



Germanos Thyatira William Ebor.

THE ARCHBISHOP GERMANOS WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AFTER THE LATTER'S ENTHRONIZATION IN YORK MINSTER.

The Christian East

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

EDITED BY THE

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The Christian East

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

NO need can exist to tell our Anglican readers anything about the Archbishop of York or about the Archbishop of Thyatira, the photograph of whom, taken together at the recent Enthronization of the former in the metropolitan Cathedral of the northern province of the Church of England, forms our frontispiece. But our Eastern friends may be grateful for a few words about the Archbishop of York's extraordinarily fruitful career and many-sided brilliant personality. The Most Rev. Dr. William Temple is the son of the old age of the late Archbishop Frederick Temple, who, in his day, was a great force in England, and was translated from London to Canterbury in 1896 in succession to Archbishop Benson. Dr. William Temple was born of his father's second marriage, and during his episcopate at Exeter in 1883, and is, therefore, still in the very prime of life. Indeed, no modern precedent exists for the election of so young a man to the Archbishopric of York.

After an extraordinarily successful academic career—he was an exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford, a 1st Class in Mods and Lit. Hum., and became Fellow and Lecturer at Queen's College in 1904—he accepted the headmastership of Repton School in 1910, an experience which, as all who know what our public schools are will readily apprehend, was in itself of ripening value to him. However, his heart was in the Ministry, and having been ordained deacon 1907, and priest 1908, while still at Queen's College, Oxford—he had been Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury since 1910—he accepted in 1914 the important living of St. James', Piccadilly, the pulpit of which gave him an opportunity then unrivalled in London. Eager and intensely interested as he has been from boyhood in everything which belongs to that region of social-religious work which touches life, and withal being a fine scholar, an exact theologian, a courageous and accurate thinker and an advanced philosopher, he attracted at St. James' a congregation which must have been practically unique. Society folk crowded to hear him for his trenchant and plain gospel teaching. Social reformers and working class folk came to him for inspiration and because of his sympathy with their outlook and needs. The King honoured him by appointing him one of his chaplains.

As soon as the War was over, he surprised everyone by resigning St. James'. He had concluded that the great need of the Church, and therefore of the nation of which the Church is the soul, was that the Church herself should find "Life and Liberty," that is to say, should equip herself with an organ by which she should be able to form and

express her mind, and to legislate for herself, and so might face the problems of our age. Accordingly, he had resolved to give himself up to that agitation which was effective and resulted in the erection of the Church Assembly. Even while he was engaged in that pre-occupation, however, he continued his social-religious work and, University teacher that he is *au bout d'ongle*, devoted his time and energy especially to a fruitful and vitalizing participation in the campaign of the Workers' Educational Association, that wonderful dynamic whereby our Labour movement has so largely equipped itself to be not simply partisan and materialistic, but informed and logical. His immediate objective reached, and the goal of the Life and Liberty movement being in sight, he was singled out for appointment as Canon of Westminster in 1919—a great position in itself, which he was not allowed, however, to hold long, being elected Bishop of Manchester, the manufacturing metropolis of the North of England, in 1921. There, up to his translation, he has worked and ruled with conspicuous results. But while his rule as a Diocesan has been peculiarly wise and acceptable, he has not forgotten his other essential interests. *Copeck* not only knew him for its Chairman in 1924, but that Conference and its consequences own him as their true author. At the Life and Work Conference of Stockholm in 1925, and at the Lausanne Faith and Order Conference in 1927, he was a paramount force, and that far less on the public scene, greatly though he played his part in them, than in the unobserved work of preparation and continuation. If the Churches come together, and a united Christian front be formed, he will have been both one of the prime visionaries and one of the chief labourers for that happy and great event. There is nothing shallow about him. If he has been and done almost everything, and, playing many parts, has played them effectively, he is always strong, big and thorough. Harnack is said to have met him as a youth at the house of his uncle, the then British Ambassador in Berlin, and having by chance drifted into a discussion with him on Hegelianism to have been startled by the depth of his modest but bold expression of his mind into enquiring, And who is this young man? He has been known to deliver a flawless lecture on an abstract theological problem without notice. *Nihil tetegit quod non ornavit*. Intellectually, he belongs to the first division of first-class brains. Spiritually, he is a crusader, out to make this world Christ's very Kingdom. Among his many sympathies must be reckoned great good-will to Eastern Christianity, and that he should have chosen not only to secure the presence of his friend the Archbishop of Thyatira at his Enthronization in York Cathedral, but to have been photographed side by side with him on that happy and auspicious occasion, is indeed an augury of the future. The list of his writings, all of real importance as contributions to theology, philosophy and social religious problems, includes fourteen major works, any of which would have brought distinction to its author.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury is due to leave Venice on April 3rd as the guest of Mr. Pierpoint Morgan on a voyage of convalescence in that keen churchman's steam yacht the *Corsair*. No fixed programme has been made for his Grace, and whether he proceeds to Constantinople and Alexandria will depend on the decisions which he takes while on his voyage. But it is certain that he will visit Athens and will make pilgrimage to Jerusalem, arriving there about April 20th. At Athens he will be received formally by Archbishop Chrysostom and the Holy Synod of Greece in their Cathedral, and in the Holy Places of Jerusalem by the Patriarch Damianos, the Holy Synod of the Church of Zion and the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. The High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir John Chancellor, and the notabilities of all religious communities of Palestine will also take part in his official reception at St. George's Cathedral—the Latin Patriarch alone excepted. Should he visit Constantinople and Alexandria, the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Patriarch Meletios are eager to receive him in like manner at St. George of the Thanar and the Cathedral of St. Sabas. Dr. Lang is no less deeply interested in the drawing together of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches than his predecessor, Dr. Davidson, and, rather against the wishes of his medical advisers, yielded to the urgent desire of the Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities that his visits to their cities should not be *incognito*. A journey of an Archbishop of Canterbury to the Near East is, so far as we know, without precedent. Certainly none has taken place in recent centuries. That Dr. Lang's visit will have lasting results for Re-union, we are sure. We pray that it may bring him strength and health and quickening for the great work which lies before him and to which he is called. That he should sanctify his Primacy at its inception by pilgrimage to Jerusalem must gladden and inspire us all.

