplicity of soul is also needed. Childlike simplicity of soul and a humble inclination before the Omnipotence of our Lord attract the spirit of prayer and open to us access to our God. Simplicity of soul is closely related to consciousness of poverty of spirit. They can both be attained: if we realize the limits of our own intellect. Once we realize that

there is no salvation and no eternal good in ourselves, nor in the material world, then we become poor in spirit and shall apply to our Lord for salvation. Contrite prayer and prayerful humility indicate poverty of spirit.

Devout prayer often finds its expression in tears which alleviate the burden of our soul. St. John, who has been called by the Russians "The Ascender to heaven"—said: "Our sighs and lamentations cry to the Lord; our tears produced by fear speak for us and our tears evoked by love give us the proof that our prayer has been accepted." In another place he called prayer "the mother and at the same time the daughter of tears." The fathers of the Church have always taught that the striving of the heart towards God has to be aroused and strengthened and that the spirit may be cultivated in us. Prayer has always been regarded by the Orthodox Church as spiritual labour, spiritual achievement. "The purpose and essence of Christian endeavour is the acquisition of the Holy Spirit" as the Fathers of the Church put it. According to their teaching, prayer is the surest means towards that end.

Continual participation in the public prayers of the Church is an essential part of the task; but in addition to common worship we have in Orthodox experience the example of holy men of the past who chose the path of private prayer as a means of salvation.

The vital needs of the spirit and the longing for salvation urged Orthodox Christians to adopt the path of prayer in seeking the highest summit of Christian perfection.

A few words should be said here with regard to mental prayer. Prayer may be without words or any external expression, it is then called mental or spiritual prayer. It is an actual awareness on the part of the worshipper of the Omnipotence of God. It is the manifestation of the highest and most perfect principles, the domain of pure spirit. This is how Theofan the Recluse who spent twenty-eight years in seclusion and died in 1894 speaks of it (there is no doubt that his words describe his own experience). "Such prayer is called facing the Lord. In it the worshipper wholly concentrates within his heart and mentally contemplates God as abiding in his own soul: he feels the appropriate emotions of fear of the Lord, of reverence for His greatness in all things, of faith and hope, of love and devotion to His will, of contrition and readiness for sacrifice. Such a state comes to us when we are deeply absorbed, with our heart and our mind, in prayer. It will come more and more often to those who pray much and rightfully, and becomes at last permanent; it is then called 'walking before the Lord'; it becomes continuous worship. This spiritual prayer is quickened in our heart by the Holy Spirit, and it takes place in the heart by itself."

Such prayer is only found in men of perfect holiness; but ordinary people too can attain it by means of constant endeavour

and practice in ordinary prayer. The use of the short mental prayer to Jesus is perhaps the easiest and surest way of attaining this goal. This prayer must be learned so thoroughly and must become so rooted in our consciousness that it becomes our constant companion in all the circumstances of our life and acts as a continual reminder of the Omnipresence of God. Those who have followed the path of worship point out, that after the usual prayers one ought to concentrate and cry out in one's heart with attention "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me," whilst bowing down and prostrating oneself. The more fervently one works at it, the sooner will the prayer be rooted in the heart and be repeated there by itself. This is the best way to attain the "burning of the spirit."

But this state is only reached by men who have attained the highest level of religious perfection. Whether they work or rest, their soul is always in prayer. Prayer is the very breath of their soul.

Orthodox Christians express interior prayer by external action—by making the sign of the cross, kneeling, bowing down. These expressions of Orthodox piety surprise Protestants. The overtimid spirit of the Reformation notices only the external side of it and is blind to the inner reality that underlies it. But the outward manifestations spring from the natural impulse of the believer's soul to rise above itself; the outcome of a mystical desire to bow down, to prostrate oneself, before God, to express one's feelings in prayer and tears, and above all to express one's humility and complete surrender to the Lord.

Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, the Divine Teacher of prayer often accompanied His worship by external actions. He raised His eyes to Heaven, He prostrated Himself. This is for us the image of humility in prayer. One of the teachers of our Church said: "Our thought wonders whether a lowly enough place or attitude can be found in the world for man to fling himself into in all humility so that he should not feel too much ashamed in the face of this Divine humility."

Weak and faint-hearted people, like ourselves, who often do not want and do not know how to pray, need these external signs. They dispose their weak and thoughtless souls to prayer and strengthen their spirit of devotion. Besides, these external manifestations of prayer are natural from the psychological point of view.

It is natural for Orthodox Christians to make the sign of the cross while praying. For generations they have been taught, as children, to make it, and it has become for them associated with the very spirit of prayer. For those who believe that the cross is really the means of our salvation it is the most natural symbol

of Christian love. The whole ritual, the whole life of the Orthodox Church is sanctified by the spirit of faith. The spiritual needs of the believer's soul are satisfied by the numerous means of grace provided by the Church.

The Orthodox Church believes, as stated by the VIIIth Œcumenical Council, "that it is given to the Saints to intercede for the world." The Orthodox Church appeals constantly to the Saints and expresses hereby her consciousness of œcumenicity, catholicity and the belief in one universal Christian Church. Our Church on this earth believes in the incessant prayer of our Saints and their constant intercession for us.

In prayer, the Church maintains her communion with the glorified servants of our Lord. She preserves the ancient custom of erecting Churches on holy relics of Saints, which are usually deposited under the Altar and are stitched into a cloth used at the Holy Eucharist.

The Ikons (images of Saints) in the Churches are in accordance with the words of St. John of Damascus: "We represent Christ our King and Lord with His Hosts, for the Hosts of the Lord are His Saints."

The Orthodox Church prays for her children who have passed away. Death separates soul and body, but it does not break the ties between the Church and Christ and a believing Christian; it does not cut him away from the "One body of Christ." The Blessed Virgin and the Saints are invoked by the Church in prayers for the departed and are considered as heavenly members of the universal Church of Christ.

Prayers for the departed bear witness to faith in the unity of Christ's Church on earth and in heaven—one indivisible Body of Christ.

Faith in the omnipotence of prayer was always a fundamental characteristic of the Orthodox Church, and this faith is strong and sincere. Our Holy Fathers called us constantly to instant and confident prayer. A host of Russian Saints were glorified in the all-conquering spirit of prayer that rose from the very depths of their soul. Many of us have seen and heard our Father John of Kronstadt. His whole life was constant prayer and we felt that his instant and assiduous prayers went straight up to the source of Grace. It was as if he invoked with strength the healing power of our Lord and received it.

Another characteristic of Orthodox prayer manifested itself also in the prayers of Father John; *i.e.*, joy in the Lord. Orthodox Christianity constantly rings with the joyful message "Christ has risen!" Christianity is a religion of joy. The first word our Lord uttered after His resurrection was: "Rejoice ye!" All

our Saints are radiant and full of joy. At the present day we meet in our monasteries devotees and ascetics who are filled with spiritual joy; who are forbearing to everybody and are kind to everybody. In the long experience of the Orthodox Church many wondrous gifts and treasures have been revealed, and given to those who labour for humility and love. A believing Orthodox receives from the living stream of Christianity everything necessary for salvation. First of all he receives the gift of prayer, a fervent, joyful and insistent prayer in the fulness of his heart at once humble and bold.

The action of Divine Grace in prayer is especially venerated by the Orthodox Church. The devout soul of the Russian people finds its expressions of Christian truth in beautiful and moving forms.

Once, a peasant woman was carrying a little baby in her arms when it smiled at her for the first time in its life. I saw her crossing herself devoutly. "Why do you do that?" I asked. She said, "Every time the Lord sees a sinner praying to Him with all his heart, He feels the same gladness as a mother does, when she sees the first smile on her baby's face!" Her answer was to me a wonderful expression of that profound, subtle and truly religious thought, which embodies the very essence of Christianity, the whole conception of our Lord as our Father, His joy in man, just as a father rejoices in his child. This is our fundamental conception of God and Christ.

The highest attainment of prayer in Orthodox faith leads to the final aim of Christian life—Communion with God.

We glorify our Lord, who has granted to us to be the children of the true and holy Orthodox Church, which has maintained all the Apostolic traditions; not only the traditions of dogma and practical rules of life, but also an invisible, but omnipotent, gift of Divine Grace and consecration, which is everlasting and which guides to life eternal.

Let us harness ourselves for spiritual conquest! Let us cleanse our strivings, concentrate our thoughts and direct them to our Father in Heaven! Let us follow the Apostolic advice: "Continue in prayer and be watchful in thanksgiving; and whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus giving thanks to God and the Father by Him." (Col. IV: 2; III: 17.)

A call to God in prayer, an insistent striving directed to Him become by themselves a true prayer by the Grace of our Lord, and faith leads to fulfilment of prayer.

The promise of our Lord still holds good "And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer believing, ye shall receive." (Mat. XXI. 22.) And also: "Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full." (John XVI. 23; 27.)

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

The 64th Anniversary of the Association was celebrated on Wednesday, October 10th. In the morning many members and friends of the A. and E.C.A., both Anglican and Orthodox, gathered at the Greek Cathedral for the Divine Liturgy. The Metropolitan of Thyatira officiated with the Great Archimandrite, Fr. Behr, Fr. Moschovakis and the Revd. A. Papaconstantinou. It goes without saying that the service was most beautifully sung and exhibited once more the exceeding dignity and reverence of Orthodox worship. The Bishop of Gibraltar was present in cope and mitre with the Archdeacon of Malta as his chaplain, and some nine or ten other Anglican priests attended in quire habit. About thirty people sat down to the luncheon afterwards when the Bishop of Gibraltar presided, and gave the toast "The Representatives of the Orthodox Church." The Great Archimandrite, at the request of the Exarch, and Fr. Behr responded. The health of the Association was proposed by the Archdeacon of Malta, and responded to by our Orthodox Vice-President, Dr. Gennadius. In the name of the Association, the Revd. H. J. Fynes-Clinton expressed our warm thanks to the Clergy and Churchwardens of St. Sophia's and all who had taken part in the Liturgy that morning.

Later in the afternoon tea was provided at Sion College before the Annual General Meeting for the transaction of business. A Public Meeting followed at 5.30 with the Bishop of Woolwich in the chair. The Bishop of Gibraltar, who had given up almost the whole day to the Anniversary, received a great welcome when he rose to speak. He said he thought that when people considered the points which divided the Church, they were inclined to confine their attention to the intellectual point of view only. Without in the least desiring to ignore the importance of doctrinal differences, there was, he pleaded, another line of approach. That was, the approach through worship, and it seemed as though, in regard to the Orthodox Church, the Church of England was finding it. If they could get together for worship as many of them had done that morning, it would make all the difference to the intellectual settlement of whatever problems they had to solve. The value of the Liturgies from this point of view was by no means adequately appreciated. It should be remembered that the language of the ancient Liturgies came down from a time when controversy about Eucharistic worship had not yet arisen. The Bishop concluded with words emphasizing the need of more widespread knowledge of the Orthodox Church among Anglicans in general, and appealed to his hearers to draw others into the Association.

The Revd. K. D. Mackenzie then read a paper which "should voice afresh some of the sentiments with which we of the Anglican Communion regard the holy Orthodox Churches of the East, our veneration, emulation, longing." Mr. Mackenzie's admirable paper will appear in full in the next issue of *The Christian East*.

The following resolution was moved from the chair:—

"The A. and E.C.A. in approaching Archbishop Randall Davidson on the eve of his retirement from the See of Canterbury and the Primacy of All England, desires to express its sense of the great loss which the sacred cause of the Unity of Christendom sustains by the withdrawal from active guidance of a Prelate, who, by his sympathy with the Oriental Churches, by the fraternal relations he has established with their hierarchies, and by his untiring efforts on their behalf in all their difficulties and troubles, has made the See of Canterbury known and honoured throughout the Eastern World."

In supporting this resolution, the Metropolitan Germanos referred to the sympathetic interest with which the Orthodox Church regarded two outstanding events in the life of the Church of England since the last A. and E.C.A. Anniversary, *i.e.*, the revision of the Prayer Book, and the announcement of the retirement of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Prof. Arseniev also spoke in support; and the resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

During August the Secretary preached a number of sermons at various places in the Isle of Wight. One of these occasions was the afternoon service in the Church in Carisbrooke Castle, the residence of H.R.H. Princess Beatrice, who takes a keen interest in Russia and the Russian Church. Fr. Behr also came and with the Secretary spoke at a Garden Meeting at Niton Rectory. Although we had a few members there, the Island was more or less new ground for the Association and it is hoped that some useful work was done.

The energetic members of the Association at Sevenoaks, arranged another Garden Meeting a while ago. Beside the general purpose which belongs to all our meetings, this had the special object of helping some of the Russian *émigré* children in Paris. Mr. G. F. Feild and the Secretary were the speakers, and the latter having just returned from a visit to Paris was able to describe what he had seen of the work among these children. A little while later the local Committee at Sevenoaks sent him a cheque for £20, which has gone to help forward the good work of *keeping Russian children Russian and Orthodox*.

The following Bishops have become Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association :—The Bishops of Newcastle, Derby, Southwell, Kimberley, Zanzibar and Sherborne.

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The Byron Society is issuing a Byron Kalendar for the year 1929. It will be edited by the Revd. D. R. Fotheringham (Philhellenic Legion 1897), secretary of the Society, with specially selected illustrations and with quotations from the Poet's works for each month of the year. The Kalendar will be prepared with a special view to being suitable for presentation to friends and acquaintances as a Christmas or New Year gift either in England or in Greece. The principal dates in the Greek Kalendar have been supplied by the Great Archimandrite of St. Sophia's, Bayswater. This Byron Kalendar is primarily intended as a mark of Anglo-Hellenic friendship, but any profits from the sale of it will be devoted to the relief of sufferers from the earthquake at Corinth.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

By the death of the Most Reverend Agathangel, Metropolitan of Yaroslavl and Rostov, a gracious and venerable figure has been removed from the hierarchy of the Russian Church; and the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association loses one who has been its Orthodox President for nearly a quarter of a century.

Agathangel began his ministerial life as a secular priest, but later on, after losing both wife and son by death, he entered a monastery, and was soon consecrated Bishop. Siberia was the scene of his episcopal labours to begin with, first as suffragan to the Archbishop of Irkutsk, and then as Bishop of Omsk. But shortly before the year 1900 he was translated to the Archbishopric of Riga. It was there that he came into touch with the movement of *rapprochement* between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, and in due course became first a Patron and then the Orthodox President of our Association. Archbishop Agathangel was full of tact and courtesy and a wide-hearted love of souls, and both at Riga and at Vilna, whither after some years he was translated, he won many hearts by his wise and tender considerateness in his contact with men of the different nationalities and faiths which exist on the western confines of Russia. His last translation was to the important See of Yaroslavl, where he was in the closest touch with the Patriarch Tikhon. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the All Russian Church Council which was summoned after the First Revolution (March, 1917), and was actually sitting in Moscow when the Bolshevik Revolution occurred in the following October. Agathangel of Yaroslavl was one of the three bishops whom, in 1922, the Patriarch Tikhon named to succeed him as *locum tenens*, but he in turn, like Peter of Krutitz, was prevented by the Soviet authorities from exercising any active control over the Russian Church. The Patriarch had indeed, during his imprisonment, appointed Agathangel to act for him in the stormy negotiations with Vvedensky and other representatives of "The Living Church." On more than one occasion he was imprisoned for several months at a time, and was finally exiled to an unhealthy and almost inaccessible place in Siberia. In 1926 he was permitted to return to his diocese of Yaroslavl, where he remained until his death. R.I.P.



(By courtesy of *The Times*.)

THE LATE METROPOLITAN AGATHANGEL OF YAROSLAV AND ROSTOV.

An account of the Requiem in London appears elsewhere in this issue.

* * * * *

The charity and intelligence with which men of the stamp of Agathangel enter into relations with those of other confessions and nationalities is, alas, none too common, and we note with regret the local clamour for the destruction of the Orthodox Cathedrals at Riga and Tallinn (Reval). Swept along on the tide of nationalist feeling, enthusiasts for cultural as well as political independence, insist on the removal of these buildings as painful reminders of former Russian domination, and because they do not harmonize with local styles of architecture. Thus Tallinn and Riga echo Warsaw, where the Russian Cathedral was actually demolished recently on the former of these grounds. It is inevitable, perhaps, that art and religion should be dragged along thus in the train of nationalist aspiration in its crudest form. But *The Tablet* is justified in claiming these events at Riga and Tallinn, where Roman Catholicism is numerically negligible, as evidence that it was not *qua* Roman Catholics that the Poles destroyed the Russian Orthodox Cathedral at Warsaw.

* * * * *

On November 27th Archbishop Davidson received one more expression of the respect and affection in which he is held by the Orthodox Churches, when he was waited upon by a delegation from the Greek Orthodox Community in London. The delegation was headed by the Greek Minister, M. Caclamano, who was accompanied by the Metropolitan Germanos, M. Eumorfopoulos (Secretary of the Anglo-Hellenic League), and others. The Archbishop was presented with a fine piece of rare 17th century Epirote needlework, and an address, which ran as follows:—

“The Greek Orthodox Community in London.
To the Most Reverend
His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
Dr. Randall Thomas Davidson, G.C.V.O., etc.

It is a feeling of admiration for a high and saintly career and the consciousness of a duty, no less perhaps to themselves than to your Grace, that brings to-day before your venerable personage the representatives of the Greek Orthodox community in London.

We are not going to add anything to the becoming tribute with which a grateful nation and a proud Church have just marked the official close of a beneficent ministration. We can only say that throughout the quarter of a century over which that great service has extended it has lent complete conformation to the truth of an ancient Greek proverb that declares: 'Ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείκναι (office shows the man). During all that period the true Christian heart which has treasured the ideals of St. Augustine and of Theodore of

the benefit of the sacred trust committed to its love, but it has extended also into a far greater love and embraced the cause of humanity.

The Hellenic race will never be oblivious of the great benefits it has derived from the counsels of wisdom and moderation and the benevolent efforts of your Grace in times of adverse circumstances and dire national needs.

We shall feel always indebted for the great moral assistance and encouragement which your Grace extended in the past to the Œcumenical Throne and in favour of our refugee problem, and shall always keep the highest and most hopeful appreciation of the feelings of genuine love and deep veneration which your Grace, as the head of the Church of England, has entertained for the Orthodox Greek Church and its prelates.

The Greek Orthodox community in London are happy to know with the whole British nation that the will and power of your Grace to do good are not conterminous with the official functions now brought to such an honourable conclusion. And if there is anything representative in a material symbol of love and esteem, they hope that this modest memorial gift, which they have the honour of presenting to your Grace, will tend to remind its right honourable and most reverend holder of the profound gratitude of the Hellenic soul.”

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We received an invitation to the Consecration of the new Russian Church in Berlin, pictures of which have appeared in some of our daily newspapers. To quote from the card of invitation, “this is an event of great historical significance, not only ecclesiastically, but also nationally and even imperially. On the one hand it bears witness to the fact that the foundation of Russian culture and national life—the Orthodox Faith—is still living, vigorous and fruitful. On the other hand it clearly shows us that the day is coming when the Lord will lay aside His righteous anger for mercy toward the Russian people, for only by a miracle of God’s mercy could the despoiled Russian people have erected this stately building.” Bishop Tikhon of the Russian Community in Berlin conducted the preliminary rites on Saturday, November 3rd, and on the following day the actual consecration was performed by the Metropolitan Anthony, President of the Synod of Karlovtsi. The ceremony began at 9 o’clock in the morning, and was followed immediately by the Divine Liturgy at 10.30 and a *molebin* of thanksgiving at 12.30. The title of the church is “The Cathedral Church of the Resurrection of Christ.”

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Speaking at the Anglo-Catholic Congress in Manchester on October 9th, Bishop Tourian, the Armenian Bishop in Manchester (who, by the way, was Armenian Bishop of Smyrna at the time of the holocaust

in 1922, and after sharing the dangers of his people most heroically, was forcibly rescued by French marines) said: "As a Bishop of the Armenian Church I declare that our ancient Church has sincere and deep sympathy with the Anglican Catholic Church, and that for forty years it has cultivated closer relations with the Anglican Church. The initiative was taken by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, the late Mgr. Nerces Varjabedian, and repeated 22 years later when the Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. Collins, came to Constantinople. His Lordship had a discussion with the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Mgr. Ormanian. At this time I was the Patriarchal Vicar, and on the instruction of our Patriarch, I prepared a short outline of the administration and doctrinal principles of the Armenian Church, and we presented it to Dr. Collins. There are no great differences between the Anglican and the Armenian Churches. It is only that the Armenian Church did not accept the Council of Chalcedon; yet nevertheless our Church did *not* reject or anathematize that Council. I should suggest that for the furthering the solution of the problem of the relations of the Eastern and Western Churches it is necessary to establish a League of Churches, and thus organize and legalize their inter-relation."

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We note with satisfaction that Mustapha Kemal, the Ghasi who burnt Smyrna, has realized his need of the Armenians, and has ordered the Armenian Church of Evereh Phenesse, near his own Angora, to be restored to the use of those Armenians whom he has invited back to Anatolia to do the skilled work which the Turk cannot do.