Examples of children devoting their lives to carrying on the work of their parents are frequent. Elizabeth Countess Carnarvon, whose death on January 31st we regret profoundly, has furnished a striking example of the converse of such filial piety. When a young hon. attaché at Constantinople, her son, that fascinating and brilliant *preux chevalier*, Col. Aubrey Herbert, fell in love with the Albanians with all his romantic and enthusiastic being, and made the realization of Albanian independence and unity the master passion of his life. Albania is a wild land. Its people are back in the middle ages, and are mostly highlanders at that. His premature death in 1923 robbed them of one whom they had come to look on as their champion and their master just at the time when they most

needed him. No one, of course, could step into his place, and it is idle to speculate as to how much less chequered, if he had lived, might have been the story of the present young Albanian State. But old though she was, his mother determined to do what she could to take his place. She made Albania her second home, and devoted herself to carrying through some of his practical dreams. In particular, she set herself to help forward the beginnings of an Albanian system of education, and raised and spent much money in that cause. While all Albanians—*Shoipiar* is their own designation for their "nation"—have a strong consciousness of their nationality, their clans are roughly to be divided into three sets, which are even more mutually distinct than, *e.g.*, are the Croats from the Serbs. The Moslems or Arnauts are all over the country, but are preponderant especially in the centre. In the north are the Ghegs, who have remained very largely Christian, and, though still preserving some Orthodox marks, *e.g.*, in some places, they are said to communicate in both kinds, are Latins. In the Southern mountains are the Tosks, who are Orthodox, and together with the Greeks of the plains are in the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Lady Carnarvon was particularly concerned about the Tosks, and devoted herself to establishing good schools for them and to equipping them with an educated clergy. Indeed, she died in Italy while on her way to push forward her favourite scheme of establishing a modern secondary Orthodox school as the precursor of an Orthodox Seminary in or near Tirana. We wonder whether there is a parallel of a woman of her age giving herself up to such a task and accomplishing so much as she accomplished.—R.I.P.

Since the Great War, Albania has had many governments, but they have all been desirous that the Orthodox Church in Albania should be an independent national church. As in Esthonia and other of the Baltic succession States, where the Orthodox are in a small minority, an autokephalous Albanian Church would be practically impossible, but the Ecumenical Patriarchate has recognized the legitimacy of the desire and has shown itself ready for the organization of its dioceses in Albania into an autonomous church, which for all purposes would be wholly national, and, having Albanian bishops, would employ Albanian as its liturgical language. The Tosks, *i.e.*, the Orthodox of Albanian blood, are as thoroughly devoted to Orthodoxy as is the large Greek minority within the present confines of Albania. If, as a curious and persistent rumour to which we have not noticed reference in the Press, asserts, King Ahmed Zogu is visioning the fusion of the Moslem Arnauts, the Latin Ghegs and the Orthodox Tosks, in a single Christian Church, he is likely to find it even harder to persuade the Ghegs to become Orthodox or the Tosks to become Latins, than the Moslem Arnauts to become Christians. Indeed, in

spite of centuries of apostasy, the last have never been assimilated thoroughly to Islam, and with the bankruptcy of the Moslem system in the Balkans, are undoubtedly ripening for conversion, however, the majority of them are Bekitashi Moslems, a sect of which is far from Orthodox Islam and very near Christianity.

Since the above was written, the Albanian Government have forcibly expelled the senior Orthodox Bishop of Albania, Mgr. Hierotheos of Korytsa, and several letters have appeared in the Press from the Archbishop of Thyatira and the Albanian Minister in London, H. E. Ekrem Beg. The high-handed action of the Albanian Government which has culminated in that violence began as follows: Before the War Albania was divided into four Orthodox dioceses, which formed part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Following its usual practice in regard to small and independent States in which the Orthodox are in a minority, the Patriarchate proposed that there should be an autonomous Church of Albania, only dependent on itself, as, *e.g.*, are the Churches of the Baltic Succession States. The Albanian Government was stirred up, however, by its ultra nationals and other interested parties to demand an autokephalous Orthodox Church for Albania. That the Patriarchate could not concede, and, if it had conceded it, the concession would certainly have been blamed by the other autokephalous churches. Much discussion ensued, and the Patriarchate set itself to placate the Albanian Government. Thus, though the Greek element is large in S. Albania, and predominates in wealth and culture, it replaced those of the Albanian bishops who were Greeks by Albanian born and Albanian speaking bishops, such as Mgr. Hierotheos, and it entered into a *concordat* by which the nomination of the Albanian bishops in future should depend on the wishes of the Albanian Government. It agreed also that an Albanian Holy Synod with autonomous powers should be constituted. Thus it hoped that it had secured peace for the Orthodox of Albania, and six months ago we thought that it had secured it. Politicians, however, are politicians, and the Albanian *intransigents* got certain Slav bishops to consecrate two Albanians, not to any see, but simply in the air. And now the Government has suddenly declared those bishops to be the authorities of an autokephalous Albanian Church, has expelled or imprisoned the canonical bishops, and has bidden its Orthodox subjects renounce obedience to them and accept the intruders. It is often falsely said that the Orthodox Church is infected by the disease of interfering in politics. That is untrue. But it is true that the politicians in the Near East are infected by the disease of interfering in the affairs of the Church. In Albania, if schism comes, we shall see another verification that schism is nearly always the work of the politician and not of the theologian. Also, many ecclesiastical fishers are fishing in the troubled waters of Albania.

The fifth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to Jerusalem is due to leave London on Tuesday, April 2nd, and to arrive in the Holy City on Wednesday, April 10th. Dr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, will be its leader, and it will be directed by its Secretary and the organizer of all the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the Rev. G. N. Whittingham. Canon Douglas will be among its members.

CHURCH OF GREECE.—THE SEAL OF THE CONFESSIONAL.—The Holy Synod having been asked if a priest, who had heard a criminal's confession before his execution, could be compelled to communicate any details so confessed, which might considerably facilitate the work of justice, replied directly and without any qualifications—as was proper—in the negative. It is a fortunate thing that an opportunity has been given to make widely known to the community that the inviolability of the seal of the Confessional is of essential canonical religious obligation. To act otherwise would be not only a grave religious transgression, but also a most destructive offence against Society.—*Ecclesia*.

SUNDAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN GREECE.—The Sunday School movement is making great progress in Greece. Sunday Schools have been opened in twelve churches in Athens, to supplement the inadequate time allotted to religious education in the day schools. The Metropolitan of Corfu has also promoted the starting of such schools in his diocese at three churches.

AN ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCH SERVICE.—“An account in a Greek newspaper of a service held on the Areopagus by the Chaplain of the English Church in Athens, on January 25th, the Conversion of St. Paul, has reached me, and I think it may interest your readers to have an account of it.

“The Greek Church has for the last few years held a service on the eve of the festival of SS. Peter and Paul on June 29th on the Areopagus at Athens to commemorate the preaching of St. Paul to the Athenians.

The extract from the Greek paper says:

“A service of great devotion was held by the Chaplain of the English Church here on the anniversary of the Conversion to Christianity of St. Paul, on the Areopagus Rock, on January 25th.