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On December 5th the Society of St. Willibrord gave a Luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant in honour of Dr. Vlijmen, Bishop of Haarlem, who was visiting this country as the representative of the Old Catholic Church of Holland at the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Gore presided, and between forty and fifty guests were present, including the Metropolitan of Thyatira, Bishop Tourian (Armenian Bishop of Manchester), The Bishop of Willesden, the Great Archimandrite of St. Sophia's and Lord Hugh Cecil. Among the speeches, particularly noteworthy was an important utterance by the Metropolitan of Thyatira, who in proposing the toast, "The Anglican Church," put forward a suggestion which was received with great approval by his hearers. He maintained that the time was now ripe for a joint conference among representatives of the Anglican, Eastern Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches, and that the Anglican Church was peculiarly fitted to arrange such a conference. The suggestion is particularly welcome from one who is as intimately acquainted with life and movements in the Church of England as the Metropolitan Germanos, and we hope more will be heard of it.

The sudden and untimely death of Dr. Harold Williams, Director of the Foreign Department of *The Times*, was a sad blow to the multitude of people who knew and loved him, and an irreparable loss to the cause of Anglo-Russian and Anglo-Hellenic friendship. His Excellency the Greek Minister, in the course of a letter to *The Times*, said: "A foreign representative in this country for many years, as myself, will particularly feel the passing of this distinguished journalist and good friend, whose deep acquaintance with foreign affairs, frank advice and sincere sympathy on every occasion render his death the more lamentable." And M. Sabline, formerly *Chargé d'Affaires* for Russia in Great Britain, wrote "To us Russians, Dr. Williams always stood—and will always be revered—as a loyal and enlightened friend of our Mother Country. To his truly amazing knowledge of Russia, of her language and literature, and to his keen insight into the national spirit, Dr. Williams joined his profound intellect, tact and political wisdom, applying all these powers to the study and handling of the existing Russian problem. . . . He loved our Church, was familiar with her prayers and ritual, and was always a staunch supporter of the Orthodox Faith in her present many and sore trials."

The English sense of appreciation and loss was well summed up in the following letter which Sir Samuel Hoare wrote to the same newspaper:

"You rightly say that *The Times* has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Dr. Harold Williams. The brilliant linguist who spoke more than thirty languages, the sensitive student of affairs who knew by instinct the significance of European movements, the lovable colleague whose wide knowledge meant sympathy and not superiority—how will you find another to combine these varied and remarkable talents?"

"So also is it with his many friends in the world at large. We also have suffered a loss that cannot be made good. If I may take my own as typical of the experience of his friends, there must be many circles both in England and on the Continent where the gap left by his death will never be fully filled. I had the good fortune to touch his life at many points that never failed to give a vibrating response. I knew him in Russia in the dark days before the Revolution. I worked with him in many fields of foreign politics when the War was over, and it was due to his insistence that I carried out a mission for the Russian refugees in Eastern Europe. If any Russian issue arose, he was always at hand to plead for the people that he loved so passionately and to testify to the ultimate and inevitable recovery of a great country.

"By his death *The Times* has lost an incomparable Director of its foreign service, his many friends a companion of great knowledge

of an anti-Bolshevist Russia, and a friend who never failed them in the hour of their country's distress."

The funeral of Dr. Williams (who had been brought up a Wesleyan but joined the Orthodox Church at the end of his life) took place at the Russian Church in London. The Revd. G. N. Whittingham, Chairman of Committee of the Russian Church Aid Fund, of which Dr. Williams was a valued member, represented the Anglican Church, and took part in the service by reading a lesson and reciting the Lord's Prayer in English.

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The following interesting extract is from the *Bulletin* issued by Mr. Sitters, the tireless and devoted Y.M.C.A. worker in Belgrade :

"The Bishop (of Gibraltar) spent a week here, and found it a wonderful week. One day, for example, he spent at Karlovtsi as the guest of the Patriarch, while the Synod of the Orthodox Church was meeting there. He was received with charming cordiality and gave the greetings of the English Church to the thirty Bishops assembled there, with whom we had lunch and talked for a long time. They had come from all parts of Jugoslavia—from the beautiful sea coast, from rocky Montenegro, from the far lake of Okhrid: two or three of them were exiles from Russia, among these being Metropolitan Antony. They talked in Serbian, German, French, Russian, or English, each as he could manage best, and they made enquiries after other English Bishops, and the one Irish Bishop, who have visited them in days gone by. The students in the Seminary listened with great attention to what our Bishop said to them, and sang to him of their loveliest songs: and then the Bishop of Karlovtsi took us for a drive through the vineyards, where we saw the vine leaves turning crimson in the autumn sunshine, and watched a village wedding going home at a foot-pace with white scarves flapping on the horses' bridles. Finally came the return journey to Belgrade, in a special railway coach lent to the Bishop by the Minister of Faiths: 'A happy journey. With God may you go,' said our kind friends at Karlovtsi.

"The Bishop spoke three times in the Y.M.C.A., once to the public, once to students, and once to English-speaking women. He was received with great enthusiasm, and what touched us very much was that he prayed for the work of the Y.M.C.A. at the two Holy Communion services, which were attended by members of the English and American colonies, and held in the Anglo-Jugoslav Club.

"November 11th has never been so well observed in Belgrade as last Sunday. The fact that it was the *tenth* anniversary stirred us all. The service for English and Americans was held in the

the occasion, because our usual meeting-place, in the Anglo-Jugoslav Club, would have been far too small: and many Serbs and some Russians joined us there. The Two Minutes' Silence we kept at exactly the same moment as you did: and at the end of it, after a prayer, the glorious voices of Belgrade Cathedral Choir sang an anthem and the 'Te Deum.' The blessing was given twice: once in English, and once in Serbian by an Orthodox clergyman who is a great friend of the Y.M.C.A. 'This morning we were one in Christ,' said some of the Serbs at the close. 'I wish it could be like this always.' This expressed the general feeling: and perhaps it is one of the greatest tasks of the Y.M.C.A. in this country to give opportunities to members of the different Churches to meet and worship together.

"That evening another Orthodox priest gave an address in the same place to a large audience on 'Where are the Dead?' and his words brought hope and comfort to many. So began the Y.M.C.A. Week of Prayer, and we have been encouraged to see so many young men attending the different meetings: no doubt this is one of the results of Mr. Taggart's work amongst them in the summer camp. The hall was crowded when the Bishop of Nish, our old friend Dr. Dositoy, gave an evangelistic address on the Wednesday night, on 'Peace in the Hearts of Men': and Dr. Iriney, Bishop of Novisad, on the Thursday evening, had an equally large audience. His subject was 'Reconciliation Between Races and Nations.'"

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In the Serbian ecclesiastical review *Glasnik*, of September 15th, there appeared an article by the Editor, M. Parenta, on the Church of England and the Prayer Book Measure. After noting the fact that the Measure was rejected by the House of Commons, he discusses the differences between the Catholic and Evangelical parties on the questions of Reservation of the Real Presence. This controversy might have led to disestablishment, which would have had incalculable consequences not only for Church life but for the British Empire, of which the Church is the strongest bond. The writer refers to the Malines conversations and other attempts at re-union with the Roman Church, and regrets that the Orthodox Church could not take definite action in view of the return of the Anglican Church to apostolic tradition and authority. He asks whether the Serbian Church could take organized action to effect the union of the Anglican Church with the Divine-human organism of the Orthodox Catholic Church.

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THE ORTHODOX MIND AND RE-UNION

By KENNETH MACKENZIE.

(A paper read at Sion College, on October 10th, 1928, on the occasion of the Sixty-Fourth Anniversary of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association.)

I TAKE it that all you want is that someone—it cannot possibly matter who—should voice afresh some of the sentiments with which we of the Anglican Communion regard the holy Orthodox Churches of the East, our veneration, emulation, longing. If modern English Christianity seems sometimes a little unreal and remote from the Gospel as it was first preached and practised, we have to look no further than the near East to find Evangelical Christianity, Cross, persecution, homelessness and all. It is our privilege to be allowed to salute the greatest reservoir of martyrs that the Christian world has ever seen. There is a story told of a pilgrim to Rome in the days when there was unity all over the Christian world; how he begged for a relic of a martyr, and his guide without hesitation stooped down, turned over the dusty soil and at once found what his guest had asked for. Spiritually, the same story might be told of any Orthodox Church to-day. They have all known martyrdom as a common thing. When we presume sometimes to speak of our contrasted outlook, or to pat ourselves on the back about our miserable output for Missions, we do not always remember facts like that.

Now our Association is, I take it, an interim association. None of us in this room are really content to go on for another day with things as they are. The schism which exists between Constantinople and Canterbury is a crying scandal and a shame. The ultimate purpose of all our approaches to each other is the hope that they are hastening the longed for day of re-union. Perhaps I might go further. As far as we in this room are concerned, there is probably no reason why negotiations for re-union should not begin to-morrow. There is complete harmony between our own ideals and those of the Orthodox Church. Extraordinarily different as we are on the surface there is no reason whatever why we should not blend. One might go further still. There are groups in several of the great Christian bodies who could with but little adjustment find themselves happily in one body with the Churches whose centre is New Rome. There is an œcumenical spiritual fellowship of the Orthodox-minded. We recognize each other when we meet, and when we read each other's written words. There are Orthodox minded Roman Catholics, Orthodox minded Anglicans, Orthodox minded Presbyterians, Orthodox minded

What do we mean then by the Orthodox mind? I am not presuming to describe the spirit or mentality of the actual churches of the Orthodox East. By the Orthodox mind I mean that tone or spirit which can be found in many quarters of our divided Christendom and which is congenial to the actual spirit of the Orthodox Church. But it is more than congenial; very largely it derives from it, and entirely it tends towards it.

It is twofold: an attitude to dogma, and an attitude to prayer. Roughly we might say that the Orthodox attitude to dogma is the consecration of the Greek spirit, and its attitude to prayer is the consecration of the Slav spirit.

As to the first, while in the West we naturally think of belonging to a religious body, I think that in the East the primary thought is that of holding a religious faith. Unity means not so much submission to the same hierarchy as actually believing in the same way. Whether or no that exactly represents the actual standpoint of the Orthodox East, I am sure that it is a view which needs to be allowed for far more than it is by us in the West. So many of our ecclesiastical disputes are conducted on the ground of allegiance and of loyalty, rather than of truth. "If you want to do such and things" men say, "why don't you go over to Rome?" And the answer is that there are still certain dogmatic difficulties about that solution. Or, "Why cannot the rulers of the Church allow general inter-communion?" Again we cannot avoid the matter of dogmatic disagreement. I believe that we ought to realize far more than we do that unity of belief, though not the only unity, is an essential constituent of unity and is itself a real unity. We ought not to say "We believe the same things about fundamentals, why can we not be united?" for in so far as we have unity of belief, we *are* (so far) united. It is a great mistake to think that unity is only metaphorical, unless there is *communio in sacris*, and an equally great one to think that *communio in sacris* is in itself unity in Christ.

Only this must not lead us to imagine that the only thing necessary is to find an intellectual formula on which we can all agree. The constant insistence of Orthodoxy on the actual decrees of the Councils might lead us to suppose that the chief thing that Orthodoxy cared about was loyalty to formulated truth. The real facts are very different. It is only too easy to find ambiguous formulæ. That was the rock on which some of the plans at Lausanne split. "For us," said the Orthodox in their famous declaration, "two different meanings cannot be covered by, and two different meanings cannot be deduced from, the same words of a generally agreed statement." On the other hand few things are more important to realize than the fact that different people often are inclined to state the same faith in words which

between their outlook, but that the difference is often more of temperament, expression and emphasis than of actual doctrine.

So again nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Orthodoxy than the idea that a church is kept together by uniformity of rite, and that if we all do the same things in church it is our own affair what we choose to mean by them. Much as the Orthodox spirit values liturgy, strongly as the Orthodox have in history insisted on the use of the actual Byzantine rites, the whole idea of Orthodoxy is bound up with the truth that rite expresses dogma.

Now we are quite at liberty to say that there are other sides to this fact that Christianity is a nexus of revealed truth. It is a great many things besides that. And we always have to beware of extending the range of Christian certainty unduly. That is no doubt the Latin tendency, to multiply *credenda* in the interest of a compact or watertight intellectual system. That is agreed. But for all that the Church is founded on *belief*. Identity of hierarchy and identity of rite are not unity at all where the primary beliefs are in opposition. That is the fact which makes us often pause before attractive schemes of re-union all round. Even if they were achieved, they would not be re-union except in an external sense. And the real difficulty so often is that while we see clearly that there are some in each body with whom we ought logically to be in communion, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are others with whom we ought not. Christendom is arranged illogically. It is for that reason that we so often have to be content for the present with a union which is in spirit (that is, in the Holy Ghost), and not yet in the letter. But if what I have said so far is true, we shall never allow ourselves to say that that is not union at all.

But there is another element of Orthodoxy, the mystical element. If we forget that we shall be in danger of misrepresenting the whole position. Soloviev tells us that in the Church under the appearances of a visible human society is a hidden divine substance and that all that may seem abnormal in the history of the Church belongs only the human appearance and not to the divine substance. "What is the Gospel?" says Dr. Nicholas Glubokovsky. "Primarily and above all, it is not a theory, not a doctrine, not a sermon; it is a redemptive act, fraught with great joy for all men who are freed from sin and from the curse and death." "The Gospel of Christ . . . is always and wholly mystical, both in its appearance and in all its action. Therefore, the preaching and reception of the Gospel must always be accompanied by mystic (sacramental) processes." We may compare the words of one of the *animæ naturaliter Orthodoxæ* in another Communion, the late Baron von Hügel, "The essence of religion is not the dogma and idea, but the Cultus and Communion." "The absence of Communion and

Cultus is the specific malady of modern religion generally." Or of another, Dr. H. J. Wotherspoon, "The Sacraments are the theology of the common people and their practice is the credal confession of the laity in a living consciousness which is not always reached in recitation of the Catholic formulæ of faith." Again, "It is not we who have kept the faith; our Saviour by His all-wise institutions and their teaching has kept us in the faith."

Thus to the Orthodox mind the essence of religion is to be in communion with God through our Lord, and to know that we are so in communion. Its mysticism is opposed to the natural legalism of the Western, or at any rate the Latin mind. The law has its proper place in religion, but in Christianity it is a subordinate place. Grace is the primary thing: it is through grace that the law gets kept.

So also to the Orthodox mind religion is more a matter of corporate experience than of magisterial authority. The sharp distinction between *ecclesia docens* and *ecclesia discens* fades away. And in fact many of the most distinguished Orthodox theologians are laymen.

But it is necessary to emphasize that the experience is a corporate one. Nothing could be more opposed to the Orthodox spirit than any doctrine of an Inner Light over-riding the dictates of the Church. The mystical side of Orthodoxy is bound up with the Apostolic conviction that it is the Church through which alone are mediated the covenanted gifts of grace. To the believing Church all things are possible. "Where the Church is," as St. Irenæus wrote, "there is the Spirit of God also, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and the grace of the Lord."

I think I should be truly interpreting the feelings of the Anglican members of our Association if I said that what the Anglican Communion needs to-day more than anything else in the world is an infusion of the spirit of Orthodoxy. "If," asks Mr. Athelstan Riley, "the force which is making a relentless attack against the very idea of God, in widely different quarters of the globe, is Anti-Christ, how will our portion of the Christian family sustain the attack?" We know something, though not as much as we should wish, of the Orthodox reaction to persecution in the great suffering land of Russia, to which our thoughts and prayers should be constantly turning in these days. It may be questioned whether there is any other part of Christendom which could show a like record under similar circumstances. No doubt there have been many defections, and it is said that in the villages religion is at a low ebb. Yet here are words quoted from a letter by M. Fedotov of the Theological Institute in Paris, later printed in a French religious journal. "Now, as formerly, the Church is the national sanctuary. Nowhere but in the Church does one find the breaking down of

many people otherwise held far apart from each other. One sees," he is speaking of the towns, for of the villages he has a less hopeful account to give, "a majority of the intellectuals. . . . Some find in the arms of the Church consolation for their bereavements, some a shelter for their wounded love of country. Others, the young and hopeful, are not driven to her by sorrow and suffering, but are attracted by love and hope and by the youthful enthusiasm that the Church wakens in them. Many of our clergymen and bishops now come from the ranks of the laymen. . . . We have witnessed a remarkable adornment of Divine service. Never before has it been performed in so solemn and spiritual a manner. . . . For many the Eucharistic service has again become a true mystery. The Cup is seldom presented in vain; many take Communion and all share in their joy. They speak of a Eucharistic Movement in the Russian Church. . . . The monastic idea is again becoming popular. Monastic life is to-day possible for only a few. So the ascetic ideal seeks a new outlet, which is found by uniting in lay communities while still living the life of the world. . . . Among the Christian *intelligentsia* there is particularly strong the demand for the incarnation of Christianity in practice, not in personal life so much as in general cultural work."

That, I think you will agree, is a very wonderful picture, which can be set side by side with some of the terrible things mentioned by the Bishop of Gloucester in his sermon at the Church Congress, and I come back to the question "How would our own Church come out of such a furnace as that?" And if our corporate conscience is filled with foreboding as to the answer, is it not true that one aim of the Anglican part of our Association should be to seek for a greater portion of the true spirit of Orthodoxy? Only that must not be sought in any spirit of mere imitation. There is no possible sense in attempting to renounce our own Western inheritance, or indeed our own Anglican inheritance, except so far as that is corrupted by Protestantism. We are literally Westerns of the Westerns, and the actual peculiarities of Anglicanism since the Reformation have in some ways taken us even further from the Eastern outlook than we were before. But there is an Orthodoxy which is not the peculiar or local heritage of the East, and it is Orthodoxy, not the distinctively Eastern spirit, which is the gift offered to us by the Orthodox East to-day. What we need is first a religion firmly based upon theology. "Dogmas make nations," said de Bonald. "I knew he could not be a priest," explained Father Brown in his innocence; "he was talking against reason, and that is bad theology." We have been so busy lately in controversy about the superstructure, that we have had no time to go down to the root of our divergencies. That root is sometimes only a matter of the accidents of party tradition; but sometimes it is theological. You cannot



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heal a theological division by rubric. If only we could have a truce to our liturgical disputes and listen to the voice of theology for a time! We might find ourselves disputing again, but at least we should know where we were. And there would be far fewer voices.

And secondly we need the peculiar mystical gift of awe and adoration. The Church of England must be to a far greater extent a worshipping Church if she is to rise to the height of her opportunity, and if she is not to fall in the day of her trial. We have been called the most talkative Church in Christendom. We are always burning to explain ourselves to the world. We write to *The Times*. We call meetings innumerable. But our best friends would not claim that we were remarkable for our vision of the unseen. Now sometimes we are privileged to be present at the holy Liturgy as celebrated by the Orthodox, and it never fails to be a revelation. When a Western priest says Mass it is rather obvious that he also did so yesterday, and proposes to do so again to-morrow. It is all swift, business-like and externally unemotional. That is not his fault. It is the way we are made. It would be most unwise to try to alter it. It is only by such constant repetition that we can express to ourselves the timeless eternal. But the Orthodox Liturgy expresses what the Mass really is in a way which the modern West cannot attain to. We must keep our own methods no doubt, but we may still learn the Eastern lesson. That unhurried dignity, that obvious sense of the uniqueness of this one occasion, that awe in the presence of the *Mysterium Tremendum*, is the true attitude of the creature before his Creator, of the redeemed before his Liberator, of the Spirit-bearing Church realizing its own character. When along our own Western and even Anglican paths we have attained to that, then at last we shall be in a position to make what we do so love to talk about, our contribution to Christendom.

HOLIDAY IMPRESSIONS IN THE NEAR EAST.

By CANON DOUGLAS.

THE *Church Times* is read by most readers of the *Christian East*. So that commonsense, to say nothing of modesty, forbids my cumbering the latter with a repetition of what the sympathetic editor of the former has already published¹ about the little motor trip on which my cousin, Dr. A. R. J. Douglas, of Rangoon, who is a distinguished tropical physician and public servant, took me through Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Roumania, and Jugo-Slavia last May and June.

¹ *sc.* "A Motor Trip in the Orthodox East" in the issues of the *Church Times*, Aug. 17, 24, 30, Sept. 7, 14.

None the less, though this article may be judged redundant—it has been written at my co-editor's representation—without doubt its adverse criticism will be mitigated on account of its illustration by the autographed photograph of Queen Marie of Roumania.

As I have said, our trip was undertaken as a holiday; and a holiday, in the proper, pleasurable and recreational sense of the term, it was. We took no chauffeur, and the carts of the countries being long troughs of planks roughly knocked together and exuding nails—the several governments owe it to civilization to put a huge tax on their import—at every jolt, we had plenty of jacking up. Also, except in the half-dozen cities where the gratification of my particular wish for personal contacts kept us a bit, we dodged the meretricious comforts and noxious French cookery of tourists' hotels and dossing in little inns fed on the simplest food of the countries. In result we tightened our muscles, got rid of adipose deposit, and came home bursting with good health.