“The Bishop of Naupactia, who represented the Greek Orthodox Church, also took part in the service, at which the English Chaplain officiated assisted by three of the naval chaplains from the British Fleet now here. The whole Rock was covered by the officers and the crews of the British Fleet, the members of the British Colony in Athens, and a great crowd of Athenians. The Bishop of Naupactia

read in Greek and the English Chaplain in English the passage in the Acts of the Apostles describing St. Paul's address to the Athenians. This was followed by prayers by an Anglican clergyman, and hymns were then sung to the accompaniment of the ship's band. The Bishop of Naupactia then gave an address in English on the significance of the festival.”—E.K.

CHURCH OF SERBIA.—We learn from Belgrade that the Holy Synod of the Church of Serbia has concluded the drawing up of the Organic Statute of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Serbia, and has decided to reorganize the Orthodox Serbian Churches in the United States and Canada, placing them under two bishops, to be appointed from Belgrade, one for the U.S. and one for Canada.

CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA.—INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW CALENDAR.—The new Calendar has been introduced into the Patriarchate since October. The Bishop of Axum in Abyssinia has, however, received permission from the Patriarch and Synod to defer introducing it amongst the Greek Community there, in order to avoid complications with the Abyssinian Church, which observes the Old Style. The Russian Community in Alexandria has also received permission to continue observing the Old Style in their church there, on account of the difficult position of the Russian exiles at this time.—(From *Pantinos*, Nov. 22.)

CELEBRATION OF THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES IN THE ISLAND OF ZANTE.—The following account from *Ecclesia* of the celebration of the ancient Liturgy of St. James in the island of Zante may be of interest to our readers. There are to-day only two places where this very ancient Liturgy is still celebrated on the Festival of St. James, namely, Jerusalem and Zante:—

“From information received from Zante, we learn that the divine Liturgy of St. James was celebrated in the central church of the city (All Saints). This church at its annual celebration of the memory of the Apostle, the brother of the Lord, celebrates this Liturgy on the first Sunday after his Feast Day, by authorization of a Patriarchal Letter of Timothy III. (1612-1621).

“This present year, consequently, it was celebrated on Sunday, Oct. 20th, with all possible solemnity and good order. The way in which everything was carried out evoked the admiration—especially of strangers—and the emotion of every devout listener. The Liturgy was celebrated by the priests, Nicholas Avouries (special preacher), the parish priest of the church, Dionysius Kombeses, the Rev. Dionysius Paulopoulos, and the deacon, Charalampus Kophenos. The lessons from Holy Scripture were read from a movable pulpit, placed for this purpose in the centre of the church. Fr. Kombeses read the

XII Chap. of Exodus (v. 1-28) in which is described the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb. Fr. D. Paulopoulos read the Epistle (I Cor., xv. 1-22), and the deacon the Gospel for the day. After the lections the preacher, Fr. Avouries, mounted the movable pulpit and explained the passages which had been read, preaching on the Liturgy and in particular on the Mystery of the Divine Eucharist, which was foreshadowed under the Old Dispensation in the sacrifice of the Lamb. The whole service lasted two hours, and those who had attended it departed in peace, much impressed."—(*Ecclesia*, Nov. 10, p. 361.)

We are delighted to receive the new issue of *Apostolos Barnabas*, the official magazine of the Church of Cyprus, which, after having been in abeyance since 1923, resumed publication this January. The first number contained a pastoral from the pen of our patron, the Archbishop Cyril of Cyprus, who, while in England from 1919 to 1921, made many friends among us, and some scholarly articles, including one by Father Ierides, who, after studying as a deacon at Oxford, returned to Nicosia in 1925 and is doing good work on the Archbishop's staff. In his pastoral Archbishop Cyril urges the educated among his readers to read the fortnightly sermon which is a feature of the magazine, aloud in the coffee shops and other public places, so that the illiterate may be instructed and evangelized. We should like the weekly sermon in the *Church Times* also read likewise in our London public places of refreshment.

The refusal of the Soviet Government to afford him facilities has caused the Bishop of Fulham to postpone his proposed journey to Moscow.

The Russian Bishop Tikhon of Berlin, who adheres to the Karlovicz Synod, visited London in January.

Dr. Wigram, who has spent the winter in Mesopotamia and the Near East, purposes to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Easter. He was inducted into his stall in the Cathedral at Malta in November.

The Bishop of Fulham writes:—

"I have been much impressed by all I have seen of the work of the Church Mission to Jews in my jurisdiction. Having worked for some years in the East End of London I had been accustomed to see such work carried on against fierce antagonism with only comparatively rare conversions to Christianity. My experiences abroad have led me to believe that it is only in England that it is difficult to bring the Gospel message home to the Hebrew race. I do not mean that those splendid men working in Germany, Poland and elsewhere do

not have any difficulties, but they are greatly helped by an insistent spirit of enquiry. They are kept busy all day long by those who come to them, and their churches are so crowded that in Warsaw it was necessary to issue tickets for the services. It is wonderful work, as the Jew converted to Christianity makes the finest missionary the Christian Church can have. We should not be surprised at this when we remember the early history of the Church. I have noticed that when I have confirmed a single member of a family, the rest of the family frequently come forward for confirmation on the next opportunity. The Pauline spirit seems to be aroused in them, and they have a real enthusiasm for evangelization.

"The work, of course, has its difficulties, and the days of persecution are not yet over. Men, women and children have been cut off from family life and some have lost all the worldly goods they possessed, but in spite of this a very great work is being done, and many of the Hebrew race are finding the One who was not only to be a Light to lighten the Gentiles, but also 'the Glory of His people Israel.'"

The Rev. Michael Constantinidis, the Great Archimandrite of St. Sophia's Cathedral, London, has sent us the following letter:

To the Editor of the *Christian East*.

DEAR SIR,

It was stated recently in *The Tablet*, *The Catholic Herald* and *The Catholic Times*, that the Archbishop of Athens Chrysostom, is carrying on a persecution against the Uniates in Athens, in spite of the fact that they are entitled according to the Greek Constitution to exercise their religious duties freely.

These allegations are not true. It is a matter of fact that every religious body in Greece belonging to whatever Church fulfils its religious services in absolute freedom and without the smallest restriction from the State as well as from the Church of Greece.

But it is also true that proselytism and propaganda are strictly forbidden by the first article of the Greek Constitution. After the Asia Minor disaster a number of priests having at their head the Uniate Bishop Chalavassy, started a propaganda especially among refugees. The Uniates in Greece with those from Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor do not exceed three hundred or so in number. And yet for the religious needs of such a small number over seven priests with a Bishop went to Greece. The fact of their making a propaganda was officially established by an investigation carried on by the Press, and by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. The Orthodox population of Athens was very much excited by these disclosures, and through their corporations and various religious societies claimed that the Greek government should proceed to the expulsion from Greece of the proselytizing Uniate body, which sows the seeds of division in the community.

near to persuading the House of Commons, and did persuade the House of Lords, to approve that Revision of the Prayer Book which the State itself had invited and commissioned our Episcopate to undertake, and which undoubtedly represented the considered judgment not only of our Bishops, but of the great majority of the clergy and laity of the Church of England as to what was necessary in order to appease the conflicts of opinion among us, to further solidarity in our Church life and work, and in some measure to bring our *lex orandi et credendi* up to the requirements of the Twentieth Century.

Archbishop Germanos is no stranger to us. Even when he arrived in London in 1922 to take up his office as Exarch of the Œcumenical Patriarchate and as its *apokrisarios* to our Archbishop, he was as familiar with England and with the King's English as book knowledge and assiduous study could make him. Since then he has been immersed in the atmosphere of our national, and especially of our religious life. If he does not understand us, no-one ever will. Moreover, he is instinct with goodwill towards us Anglicans, and, as witness the paper which he read last autumn to our Church Congress at Cheltenham, and which is printed in the present issue, even where formidable obstacles are pointed out to him, he remains an optimist in regard to Anglican and Orthodox Re-union, and maintains sturdily the ultimate possibilities of our movement.

None the less, he is not of those who imagine that formal Anglican-Orthodox Intercommunion can rightly be reached *per saltum*. He is prepared to make any concession that can be made without compromise of Orthodox principles, and he is eager to make it. But he is quite plain and definite as to what are the principles of Orthodoxy—and progressive, modern-minded man that he is, and devoted though he be to the great socio-religious movements of the day, he holds fast with conscience and conviction to those principles as to a rock—and neither for the great end of Re-union itself, nor for its fruitful results in Christianizing the twentieth-century world, is he ready to contemplate an *Unio haud vera* of the Ferrara-Florence kind at the price of veiling a compromise in ambiguous phrases. On the contrary, he is of those—and very humbly we crave leave to range ourselves alongside of him—who believe that the general cause of Christian Re-union and the other great causes which are involved in it, the evangelization of the heathen at home and abroad, the Christianization of social and economic civilized life, the rolling back of materialism and of the godlessness which enterprises the reconstitution of human life on the basis of purely materialistic and naturalistic categories, is best to be served by logical thinking on first principles. He knows that if, as happens even in our day, when their knees are under the same table with us at Conferences, Orthodox delegates make concessions and burk essential issues, they will be repudiated at home, and that in the issue he will better subserve the

cause which we all have at heart, and will manifest himself as our truer friend by telling us frankly and remorselessly what may be unpalatable truths than if he did as do some of the lesser Orthodox theologians who have attended Conferences, such as those of Stockholm and Lausanne, and are fêted in Anglican and Liberal Evangelical circles in England and on the Continent, and speaking smooth things declared the circle to be easily squared.¹

In other words, while he misses no occasion to speak the attractive word and to do the kindly thing, he makes no bones about pointing out that as the Orthodox Church is now, and as the Anglican Church is now, their Re-union is not possible. For him as for the whole Orthodox solidarity, Re-union is unthinkable except on the basis of full dogmatic agreement. He tried to make that clear at Lausanne in 1927, when, unpleasant though the task was, he did not shirk reading a blunt reasoned Declaration to the Faith and Order Conference to the effect² that he and his Orthodox colleagues must disassociate themselves from all its Reports except the first. And he was at no small pains at the Cheltenham Church Congress last autumn to point the same moral in other form.

In all that, he is, of course, well aware that *more suo* the intolerant and well-informed Modernist or Liberal Evangelical will pronounce him—a certain Dr. Barton, a congregationalist, I understand, of the very American variety, actually did so almost *ipsissimis verbis*—to be an anachronism, a mediaevalist whisked into our wonderful, progressive, egocentric era. As a matter of fact, he happens to have studied at Lausanne and other very up-to-date European Universities, and is himself as thoroughly a scientific theologian and twentieth century man of the world as is Dr. Streeter or Dr. Deissmann. Only he believes his religion, and can be untrue neither to his individual experience of it in his inner life nor to the traditional position of Eastern Orthodoxy. No doubt he is no less well aware—it may be surmised that maybe he is even better aware than are the American and other Protestants who are insistent on reforming the Orthodox Church out of itself and into their own likeness—of just what are the weak points of Orthodoxy to-day, of where it needs to be vivified and awakened in order that it may be able to appropriate the discoveries of modern science, thought and criticism, and readjusting itself to handle the problems which confront it in general, to address itself to its vocation to christianize the natural lives of its people in

¹ The teaching of the ancient Church of the first eight centuries, free from every question which did not have a direct relation to those things which were to be believed, must to-day also constitute the basis of the re-union of the Churches. The soundness of this basis has been universally recognized in the discussions on re-union which in past years have taken place between Orthodox, Old Catholics and Anglicans. I may be permitted to say that no true Orthodox theologian would be found to deviate from this principle, and to enter upon a discussion of subjects which, according to his convictions, have already been decided, except where such a discussion has for its sole purpose the justification of the Faith held by his Church. Archbishop Germanos at the Lausanne Conference, *Faith and Order*, London, 1928, pp. 21, 22.

² For the text of the Declaration, see *Christian East*, 1927, pp. 147.

particular. But assuredly he is altogether unwilling to treat the Orthodox Faith as an open question. He believes in it for himself, and he knows that while once it were thrown into the melting pot, Orthodox life and solidarity would disintegrate, the residuary legatee of the Orthodox Church would certainly be neither Rome nor Evangelicalism, but either a materialistic agnosticism with purely naturalistic categories or a positive and aggressive atheism of the Bolshevik Marxian type. If the speculation be a pardonable liberty, he might be expected to say, that while Orthodox *theologoumena*, e.g., doctrinal explications of dogma are altogether open to restatement and to development, Orthodox *dogmata* are of the essence of the Faith, and as such are incapable of restatement or development except by an Ecumenical Council. But in making that avowal, he would almost certainly be found to add that even in the region of *theologoumena*, there must be no sudden and challenging transformation of form and content. As the Russian Khomiakov used to put it, the Church is far more than the custodian of an unalterable deposit of belief, or even than a guide into unchangeable truth. She is illumined by the Holy Spirit, and is the Body of Christ. As such she is the organism of Hope and of Life. Assuredly shipwreck of her divinely revealed Faith must not be made; for in itself heresy is a disease and a disaster. But to insist upon addition, diminution, or innovation upon the tradition of Faith even if it is not a sin against the Truth, is certainly a grievous sin against Love: for to tell your brother that he is wrong and that you, being right, intend to pluck the mote out of his eye, is to copy the egocentricism of Lucifer and to infringe the unity which is in Christ. Therefore, while he would not only not deny but would avow the desirability of progress in regard to everything within the region of Orthodox *theologoumena*—e.g., he would probably approve Dr. Androustos' view that the proved results of the Higher Criticism's interpretations of Holy Scripture ought to be accepted, and are in no way precluded—he would almost certainly contend that in the readjustment of the Form and Content of Orthodoxy to modern conclusions and to the *zeitgeist*, the principle of a tender solicitude for the consciences—the prejudices, if you will—of others should be predominant over intellectual assumptions and tendencies, and that, whatever the individual thinker may think, he should adjust his opinions to the common outlook and way of life of his brethren, and should not pose as their corrective, but should rather make himself "all things" to them. In other words, he would have the advanced and progressive Western Christian be first and foremost helpful and constructive and not destructive to Orthodoxy, would have him get that beam out of his own eye which makes him self-satisfied, superior and hustling, and maintain the bond of love even at the expense of patience with that which he neither understands nor likes.