Moreover, since at the detection of a clerical collar all the world over, the mind of the "ordinary man" shifts and its shutters click, we willed to mix as ordinary strangers among the ordinary village folk and wayfarers, in order not—for that would need many years and not a few weeks—to acquire the atmosphere of Orthodox life *au naturel*, but to get a whiff of it. In that we were more successful, I think, than in any of our foregoing visits to the Near East, so that not only did our holiday—it worked out as cheap as if we had used rail and tourists' hotels—beat a *tour de luxe* for healthful, delightful enjoyment, but as the ideal holiday should be, it was profitable for its instruction.

I have dwelt upon this because one of the first needs of our movement is that Anglicans should familiarize themselves with Orthodox countries, and because, though our circuit was unusual, except for our run through the rough, desolate mountains of Bosnia and Herzegovina, any motoring well-wishers of A. & E.C.A. would find it pleasant and easy to take their holiday in like manner.

Of the impressions which we formed, the greater number are of the category of *imponderabilia*. Of those which can be precised, the following may interest the readers of the *Christian East*.

I. *The Orthodox Church is very much alive.*

Of course, it is not a live Church in the sense in which one who judges the life of a Church in terms of Copec, would use the word. Indeed, the intense, practical type of Liberal Christian who writes it off categorically as a dead church,¹ is easily explicable. Not only does its mysticism offend against his conventions in regard to what Christianity is, but it presents none of the criteria which he presumes

¹ See for example the amazingly sweeping and self-satisfied condemnations of the Orthodox Church in Dr. Spinka's *The Church and the Russian Revolution* and Mrs. D. F. Buxton's *The Challenge of Bolshevism*. Neither have more than a few days' knowledge of the country of which they write.

to be indispensable to a live Church. He indicts it because it cannot present statistics of millions of dollars spent in Missions and philanthropic service. It holds no conferences of experts in practical Christianity. It is not engaged in campaigns for social betterment and moral progress. It has not covered its lands with a network of co-ordinated and efficient institutions and societies, educational, recreational or the like, which exist to do just what the State cannot do. Its voice is heard nowhere, as we predicate that the voice of the soul of the nation should be heard, urging and compelling the State to Peace, Prohibition and so forth.

The truth is that Anglo-Saxon Christianity has become so conscious of the Social Mission of the Church as the instrument by which the secular life of mankind is to be permeated with the principles of Christianity that it is intolerant of any Christianity which is not equally conscious of that mission. "Service" has become its acid test of everything and anything Christian, and it is in blinkers to the life of any Church which does not preach the rendering of Service as the alpha and omega of the Gospel, and in which the organization of Service is not a prime activity.

The platitudes of to-day are generally the contested gospels of yesterday. In fact, our grandfathers saw little but the individualist obverse of the Gospel, and ignored the corporate reverse. For them personal salvation was the one thing needful. They did not trouble about the salvation of society. There are those of us who think that the present almost exclusive emphasis of the latter needs to be corrected by a reassertion of the former.

Be that how it may, just as the Orthodox World has never known a scholastic period or a Reformation, so it has not passed through conditions which have developed our modern up-to-date Christian worker. To the Orthodox in the lump the Church remains what it was to our own forefathers, *i.e.*, very little of a great instrument for the betterment of others and for the evolution of a new world, and very much the organism which supplies vitamins alike for the life of their nation and for their own spiritual lives. To them it is a part of the Divine Order of the World as they know it. It is the Great Society in which they and theirs have touch with Christ and the supernatural. In theory they are aware that its purpose is to supply the dynamic of a new creation. But actually that conception is not yet realized in their practical life.

That it could not be otherwise with them will be perceived at once when it is reflected that until quite recent years great portions of the Orthodox Church were shut down, and that some of its vital nerve centres are still shut down, in an iron-clamped under-dog helotage to the Turk that precluded all movement and progress in them and deprived them of the stimulus of contact with the Western World.

The rapidity almost beyond credence of the great and healthy

change in the outlook of Western Christian mentality which is making Christianity an efficient social leaven and has made all the Churches aggressive for the Kingdom of God in earth, has been and is an evidence of the operation of the Holy Spirit. The preparation for it, however, was going on under the greatest discouragements for many decades. The Orthodox have had no such preparation.

Further, the inherited Orthodox mental complex is contrasted, as has often been pointed out, not only with the mental complexes of the respective Reformed Liberal Christianities of the West, but with those of the Latin West. That contrast has often been exaggerated, and is superficial rather than fundamental. It is a matter of acquired heredity and environment, and the dictum, East is East and West is West, I am convinced, is nonsense here. But it exists.

One has only to travel freely among them to perceive that the Orthodox races are appropriating the gains of Western progress quickly and eagerly in their secular life. In doing so they are assimilating themselves to the West. But they are not doing so blindly. Very soon, so far as the past goes, they will have little to learn, and they will be no laggard portion of the general civilization, which is certainly becoming more and more of a world-wide *bloc*. But they will not copy, Chinese fashion, the patches or the patterns of the garments which they adopt. They will change them inside and out to suit themselves. Their appropriation of Western ideas, methods, systems, ideals and so on will be evolutionary, not blindfold. Their assimilation will be selective and not an identification. They will soon be giving largely as well as taking. Action and reaction between East and West will be equal and sometimes opposite.

Exactly the same is true in regard to their religious life.

Their assimilation of things Western has already begun, and its process is very rapid. In due time and in their own way will appropriate all that they need of them and teach us a lesson in return.

It is thus that as things are, the hustling Quaker of the American type comes with as great a shock upon the Orthodox, and especially upon the Slav who—not that he alone in Christendom possesses the quality of mysticism, but that his circumstances have led to his developing it more than anyone else—lives by a tradition of mysticism, as he receives when he comes upon them.

They are accustomed to the principle that a good tree must bring forth good fruit, and are not in the least inclined to take Service as the test of the Faith being good. Live by and in your Religion and love it, they say, and all must be well.

The Westerners who come to their lands seem to them to say the exact opposite: If the fruits be good, the tree must be good. Don't worry about what your Religion is. Serve God by serving men and your Religion must be right.

The misunderstanding is complete. They want the Y.M.C.A., the relief workers, and so on, but they collide with them, see only

one side of the case, and give them the impression that they are all wrong when they are sure that they are all right.

They are eager to accept their practical help and even leadership, but they reject their theories.

It is true, therefore, that while the Orthodox Church is very much alive, it is alive in its own way and not in ours.

Of that we found unmistakeable evidence in those hundred and one little things which when one is a recognized visitor in the towns, one has no possibility even of observing and still more of appraising.

The practical hold of the Orthodox Religion upon its people is very powerful. It shapes and controls their lives and thoughts, and is the atmosphere of their secular life. The ordinary chit-chat with the ordinary man and the chance word dropped here and there all along our devious route from the time that we entered Roumania at Czernovitz until we left Jugo-Slavia at Marburg demonstrated that. That does not mean that the Orthodox are great churchgoers. But then, if any nation was ever great at churchgoing, none is great thereat nowadays. Years ago, I remember Charles Bradlaugh saying that his fellow secularist Holyoake had told him that atheistical propaganda was not only ineffective but superfluous. The amenities of modern life were becoming so ample that the ordinary man would find too many counterattractions to give time to Religion. Undoubtedly even in the backwaters of the Near East, the people no longer have to choose between lounging about of a Sunday and churchgoing. The motor bus, for example, plugs away everywhere, and a Lord's Day visit to a city or to another village has its pull. But I venture to question whether, in spite of all the allurements which secularize Sunday, the Roumanian and Jugo-Slav is less of a churchgoer than fifty years ago. In the age of Turkish tyranny, churchgoing in the Balkans was at a discount—not because it was unattractive but because at times it was a bit dangerous. Under the Sultans the Christian had reason to be unostentatious of his Religion. As witness the fact that from Frankfurt until we got into that part of Roumania which was once Turkish, wayside shrines were to be found at either end and in the centre of every village, but that where the Turk had ruled they stopped.

None the less, we found the churchgoing in those countries both on Sunday and on weekday feasts very comparable to that even in Catholic Germany, where—*e.g.*, in the Dom at Cologne I had about 40 fellow worshippers, mostly working folk, at 5.30 a.m. on an ordinary Thursday—it seemed at its best. Protestant Germany is much below the Catholic and Orthodox lands which we visited in the matter. But the latter were all of a piece. Everywhere there is a steady, convinced and devoted band eagerly making sacrifices in order to fulfil their duty of worship and hardly knowing them to be sacrifices. Its numbers vary from district to district, as well as from land to land. Probably it represents about 30 per cent. of the

available population—a figure which, if the circumstances be considered, is destructive of pessimism. In the Orthodox countries it may be a few digits per cent. less than in the Roman Catholic. But in both it is a very lively nucleus, and is organically part of the whole lump, which though not churchgoing, is of the Church, and to which its religion, however much honoured in the breach, is an accepted and dominant category of life and of thought.

In instance, at Ploshina, a tiny village in the rolling hills of the spurs of the Carpathians, between out-of-the-way Curtea d'Arges and out-of-the-way Turgu Juliu, and 30 miles from each, where, as the road told us painfully, hardly a motor ever goes, we popped into the village school. It was primitive beyond words, a poor building with a single half-starved dominie in charge of eighty children, boys and girls, and practically no equipment. But they were all intensely keen on the Church, and indubitably that little school is an elevating influence.

To say nothing of an American Protestant critic, any of our Welfare Workers would be horrified at it altogether. But why blame the Church? Consider the poverty of Roumania, the fact that its laws allow children over 10 to go to a full day's work, and so on. Roumania and Jugo-Slavia are just emerging from conditions which we never knew. They are progressing amazingly. For our part, we were surprised to find things so good as they were.

It is the same all round. In moral uplifting, in public enterprise, in philanthropic undertaking and so on, it is the Church which inspires the people—not in our way but in its own way. The criticisms which the swift Protestant traveller levels at it, should be levelled not at it but at the nations which belong to it. No Church can be far ahead of its people, and *mutatis mutandis* the Orthodox Church is as much a progressive force in Roumania and Jugo-Slavia as is Liberal Evangelical Christianity in Great Britain, or, I imagine, in U.S.A.

II. *The Orthodox Church is entering upon a great transition.*

The hold of the Orthodox Church is very strong upon its people just because they live in its Faith, and because its Religion is in the atmosphere of their secular lives.