Accordingly, since while he is a zealot for Re-union alike for its own sake and for the practical consequences which it must bring, and while he is prepared for dynamic evolution in the form and content of Orthodoxy, he cannot compromise upon its principles, his narrative of the history of our attempt at Prayer Book Revision is necessarily a human document and peculiarly illuminating. If it is quite true that for the more part that narrative does no more than record events, none the less in its analysis of the forces which made for the legalization of the Composite Book or against it, it reveals the anxious watchfulness and is replete with the shrewd observations of one who is interested not so much in the result of that controversy as in the issues which produced it. The study of his brochure will leave the reader in doubt as to whether Archbishop Germanos regretted the final rejection of our Revised Prayer Book by Parliament—probably he did regret it—but it will leave him in no doubt that as he watched the stages of the controversy upon it in our own ecclesiastical bodies, i.e., in Convocation and the Church Assembly, and in the country, e.g., in the Dioceses and in our secular press, he was continually seeking for indications as to how far the Church of England is a Church with which the Orthodox Church can unite or indeed can be in close brotherly relations.

That, although he had studied Anglicanism by book for over 20 years before he came to London in 1921, and though since then he has had a rare immersion in the atmosphere of our Church life, not only in daily contacts but also through his free access to our inner ecclesiastical circles, his analysis of the various and often conflicting "schools of thought," "tendencies," and "sections" which present themselves to the student of the complex of our English religious life should need rectification in its details is necessarily inevitable. The wisest and most judicial estimate of it which the most impartial among ourselves could achieve would not approve itself to us all! But the picture which he gives is on the whole amazingly good, and if it needs correction here and there, and if it needs supplement, it is neither angular nor distorted. Thus, it is out of perspective, e.g., when

(i) it classifies, p. 24, the Bishop of Birmingham and our extremely aggressive Modernists—we imagine that our historic Evangelicals would be as indignant as Dr. Barnes would be startled at the identification, and that both would repudiate it sharply—as an extreme offshoot of our Evangelical party;

or (ii) when, by overlooking the fact that a considerable section of moderate High Churchmen was averse—and no less averse than Anglo-Catholics—not to the introduction of an Epiclesis in the revised Canon, but to the position assigned it after the words of Institution at which it is customary among us to hold that the Consecration takes place, he misconstrues their opposition in that matter by inferring

(p. 18) that it was motivated by a dislike to an approximation to the Eastern Liturgies and a differentiation from the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, the romanesque among us are an exiguous and relatively insignificant section, and for the more part critics of the Epiklesis in the revised Canon among High Churchmen were either old-fashioned Anglicans or liturgiologists.

These and similar relatively trivial misapprehensions being rightly ignored, I venture to appreciate the *imponderabilia* of the Metropolitan's exposition of our Prayer Book Revision controversy as making it unique in intuition and in constructive sympathy towards the approximation of Eastern Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. Where it states an emphatic *non possumus*, there is no unkindness in that statement. On the contrary, the Archbishop is governed always by that golden rule of theological discussions: "When the conditions of conference are polemical, emphasize agreements. But when charity and mutual attractions prevail precise your disagreements." Until you do so you will not know what you have to reconcile, and if you do not do so you will suddenly find yourself in controversy when you imagined that you were near striking hands.

For example, taking as his text the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Lang's, declaration in his speech in the Church Assembly on February 7th, 1927, that the Composite Book was based not on *compromise* but *comprehension*, he says (p. 18) under the title of "The Conflict of Parties in the Church over the New Prayer Book," "There will be no need to give a further description after what has been said in *Orthodoxia* (No. 17, p. 194) about the parties which exist in the Anglican Church, and which Anglicans designate as 'schools of thought' or 'elements of religious life,' or 'different aspects of one and the same truth,' which for every impartial judge are nothing other than radically inconsistent convictions in regard to questions which at least from the Orthodox point of view are essential. These parties, to which as I have said above, the Archbishops made frequent reference, are in effect two in number, the Evangelical or Protestant Party and the Catholic or Anglo-Catholic. Further and over and above these, there have developed particularly in recent years on the one hand the Modernist Party, as an offshoot of the former, and as having some continuity with the old Broad Church Party, and, on the other hand, the Romanizing Party, which represents the extreme of Anglo-Catholicism and in a measure corresponds to the Modernist. By the avowal of the Archbishops we know that the views of the Evangelical, the Catholic and the Modernist parties were taken into consideration in the compilation of the New Prayer Book, and that an attempt was made as far as possible to satisfy all three of them for the sake of the comprehensiveness of the Anglican Church. Anglicans habitually avoid the usage of the term *compromise* as designating concession in regard to two or three opinions, and prefer the term *comprehensive-*

ness. The majority of the Bishops hold that their Church has possessed this peculiar characteristic since the days of the Reformation, and regard it not as a defect but as a good quality. In order to understand this term, we must think of the significance which so-called *theologoumena*¹ possess among us, only with this difference, that theological opinions in the Anglican Church are not concerned as among us simply with matters as to which no precise doctrine is found in Revelation, but as to which there exists clear doctrine either in Holy Scripture or in Apostolic Tradition. Thus, *e.g.*, during the recent Eucharistic controversy which an inopportune exhibition of free thought on the part of the Bishop of Birmingham had kindled, it was demonstrated that in the Anglican Church the right to be is equally justified of the receptionist, *i.e.*, of those who admit the existence there of the Body and Blood of Christ only for those who receive Him with faith, and of the followers of the doctrine of the Real Presence, *i.e.*, of those who accept their objective existence independently of the recipient. Moreover, over and above these chief categories, there are wanting neither those who defend transubstantiation nor those who are partisans of Calvinistic doctrine as to the Sacrament—nor, indeed, of the extreme liberal point of view that the Holy Eucharist is simply bread and wine which we receive in memory of the Saviour. It would be futile for the Orthodox to wish to get at the heart of the secret of this Comprehensiveness, inasmuch as it is inseparably connected with a religious consciousness and mentality which are the product of long centuries of conflict between the two elements in the Anglican Church, from which neither has emerged conqueror, and which have rendered it necessary that they should become tolerant each of the other, and should live together in order that a specifically Anglican Church should exist at all. In truth that this Comprehensiveness approximates rather to Protestant principles, and became possible both through the Reformation which the Anglican Church accepted and owing to the way in which it accepted it, is quite plain. Comprehensiveness of such a kind is something incomprehensible to anyone who finds himself outside its orbit.²

All round reflection upon what Archbishop Germanos has to say about us to the Orthodox and to ourselves induces two conclusions.