Their world, however, is changing very rapidly. Since the War they have stepped as it were out of the middle ages into modern Europe. The rapid supersession of national costume by European clothing, the appearance everywhere of motors, cinemas, wireless and the like, are symbolic of a great transition which affects every category of their lives.

Will they slough off their Religion? We could see no indication in Roumania or Jugo-Slavia of the possibility of their doing so. In Bukharest, Belgrad and other towns, as everyone knows, a largish section of the *intelligentsia* boasts itself Freethinking, but that section

has always been there. It came into being rather because to imitate everything French being fashionable, the profession of unbelief of a French pattern went along with the French *cultus*, and was assumed as a mark of superiority. In spite of the present vigour of French political ascendancy, French intellectual influence in the Near East has long been on the wane, and the sceptical pose is certainly on the decrease among the Roumanian and Serbian *intelligentsia*.

That (though so far it has had little spread), as elsewhere throughout Europe that type of social and economic discontent which has produced the Marxian War against Religion will infect a section of the people with a political atheism is to be expected.

But the far greater bulk not only of the peasantry but also of the *intelligentsia* are likely to be affected neither by the distinctive process of negative scepticism nor by direct quasi-political revolutionary atheistic propaganda.

Humanly speaking, nothing is less to be forecasted than that the Orthodox Church will become inconsistent as to its formula of maintaining the "Faith and Practice of the Ancient Church without addition, diminution, or alteration."

None the less, in view of the present sudden leap of the Orthodox World from mediævalism into the æon of modern scientific Europe, the need for a restatement of Orthodox *theologoumena* and a general readjustment of Orthodox thought and practice goes without saying. Their leaders are well aware of the former necessity, and their ordinary folk will insensibly work out the latter. But form and content will remain the same.

It is in these processes that Anglo-Saxon Christianity can be of help or hindrance to them. Within the memory of us middle-aged men, we ourselves have known the growing pains of the Higher Criticism and of the restatements by which our thinkers have in a measure at least obviated the clash of accepted scientific discovery with the traditions of Revelation. We are thus evolving an evolutionary method that will carry us through the transitions to which in the Divine Providence human discovery and progress may invite us. So that, holding fast to the Revelation once and for all given in Christ as the necessary and only fruitful principle of all religious evolution, and replacing that which is old and ready to vanish away by that which, according to the need of the day, is the organic output of that Revelation itself, we may hope to advance by new stages of evolution towards the perfection of the fullness of the Eternal Purpose.

That in their own way the Orthodox are beginning to do this for themselves is plain to anyone who, for example, studies the excerpts from conservative theologians such as Androustos and Dyovouniotes given by Dr. Gavin in his admirable *Greek Orthodox Thought*.

That we can serve them in the task with sympathy and patient encouragement is plain enough. But it is equally plain that any endeavour of ours to stir them into forcing their pace or to dictate

the line which they should take, will be a great disservice to them, and productive only of disaster. There is no sense, for example, in being indignant, as some were indignant with them at Lausanne, for making a categorical Declaration that they cannot and will not depart from their platform of Faith as precised and held traditionally in the age of the Seven Ecumenical Councils. The demand that they should do so can only stultify the progressives among them and make their task of restatement more difficult. It is the same in regard to the giving moral or other support to the few of them who are inclined to break away from the general consensus of the Orthodox World. Even if they do not enter into schism those so affected will be an isolated and negligible factor, and the reaction will drive the Orthodox as a whole back into themselves.

Our business is to subserve the Orthodox in their own evolution. The one great injury which we can do to them is to affect the superior and to interfere with them for their own good.

III. The Orthodox are eager to adopt Western methods in altruistic work.

That which has been said above, receives apt illustration from the present happy relations between the Orthodox authorities and the great philanthropic Christian agencies which are at work in their countries, and are staffed and financed very largely from America, and of which splendid results of their labours are beyond words. The Near Eastern Relief literally saved the lives of millions of Greek and Armenian refugees from the Kemalist terror in Turkey. It fed, housed, equipped, educated, and cared for them. The Y.M.C.A. has spread a net of educational and recreational institutions all over the Near East. And so on.

Such organizations have supplied a great need which the Orthodox could not have supplied for themselves, and their trained workers have rendered them the greatest service. But some few years back the latter, if not hostile to Orthodoxy, were openly critical of it. Thus when I was in Bukharest in 1923, the Y.M.C.A. workers were reputed to be scornful of Orthodox worship, and to be proselytizing the young folk who came under their influence. A well known British Mission to the Jews was said to be housing the schism which an Orthodox priest was engaged in forming. And so on. In consequence, the authorities of the Roumanian Church were cold towards those institutions, and inclined to refuse to countenance even such offshoots of them as Scouts and Guides. Indeed, if it had not been for the active interposition of the then Bishop of Gibraltar—now the Bishop of Guildford—an open breach might have ensued which would have confined the influence and sphere of the Y.M.C.A., etc., only to the non-Orthodox and to the relatively few Orthodox who might have been attracted to avail themselves of their great advantages at the cost of disloyalty to Orthodox principles.

Thanks to the wisdom of the Y.M.C.A. authorities, and especially to that of Dr. Mott, and to the goodwill of the Orthodox, of whom representatives from all the Churches took part in the discussion, a *concordat* was reached at Sofia this summer that :

1. While recognizing the independence and autonomy of the Y.M.C.A. it is understood that in predominantly Orthodox countries the work of the Y.M.C.A. should be conducted in harmony with the principles of the Orthodox Church and in consultation with its leaders.

2. To ensure this close accord and co-operation in the work of the Y.M.C.A. especially in its spiritual activity, there should be on its principal administrative Committee specially qualified men, nominated and elected by the members of the Association, known to be acceptable to the leaders of the Orthodox Church. In connection with the choice of the secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. the leaders of the Church would be consulted.

3. It is of vital importance to organize Orthodox groups and brotherhoods for the purpose of deepening the spiritual life. In the case of groups not yet ready for definite religious or confessional work, special methods should be devised, calculated to influence members of the groups to become loyal and active members of the Church. It is understood that members of other Communions are free to form similar groups. All these groups would be organic parts of one Y.M.C.A. organization and, therefore, would avoid any policy opposed to each other.

4. Orthodox groups are open to non-orthodox young men who are interested in Orthodoxy; likewise non-orthodox groups are open to Orthodox young men who are interested in the subjects with which they deal.

5. All proselytizing in connection with any of the groups or other activities of the Y.M.C.A. should be discouraged and condemned.

6. In Orthodox groups, the interpretation of the Bible should be carried on in full harmony with Orthodox doctrines, and it is recommended that such work should not confine itself solely to the ethical teaching and application of the Scriptures, excluding dogmatic and doctrinal problems and Church Tradition. Non-Orthodox groups have similar freedom to follow lines acceptable to them.

7. The general activities of the Y.M.C.A.—educational, physical, social, as well as its general apologetic work—are open to the participation of all without confessional discrimination.

The will to mutual understanding of which that agreement is typical, has already produced a marked change in the attitude of the Orthodox towards the Y.M.C.A. and similar agencies. Not that the Orthodox were suspicious of it everywhere, or that Y.M.C.A. workers were uniformly prejudiced against Orthodoxy. Thus in Greece the preliminary troubles were over long ago, and almost from the beginning the right outlook prevailed. But that there was need of an *éclaircissement* is indisputable, and we were delighted to hear

from the Patriarch Miron Cristea that his relations with the Y.M.C.A. now left nothing to be desired.

The Patriarch himself, who is a man of very high culture and modern outlook, is undoubtedly one of the great assets of the Roumanian Church, and is fully alive to the advantages which the adoption of modern methods of institutional organization will bring his people. Since my last visit to Bukharest, the Roumanian Church had been declared a Patriarchate, and he had also become one of the three regents of the Nation under the will of the late King Ferdinand. None the less, he found time to welcome us with the greatest personal kindness, and also invited us to attend a session of the Holy Synod of Roumania *in plenum* in the Hall of St. Anthimos, at which he bade me give a short address on the relations of the Anglican and Orthodox Church.

IV. *Her Majesty the Queen Dowager of Roumania.*

During our little tour we had the good fortune to come in contact with many personages of great distinction in the different countries which we visited. But none of our impressions is so vivid as that of the widowed Queen Marie of Roumania. Her Majesty is still in the glory of her great beauty, and is radiant with an extraordinary and exquisite charm, the peculiar and elusive quality of which is only faintly reproduced in the fascinating photograph which accompanies this article. In the past fourteen years she has faced a world of trouble, and has faced it with a resilient courage which has left her not wearied and egocentric but full of benevolent vigour and dynamic active sympathy. An English Princess, grand-daughter of Queen Victoria, and the daughter of that sailor Duke of Edinburgh of ours, who inherited the Grand Duchy of Saxe Coburg, she became the idolized girl bride of the Crown Prince Ferdinand of Roumania thirty years ago, and gave herself wholly to the country of her adoption. Up to the period of the Great War, her life seemed to be cloudless. A happy mother and wife, an adored and adorable princess, with every one for her friend and admirer, she filled a great place not only in the life of Roumania but in Europe. Then catastrophe after catastrophe came upon her. The death of her father-in-law, King Carol, in 1915, called her to share the Roumanian Throne, and Roumania entered the War on the Allies' side. Mackensen and the German armies overran and plundered her country, and for three years, while the Roumanian cause seemed lost, she took the fullest part in the almost desperate anxieties and distress which fell upon the King and her people. When Peace came, the years of happiness which all who knew her hoped would be the reward of her indomitable devotion, were denied her, and in the past ten years she has endured personal bereavement and trial such as fall to few of us. There are few who would not have been broken by such tests. As it is Queen Marie is not only supremely beautiful and possessed of the indefinable

charm of her bright and brilliant personality, but she is compelling by her insight into men and things and by the influence of her sympathy.

Eager for the good of Roumania and her people, she understands just what is needed to be done, and can be done, to help them in their progress, and does it in the smaller as well as in the bigger things. It is greatly through her influence that many of the difficulties of which mention has been made here have been overcome. Thus it was at her instance that her youngest daughter, the Princess Ileana, who is her apt pupil, undertook the headship of the Girl Guides of Roumania, and has solved the knotty problem of their relationship to the Orthodox Church.

The late King was a Roman Catholic, and her children have been brought up as Orthodox, but her Majesty remains an Anglican, and is a frequent communicant at the British Church at Bukharest. None the less, such is her affection for the Orthodox Church, and so great is the love of the Roumanian people for her, that, with the Holy Synod's concurrence, and by an unprecedented act of Economy, the Patriarch has acceded to her wish that from time to time she should receive the Blessed Sacrament at his hands.