The first is not so chilling as *prima facie* it would appear. It is that as the Orthodox Church is to-day with its strict insistence upon its traditional dogmatic position, and as it views the Anglican Church of to-day with its "comprehensiveness," full corporate Re-union is not thinkable. That conclusion, however, is far from slamming the door upon Re-union in the near future, as it is slammed between us and Rome. Nothing would appear more outside all possibility

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theless, Anglicans and Orthodox draw nearer and nearer together, work together, pray together, and are good to each other. In the end, without compromise, a rightful Comprehensiveness, we believe, will bring them together into full Communion, and they will find that they have all along been altogether one in the One Lord and in His One Church.

PROGRESS TOWARDS THE RE-UNION OF THE ORTHODOX AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

By THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP GERMANOS, METROPOLITAN OF
THYATIRA.

I FEEL I must address a few words of thanks to His Lordship the Bishop of Gloucester for affording me the opportunity of putting before you the position of the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglican Communions from the Orthodox point of view.

This report, while it will, I am sure, fill your hearts with hopes for the future of these relations, will, on the other hand, show how long the road still is which will have to be travelled before these relations can terminate in the desired end—that is to say, the reunion of these two Communions. What was needed in order successfully to cultivate these relations was that they should be put on a sound basis, as a starting-point from which to proceed slowly but surely to the end in view. And the honour of finding this basis is due, as all are agreed, to the venerable Primate of the Anglican Church, Dr. Randall Davidson, who, from his deep love for the much tried Churches of Eastern Christendom, has found this starting-point in a mutual *rapprochement* between these two Churches. This initiative, which received a grateful recognition by the Orthodox Church, rekindled in her also the desire for reunion, and has been instrumental in denoting the right spirit in which the existing differences between the two Churches must be discussed. May I be allowed therefore, as representing the Orthodox Church in this country, to express at the beginning a respectful greeting to His Grace for all his labours in the work of *rapprochement* and mutual understanding between both our Churches.

I

THE TWO CHURCHES IN THE REMOTE PAST.

What interests us principally is the aspect which the relations between the two Churches have assumed during the last years. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that the relations between the two Churches began only yesterday. His Grace the Archbishop of Wales, in his address some time ago to the two Patriarchs of the East, Alexandria and Jerusalem, reminded them of the relations already existing between the Church of Wales and the Eastern

Churches. He also emphasized the point that from the East came the first missionaries, who founded the Church of Wales, and in support of this mentioned the fact that even after the establishment of the Archbishopric of Canterbury by Saint Augustine (who came from Rome in A.D. 596) the Church in Wales continued to be independent, and that many years passed before the complete assimilation between the two parts of the Anglican Church took place. And what is true of the Church of Wales is true also of the Church of Ireland, in which the first to preach the Gospel were Greeks from Asia Minor. Although it cannot be proved whether these missionaries came from Lyons, where the two disciples of Polycarp of Smyrna, Pothinos and Irenæus, worked, or from Marseilles, which had close commercial ties with Britain.

Moreover, however much the Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus (A.D. 669), owed his missionary work in this country to the initiative of the Pope of Rome, he never ceased to belong, both by descent and culture, to the East. It is, therefore, only right that we should accept the fact that while organizing the Church of England, he followed both the principles and traditions which he had learnt in the East. "The Church of England," says the historian Green, "as we know it to-day is the work of a Greek monk"; and Trevelyan says, "The Archbishop Theodore stands out as perhaps the greatest Prince of the Church in all English history."

We must pass on a long way in the centuries in order to find a new *rapprochement* between the two Churches—to the time when the Church of England, after emancipation from Rome, appears as an Independent Church. It is at the time of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Alexandria (1602-21) and later of Constantinople. Without entering here into a detailed examination of the convictions of this Patriarch, we can say the following. Although the assertion of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, is true, that the Orthodox Church did not recognize Cyril as a heretic Patriarch, it is apparent from surviving letters of his (Cyril's) to different personalities in the West and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, that such was the case. Moreover, it is well known that Metrophanes Critopoulus, who for five years studied at Oxford as a ward of Abbot and succeeded Cyril on the throne of Alexandria, did not hesitate to sign his condemnation at the Synod of Constantinople, in 1638. The Calvinistic Confession by Cyril Lucaris which appeared in the West, and which provoked great trouble in the Church of the East during the seventeenth century, not only did not contribute to the tightening of the bonds of friendship between the two Churches, as was foreshadowed in the correspondence between Cyril and Abbot, but had a contrary effect on the Orthodox Church by arousing doubts and suspicions. And when Dr. Woodroffe, an ardent advocate of the unity of Christendom, addressed himself to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Callinicus II, asking him to send students to the Greek College at Oxford, of which he was the Principal, the Patriarch disregarded his request. The widespread idea that the Orthodox Church had become

Calvinistic made the Patriarchs very reserved in their relations with the Anglicans, especially where there was a question of the education of Orthodox young men at English Universities.

Despite all this, the Eastern Patriarchs did not disregard the overtures made to them by the Non-Jurors regarding reunion. These negotiations cannot be said to have been conducted between the two Churches, since the Non-Jurors were in schism with the Church of England, and as soon as this became known, from a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Wake, to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chysanthos (1725), they were broken off. But the correspondence, and especially the answers given by the Patriarchs of the East to the questions put by the Non-Jurors, are of extreme interest, as having been given on the supposition that these represented the whole Church of England. Thus, the Patriarchs not only did not question the impossibility of the creation of an Independent Anglican Church, but, on the contrary, supported this idea. They agreed that the Anglicans should retain their own customs, and declared themselves ready to approve of the Anglican Liturgy, provided it was Orthodox. Likewise, they accepted the explanation given, that the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son does not mean that the Son is the active cause of the existence of the Holy Ghost, but is only of the sending forth of the Holy Ghost through the Son to the world, and praised their decision to communicate the Elements in both kinds, and their acceptance of the other Sacraments. The Orthodox Patriarchs, however, refuted the opinion that the decisions of the seven Ecumenical Councils have not the same authority as Scripture, and insisted upon the Non-Jurors giving honour to the Virgin and the Saints, paying reverence to their Eikons and believing in their intercession. But the Patriarchs were adamant on the question of Transubstantiation, because the struggle in the East against Calvinistic teaching of the Holy Eucharist was very recent. Therefore they added the Synodical decision of 1601, under the Patriarch Dionysios, and the Synodical reply which was sent through the Chaplain of the British Legation, J. Covel (1672), to the Philhellenes of Great Britain who asked what was the teaching of the Eastern Church on the Sacraments, and especially on the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. In their second answer to the Non-Jurors, the Patriarchs, through the Holy Synod of Russia, sent the Confession of Dositheos to them as a basis on which reunion might be accomplished.

A century and a half later we find a fresh contact between the heads of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Gregory VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Campbell, in a Synodical Encyclical which he sent to all the Metropolitans in 1869, ordered that all Anglicans who die in places where there do not exist Anglican cemeteries should be buried in the Orthodox cemeteries, and by Orthodox priests, and he likewise ordered a special service to be drawn up to be used on such occasions. However insignificant

this concession seems to-day, it is, nevertheless, the first step towards the *rapprochement* of the Churches in a purely Ecclesiastical matter. The visit of the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos, Alexander Lycourgos, to England in 1870 gave rise not only to immediate intercourse between himself and Anglican Bishops, but also to theological conversations, which enlightened him regarding the existing points of agreement and disagreement between the two Churches. Of greater importance from a dogmatic point of view was the meeting between Anglicans and Orthodox at the reunion Congresses held at Bonn in 1874-5, on the initiative of the Old Catholics. Although at these Congresses complete agreement was not reached on the debated points, the important points must not be overlooked on which agreement was reached. The outstanding point of the famous "Filioque" Clause, about which much has been written in the past, after close historical examination at these Congresses, was so elucidated as to make the agreement reached there the starting-point of agreement in later discussions. As a basis of this agreement, there was laid down the teaching of the Fathers of the Undivided Church, especially that of St. John Damascene, in which the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father through the Son. Important also is the common acceptance at these Congresses of the ancient Creeds and the Dogmatic decisions of the Undivided Church, as by this acceptance a firm basis was made for future discussions on the questions separating the Churches one from the other.

The visit of the late Right Reverend Bishop of Salisbury, John Wordsworth, and especially his meeting with the Patriarch of Constantinople, Constantine V (1897-1900), still further strengthened the bonds between the two Churches. A Committee appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, consisting of the Great Vicar and the Keeper of the Archives, undertook to collaborate with the English Archdeacon Dowling in order to enlighten the Orthodox on the teaching of the Anglican Church. The result of this collaboration is to be found in the answers which were given by the Bishop of Salisbury to questions put by the Orthodox members of the Committee, referring to the points under discussion.

II

THE TWO CHURCHES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

A fresh and more interesting development is presented in the relations between the two Churches, especially from the beginning of the twentieth century, and during and after the Great War. While hitherto the relations between the two Churches were confined to a more formal manner, and the discussions bore a purely academic character, the Great War brought a great change both in the relations and the discussions. The reasons which brought about these changes are the following: The sympathy shown by the venerable Anglican Church towards the much-tried Christians

of the East by raising her voice for justice and liberation of the enslaved Christian people moved the leaders of the Orthodox Church profoundly and filled with gratitude the hearts of the Orthodox nations. This reason, however unrelated it may appear to be to the question of the reunion of the Churches, was the psychological reason for a closer contact, better knowledge and friendly understanding between the Churches, which constituted the sound reason for the change. Distinguished members of the Orthodox Church belonging to the different Autocephalous Churches of the East visited England and America, where they studied and obtained a deep knowledge of the life of the Anglican Communion, entered into discussions with its members, eliminated misunderstanding and dispelled doubts. The presence of the then Metropolitan of Athens and present Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletius, accompanied by distinguished Orthodox theologians such as the present Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom, and Professor Alivisatos, and the serious discussions with Anglican theologians, first in America and then in England, as well as the agreement arrived at on many of these points, revived the hopes of reunion between the Churches. Orthodox theologians also from Serbia and Rumania, who visited England and got to know the Anglican Church, returned home carrying with them the idea that the gulf separating the two Churches must not be considered impassable.

The Encyclical published by the Œcumenical Patriarchate in 1920, by which all the Churches of Christ were summoned to form a League of Churches and collaborate on moral and social questions in which all the Churches were interested, cannot be, of course, considered as an attempt at reunion in the strict meaning of the word. No one will, however, deny that reunion was the object which was really intended by the lines of the Encyclical. The Patriarch, in acknowledging that the existing differences and prejudices could not at once be removed, proposed the brotherhood and co-operation of the Churches as being the safest means which "will prepare and facilitate the complete and blessed Union which may some day be obtained with God's help."

But what has really contributed to the strengthening of the relations between the two Churches is undoubtedly the invitation given by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Randall Davidson, to the Œcumenical Patriarchate to send a delegation of Orthodox theologians and clergy in order to discuss with the Committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference the dogmatic questions which separate the two Churches. It appears from the report submitted that the discussion was not confined only to Baptism, Chrism (Confirmation), the Holy Eucharist, the seventh Œcumenical Council, the validity of Anglican Orders, and certain questions of Canon Law on marriage, with which the Committee from Athens and the Serbian and Rumanian theologians had been occupied, but that it was widened to include other matters. Thus, the teaching on tradition, the Creeds, and especially the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, with the "Filioque" Clause, the sym-

bolical books of the Anglican Church, that is to say, the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book, the Sacraments of Marriage, Penance and Unction, the state of the departed in Christ and their connection with the Church Militant, were also subjects of discussion. And the enumeration only of the subject shows that the importance of discussion was such as to justify us in insisting further on this discussion.