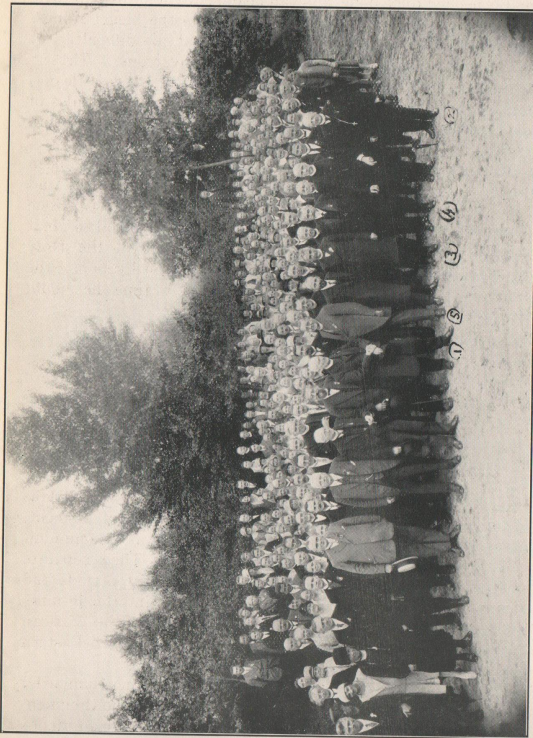
THE PLACE OF THE OLD CATHOLICS IN THE WORK OF UNITY.

By C. B. Moss.

THE Old Catholic churches are seven small autocephalous churches in communion with the ancient see of Utrecht, which was founded by St. Willibrord in 697, and was excommunicated by Rome early in the eighteenth century. Their separate position is the result of three movements in different periods and countries; the struggle between the See of Utrecht and the Jesuits; the revolt in Germany and other countries against the Vatican Council; later "Los von Rom" movements in South-Eastern Europe and in America.

The Old Catholic movement has always received much sympathy both from Orthodox and from Anglican authorities. The Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim II. sent his last message to his Anglican friends not to forget the Old Catholics: and successive Lambeth Conferences, ever since 1878, have offered special privileges to Old Catholics deprived of the ministry of their own clergy.

The International Congress of the Old Catholic Churches meets about every three years. The Bishops meet in private, and decide questions affecting the whole Communion: the clergy and laity, with visitors from other communions, meet in public. It is like a



GROUP OF ELEVENTH OLD CATHOLIC CONGRESS, HELD AT UTRECHT, MONDAY, AUGUST 13TH TO THURSDAY, AUGUST 16TH, 1928.
 (1) Archbishop Kennick of Utrecht. (2) Bishop of Haarlem.
 (3) Bishop Kury of Switzerland. (4) Bishop of Czechoslovakia.
 (5) Canon J. A. Douglas.

Lambeth Conference and a Church Congress combined. Last summer the Congress was held at Utrecht, the mother-city of the Old Catholic Churches. At the Pontifical High Mass in St. Gertrude's Cathedral, with which the Congress opened, the Archbishop and his assistants wore fifteenth-century vestments which have survived in the Church of Utrecht from the age of Thomas a Kempis and Erasmus. A visit was paid by the members of the Congress to the tomb of Van Espen, the great canonist and ardent defender of the rights of the See of Utrecht, at Amersfoort, and to the theological seminary in that city, now two centuries old. A series of tableaux was given in the theatre, illustrating the history of the See of Utrecht from the mission of St. Willibrord, of whom the present Archbishop, Mgr. Francis Kenninck, is the canonical successor, to modern times. The visitors to this Congress included priests representing the Greek, Bulgarian, English, and American Churches.

The Old Catholics, like the Orthodox churches, accept the Seven Councils and the Seven Sacraments, but not the Papal Supremacy or the "Filioque" clause. They resemble the Anglican churches in being modern and critical, and in certain points of discipline: *e.g.*, the clergy of all orders are permitted to marry after ordination. It is natural that Utrecht should be regarded as a bridge between Constantinople and Canterbury, with each of which it has points of contact. And yet this is not quite the real place of the Old Catholic churches in the work of unity.

It is clear that the dogmatic basis of the re-united Church of the future must be Orthodox, for it is fantastic to suppose that the dogmatic basis of Orthodoxy can be changed, though it may be explained. But its Eastern forms are not of universal obligation. St. Cyprian and St. Augustine are Orthodox saints as well as St. Athanasius and St. Basil. If Orthodoxy were opposed to the Latin element in Christianity as such, it would have no claim to be a universal religion.

We Anglicans are often told that we are "Western." In a sense, of course, we are. But the phrase is a misleading half-truth. It is like saying that Englishmen are Teutons, or that the United States is of English origin. The English Church is, of course, of Latin origin (though we must not forget the important work of the Greek Archbishop Theodore), but she has developed a character of her own. The characteristic Anglican theologians, such as Hooker and Butler, Westcott and Moberly, belong to a different world from the great stream of Latin theology which extends from Tertullian to Cardinal Mercier. And what is true of the theologians is still more true of the laity. The idea of a fundamental division of the world into "Eastern" and "Western" (which means Greek and Latin), which befores the mind of the man trained in early church history, does not exist for the ordinary Englishman. He knows that in many ways the Mediterranean peoples are more like one another than he is like any

of them. The re-union between Constantinople and Canterbury for which we work and pray is not a re-union of "East" and "West." Anglicans are not non-Papal Latins. We represent a third development of Catholic Christianity, and are as different from Latins (apart altogether from Protestant infiltration) as Latins are from "Easterns."

But though we are not non-Papal Latins, that is just what the Old Catholics are. Though not Latins in speech (for the Old Catholic movement never took root in France, Italy, or the Peninsula), they are Latins in rite, in theology, in canon law. Few and weak though they are, they are the heirs of a great tradition, the tradition of opposition within Latin Christendom to the Papal claims, of Gerson and Bossuet, Pascal and Van Espen, Hebroniuss and Strossmayer. Gallicanism, indeed, was doomed, once it had consented, at that ill-omened Council of Constance, stained for ever by the broken safe-conduct of John Huss, to elect the new Pope before proceeding to the reform of the Church. For the struggle between the Pope, who is always there, and the Council, which can only meet occasionally, could end in but one way: and the triumph of Martin V. led inevitably to the Vatican Decrees of Pius IX. There was only one real alternative to Ultramontanism, the autocephaly of national churches: which Gallicanism never ventured to demand, but which the Anglican and Old Catholic churches have won, at the cost, it is true, of schism and many other evils.

So we look to the Old Catholic churches to represent, in the greater Orthodox Church of the future, that Latin element which neither Constantinople nor Canterbury can supply. And therefore it is of the utmost importance that there should be no interference with their independence, or disturbance, even unconscious, of their Latin traditions, from either the Anglican or from the Eastern side.

But there is another service to Christendom which the Old Catholics may possibly be able to perform hereafter. If their traditions are Latin, the speech of most of them is German or Dutch. They may be able to interpret the Orthodox Faith to the Teutonic nations of the Continent. The famous correspondence between Leibniz and Bossuet with a view to re-union broke down because Leibniz discovered, to his dismay, that even the Gallican Bossuet would not listen to his proposal to go behind the Council of Trent. "Protestants," he writes, "as well as all those who really love the honour of God and the welfare of the Church, are bound to reject such a council for ever: if it was regarded as Ecumenical we could no longer trust in Ecumenical Councils nor in the stable tradition of antiquity. There could be no greater rashness and folly than to utter an anathema against the whole ancient Church, arising as it does from a mere hatred of the Protestants, without reason or necessity." These are the words of the man who was ready to concede more to Rome than any other Protestant leader since the Reformation.

Now the Old Catholics have done what Bossuet would not do: they have gone behind Trent. Therefore, should any successor to Leibniz arise among the Lutherans in our day, the Old Catholics are the natural bridge by which he might seek union, not, indeed, with Rome, but with Constantinople.

As we look to the Old Catholics to supply the Latin element in the Orthodox Church of the future, so we also look to them to interpret the Orthodox Faith to Germany, Holland and Scandinavia.

For Orthodoxy is not necessarily Greek or Slavonic, any more than Anglicanism is necessarily English or American. We look forward to a time, perhaps not very remote, when Orthodox doctrine (though not necessarily Byzantine ritual, beautiful and splendid though it is) shall be spread throughout both the English-speaking and the German-speaking world, as the basis of a greater Orthodox Church, no longer merely "Eastern," but "Northern," as well; when the children of Theodore, Willibrord, and Boniface, shall be perfected together with those of Athanasius and Chrysostom, Cyril and Methodius, "in the same mind and in the same judgment" (I Cor., i, 10.)

PENANCE.

(The substance of an article in *Glasnik*, October, 1928, by MILOSH PARENTA. Translated by L. PATTERSON, D.D.)

In the sacrament of Holy Baptism man is cleansed from the sin inherited from our first parents, and sacramentally disposed to a new religious and moral life. Supernatural health lies in the reception of supernatural powers, and specially of the sacrament of Holy Communion, and afterwards in living according to the religious and moral principles of Christ.

In the same way the sacrament of Holy Penance is a supernatural remedy, in which man receives supernatural medicines which purify him from all sins, into which he may have fallen.

The supernatural medicines which, in the sacrament of Penance, flow into human nature, act only in so far as the penitent's nature is capable of assimilating and absorbing them into itself.

The blessed medicines of Penance do not cleanse from sin nor impart innocence merely by the penitential confession of sin, but a sincere and deep repentance of the soul is combined with that confession and a firm resolution to renounce as far as possible the sins committed, and to practise virtue.

The importance of the sacrament of Penance lies in the penitent's internal disposition. Therefore it is not sufficient to fulfil mechanically all the external prescriptions, but it is also necessary to perform

all the psychological operations, by which sincere and deep repentance can be evoked in the souls of the sinners, and a firm resolution for a new life according to Christian principles and in the spirit of Christ.

[The writer goes on to deplore the many and grave defects which he alleges in the administration of Penance, referring especially to the risk of perfunctoriness and formalism in the questions and answers by means of which the confession is made, and to the many cases of general confession "which practically abolish the sacrament."]

The value of the sacrament is seen in that:

1. It fosters a growing respect for the Church and the priest in the eyes of the people.
2. It strengthens the penitent in preliminary consideration of his religious condition so that he is prepared sufficiently for the reception of the healing grace of Penance.
3. It exercises a gracious healing power and confirms the penitent in the practice of virtue. Only penance can eradicate sinful inclinations, habits, and passions, and free men from guilt on account of past sins and restore them to purity and innocence.

It goes without saying that the priest has to administer the sacrament in such a manner as its holiness and dignity demand. He must take care that it is not performed mechanically, without spirit and life, but with the greatest seriousness and reverence, which is associated with the passion of the Son of God.

The priest must prepare the penitents by some instructions, in which he will explain the essence and meaning of Penance and Communion, and show how they must approach these sacraments and receive them. First of all, he will teach them about God's commandments and prohibitions, and then about sin and virtue in general. After this he will explain to them the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes and the precepts of the Church.

The essence of Penance consists in the following acts: examination of conscience, repentance, intention of amendment, confession of sins, the blessing of the priest and absolution of sins, the healing of the soul by acts of Penance.

These facts are best visualized with the help of our Lord's parable of the Prodigal Son.

Teaching about self-examination must consider the manner in which the penitents will think about themselves and their sins, and be convinced of their sinfulness. The course of self-examination may follow the order of the Ten Commandments.

Explanation must be given of the need of the recognition of one's sinfulness before God and confession of one's sins to the priest, as God's representative. The qualities of a good confession will be described and the method of confession will be indicated. It will be said that the confession must be open, sincere, and full.

It is necessary to inform the penitents of the seal of secrecy, which

binds the priest as regards all that he hears in the sacrament of Penance.

The content and force of the blessing and prayer must be explained, with which the penitent is absolved and cleansed from past sins.

The meaning of acts of Penance must be made clear, as spiritual medicines which the Church prescribes to heal the penitents from sinful weaknesses and to preserve them from relapses.

The method must be pointed out to the penitents, by which they will approach the Sacrament and how they must behave before and after its reception.

The penitents themselves must be prepared for a worthy reception of the Sacrament. This may be called a spiritual "sifting." It consists, in the first place, in bodily fasting and spiritual abstinence. They will question their consciences about the sins which they have committed.

Before the confession the form of prayer may be read to all those assembled and a general short instruction given about the meaning of the Sacrament, the duty of sincere confession, and the sinfulness of concealing sins committed.

The priest's questioning in confession ought not to be a mere formality, but must lead to a really clear presentiment of the condition of the penitent's conscience, that he may be able to prescribe the most opportune remedy. Therefore great tenderness is demanded from the priest and a sincere striving for the eternal salvation and temporal welfare of the penitent. For the same reason the priest must devote sufficient time to each penitent. There must not appear in his face or words the slightest trace of moroseness, boredom, irritation, impatience, anger at the penitent's sins or lack of intelligence. The questions which the priest will put to the penitents must be adapted to their condition, age, class, degree of education, their different needs and personal peculiarities. In general, it may be said that it is always better to put a positive question about the fulfilment of various religious and moral duties than negative questions about sins against them. The order of questions may follow the order of the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, and, possibly, the precepts of the Church. The questions themselves must be so expressed that a sincere and full confession will be called forth from the penitent. Teachings and admonitions which the priest will subjoin to the answers of the penitents must be short, and suited to the penitent's need and personal peculiarities.

It is necessary to lead the penitent to repent sincerely of his past sins, and to make willingly a definite promise that he will no more fall into the sins confessed, but will, if possible, renounce the evil done, and fulfil from the heart the acts of penance enjoined by the priest.

Finally, the worthy administration of the Sacrament of Penance is bound to rejuvenate the religious and moral condition of human society.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

BISHOP BURY'S SERMON AT THE REQUIEM.

On Monday, November 26th, a High Mass of Requiem was sung at St. Matthew's Church, Westminster, for the Orthodox President of the Association and other Departed Members. The Bishop of London as the Anglican President of the Association was represented by Dr. Bury, Assistant Bishop of London and formerly of Northern and Central Europe. The Metropolitan of Thyatira, the Rev. Fr. Behr, and the Archimandrite Nikolai were present in choir, and there was a good attendance of English and Russian members and friends of the Association. The catafalque at the chancel steps was surmounted by an Eastern Orthodox mitre. The service, followed by the Absolutions, was beautifully sung to Croft's setting, and the dominant thought in the minds of those present was echoed in the inspiring sermon which Bishop Bury preached. The Bishop's sermon was as follows:—

"Our thoughts are with the Russian Church this morning, although we are remembering before God other members of our Association than its Russian members.

"The last Service, which comes back to me this morning with great associations, that I shared with Russian worshippers, was also a Requiem, in the beautiful Cathedral in Riga, with Archbishop John, a pupil of the Patriarch Tikhon. Being Saturday night it was the preliminary service only, for the Requiem which was given in all its fullness next day was the Liturgy for all those who had served Russia in previous years in the ranks of philosophy and the higher culture and learning. I was not able to be present. We were having our own at the beautiful Church of St. Andrew on the shore, but that did not prevent the Archbishop and his two Archpriests from joining our Liturgy just as the sermon came to an end.

"But, my brethren, though our vestments are black, my message this morning shall have no tinge of sadness, please God, about it. How can we be sad when we think of those who have passed on into the other life, who have gained the 'Incorruptible crown,' even though it has been a crown of martyrdom? They have finished their course, they have fought the fight, they have kept the faith, and entered into the 'fullness of joy.' Let us think this morning, even in these dark and difficult days for Russia, how much we have to thank God for, owing to their particular lead. Agathangel, unfortunately, I knew not, but the Patriarch Tikhon I knew and loved and venerated. I shared the Liturgy with him the last time I was in Moscow, and, my brethren, it seems to some of us to-day that he, though dead, yet speaks, for he gave to Russia (and in time it will be given to all Christendom), in the darkest days, perhaps

the most perplexing days, of Russian calamities, a real spiritual lead.

"That is what we are all wanting just now—a true spiritual lead—not expedients, not messages for the times only, but a real lead, taking us into the deeper things of the Spirit.

"I refer to the time when the Soviet officials were pillaging all the Sacristies and seizing the beautiful robes studded with gems, the sacred vessels, and the richly ornamented copies of the Gospels, and when they were all wondering what was their duty, laity and clergy alike, whether there should be resistance, it was then the Patriarch gave them that glorious lead that will never be forgotten.

"My children,' he said, 'they may lay their hands upon our treasures, but after all, they are but earthly treasures. Rust and moth can corrupt them, thieves can break through, as now, and steal them. Let us at this time concentrate upon our spiritual treasures, our faith and hope and love and courage and obedience. No rust or moth can corrupt them, no thieves can break through and steal them.'

"The echo of that glorious lead will never pass away. Is it too much to hope, certainly it is not too much, I think, to pray, that from the Chair of St. Augustine, from the new Lambeth, if I may put it in that way, we may get in the most difficult days that our branch of the Catholic Church has ever had for at least three hundred years, an unflinching, unswerving, loyal, deeply spiritual lead, and that alone, and at all costs? That is what I recall—and thank God for it—that Russia in her very dark hour had that unswerving and never-flagging deeply spiritual lead.

"There is nothing in this world to be compared with spiritual leadership. Is that all that we have to thank God for this morning as we think of Russia? I think not. We are now in a state—I need not remind this congregation, we all know it only too well—we are now in a state of transition. Old ties between nations are being broken up, and new ties, let us hope, formed. So much is going into the melting pot. We are looking forward to something that may perhaps be realized in the fellowship of nations—I don't use the word 'league'—in the fellowship of nations, and surely some of us are wondering what we are going to contribute to that coming fellowship if it please God to give it to us.

"I am in no uncertainty as to what the Russian Church is going to give. To that beautiful state, that social ideal to which we hope to bring the 'glory and the honour of the nations,' Russia will bring her own particular experience, her own particular view of the Christian life and the Christian religion, which, I need hardly remind many of you to-day, for you must have realized that, is purely mystical. That is the special experience and view of the Holy and Eastern Orthodox Church, the close consciousness of and contact with the

"The Russian branch of the Church is as yet wanting on the ethical side. There is much to learn, or we should never have had experiences such as we have had in the last ten years, but there is no doubt whatever, my brethren, of the spiritual side in all true Russian worship. There is always the consciousness beyond all words, of the dominating Presence of the Lord Himself. The walls almost become transparent, and we see through! The other Life comes very near.

"And that, my brethren, is not only a very safe and sure foundation on which to base and build up the moral law and the ethical appeal, but it is the only one. In the last resort we have always to fall back upon the divine sanction for the moral law:—'God spake these words and said . . .'. Only yesterday I was reading, where I least expected to find it: 'The moral appeal has no foundation except it is safeguarded by the spiritual.'

"That is the Russian contribution to the common stock of the future of the Church of God, and of that alone this Requiem Service reminds us.

"Then there will be also the contribution of a Church which has suffered as no other Church has since the early days of Faith. Our Lord has given us a special Beatitude for those who are persecuted for His Name's sake, without explaining how it works, but the Apostle has fully explained! If ye be buffeted for your faults, and take it patiently, there is nothing to speak of there. But if you do well—as Russia has—and still suffer for it and take it patiently this is acceptable with God, because of the training of our character. And we are here, my brethren, for the training of our characters—to be made more like Him. That is Russia's contribution. Bunyan, whose three hundredth year we are remembering, pointed out what persecution can be and its glorious results, in his wonderful picture of the great fire, and the men busily throwing on water. To their amazement it only burnt more clearly and with fiercer power, because out of their sight there was one pouring in oil. Such a true picture of to-day. God is pouring the unction of His Holy Spirit into Russia's great needs. The 'hay, wood and stubble' that gather round all spiritual foundations are being cleared away, and it is a very sure building that is there rising up. The dross is being burned up as it only can be burned up in the fierce fire of persecution and the pure gold is remaining.

"That is what Russia has to give to Christendom. The firm belief that the personal experience of the Lord Himself is the heart of our Christian religion, the reality of the indwelling Christ, and the pure gold of martyrdom nobly borne.

"The personal experience at the heart of all Christian religion is the indwelling Christ—that we may dwell in Him and He in us—and the true gold of martyrdom enduring unto death.

"I ask you, my brethren, as we think of that marvellous contri-

bution, unlike anything else that any nation or Church has to give to the common stock, is it not something to uplift us this morning even in our sad remembrances for Agathangel.

"But not only do we thank God for their lives—I know the Bishop of London would wish me to say that for him this morning—not only do we pray for refreshment and peace and eternal rest for them, but let us thank God devoutly for their contribution to the common salvation.

"After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, "Salvation to our God."

"Their contribution to that common salvation makes me full of thankfulness, and makes it a privilege to me to speak to you this morning on this most uplifting occasion."

At the end of his sermon Dr. Bury gave the congregation the Bishop of London's Blessing.