In this debate the delegation recognized the validity of Baptism as performed by Anglican priests, also of Confirmation as performed by the Bishops by the laying on of hands; but they insisted that Chrism should immediately follow Baptism, while the catechizing of the newly-baptized should be postponed until they were older. It is of special interest that the Patriarchal delegation insisted upon the Anglicans recognizing the Holy Eucharist as being of a sacrificial character, and the introduction of the Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit as necessary for the change of the Holy Elements; also that the wafer bread should be changed for leavened bread, specially prepared, and that the wine should be mixed with water. Despite these, the term Transubstantiation was happily eliminated, as the delegation confined itself to the terms, Change (*μεταβολή*) and Transformation (*μεταποίησις*), by which the true meaning of the term is given and misunderstandings are avoided. About the validity of Anglican orders, which constituted an important matter of discussion both in itself and in relation to the valid performance of the other Sacraments, the delegation reserved its own personal opinion, and left it to the study and decision of the official body of the Church. While the delegation remained satisfied because the Anglicans accepted the decision relating to Eikons of the seventh Œcumenical Council, and recognized the Nicene Creed as really Œcumenical, it is aware of the opposition manifested by the Anglicans for the elimination of the anti-canonically added "Filioque" Clause.

The delegation took into consideration the declaration by the Anglicans that the Thirty-nine Articles are not articles of Faith, but are articles of confession connected with the established character of the Church, and expressed the opinion that, as their abolition is impossible if the Church is not to be separated from the State, only an amendment of these articles by the competent authorities would be possible. When the Anglicans declared that the Prayer Book contained the true teaching of the Anglican Church, on the basis of the principle of *Lex orandi, Lex credendi*, the delegation accepted this as being a more favourable starting-point of understanding, inasmuch as it was said that the imminent revision of the Prayer Book would show a more Catholic emphasis. On both sides a marriage performed in cases of necessity by a priest of either Communion is recognized; the Orthodox gave explanations as to auricular confession in the Orthodox Church, and the object of the Sacrament of Unction. The delegation mentions the impression created by the declaration made by the Anglicans, that prayers for the dead are in use now in the Anglican Church, and that their use is becoming more general by

permission of the Bishops. But in exposing the above, the delegation does not pass it over without some criticism. Thus, in seeking the reason for which the Anglican insists upon having inter-communion in cases of necessity as being a preparatory step towards a fuller inter-communion, despite the existing differences in faith, it finds this reason in the following: The Anglicans have a wider conception of the Church which is to the Orthodox incomprehensible. And the delegation adds: that the hopes it has derived from the conversation with the competent Committee have been greatly reduced by the Appeal issued by the Lambeth Conference to all Christian people. According to the delegation, the terms offered by this Appeal for a re-united Church are terms which suit their own conditions more than ours. "Their own religious and ecclesiastical conditions lead them to propose to the Non-Episcopal Churches terms which are in opposition to our principles and system." Therefore the delegation says that after their sojourn in England they are persuaded that the "Communio in Sacris," without a previous agreement on dogma, is not the road which leads to the safe and saving reunion of our churches. Nevertheless, the delegation, in praise of the zeal of the "Anglicans, considers it a duty of the Orthodox to continue" contributing in every way to the success of such a work, agreeable to God, as the Union of the Churches, convinced that the all-powerful hand of God will, in time, take away all difficulties and will bring about a work which will be a blessing for Christendom and of the greatest advantage to mankind.

From what has already been said, it is evident how important was the presence of the Patriarchal delegation in London. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in answer to the *locum tenens* of the Patriarchate, assured him that the delegation gave "a fresh strong life to the mutual friendly relations of the two Churches," while the Lambeth Conference estimates as great the help given by the delegation to its Committee of Bishops, and finally that Committee acknowledges that "presence in London of a Patriarchal delegation was of the greatest importance, as many important questions, both doctrinal and practical, were discussed at it." And although this Committee thinks that we are advancing firmly towards the object of final reunion, still it adds: "There is still much to be accomplished, that we need to know better and understand the position of each other. That from both sides explanations are necessary in order that, when the day should come for proposing Sacramental Inter-Communion, they should rest, on both sides, on principles of broad toleration; and the readiness also of each Church to confine itself to its own practices and customs, not insisting upon the other complying with them."

The presence in London of this Patriarchal delegation had as a result the decision of the Holy Synod in Constantinople, under the Presidency of the Patriarch Meletius, to acknowledge the validity of Anglican Orders. Professor Comnennos on his return to Constantinople considered it wise to devote himself to the study of this

question and published a special treatise on Anglican Orders. The conclusions arrived at in his treatise, which were taken into consideration by the permanent Committee on the relations between the two Churches, suggested to the Holy Synod the acknowledgment of the validity of Anglican Orders. The Synod, in acknowledging the validity of these Orders, communicated its decision to the other Autocephalous Churches in an Encyclical, and in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this letter the Patriarch says: "The Holy Synod has concluded that as before the Orthodox Church the ordinations of the Anglican Episcopal Confession of Bishops, priests and deacons possess the same validity as those of the Roman Old Catholic and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable from the Orthodox point of view for the recognition of the Charisma of the priesthood derived from Apostolic succession." This decision, as the Patriarch points out in this letter, has not the significance of a decision of "the whole Orthodox Church," for which all the Autocephalous Churches must be in agreement; but "as a decision of the Primatial See of the Orthodox Churches, it is not without significance, and is a step forward in that work of general Union which is agreeable to God." The Archbishop of Canterbury, in communicating the relative documents to the Canterbury Convocation, declared that the decision in itself does not authorize Inter-Communion or mutual ministrations; but that its importance lies "in the preparation for future advances and in preparing the way for the possible regularization of Anglican ministrations to them (the Orthodox people), or of the offer of ministration on their part." The example of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was soon followed by the decisions of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and Archbishopric of Cyprus relative to Anglican Orders. The Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom, drew up a treatise in which he supported the validity of Anglican Orders. The delay on the part of the other Autocephalous Churches in following their example should be ascribed to their preoccupation with internal matters rather than to any hesitation with regard to the essence of the matter. As the decision had already been taken in Constantinople to call a Pan-Orthodox Synod, or Pro-Synod, the Autocephalous Churches which had not yet come to a decision formed the opinion that the question also of Anglican Orders and mutual ministrations in cases of necessity would be put on a proper basis when the relations of the Orthodox to the other Christian Churches had been regulated, as proposed in the Programme.

The last intercourse between Orthodox and Anglican representatives took place at Lausanne in August last year, at the Conference on Faith and Order. However much the general character of this Conference, consisting of representatives of almost seventy Christian Churches, prevented that agreement appearing which had been reached on several points between our two Churches, yet whoever reads the minutes of the Conference, or above all followed the discussions in the special Committees, knows that the Anglican view, as long as it kept to Catholic lines, found its chief supporters

in the Orthodox delegation. If the Orthodox delegation arrived at its well-known declaration, in which it refused all compromise, it did this because it found, as did the Patriarchal delegation before in London, that the proposed terms of agreement were so wide as not to be consistent with principles which the Orthodox Church considers to be fundamental.

In reviewing what has been already said above, we say that the relations between the two Churches, Anglican and Orthodox, which have been put on a sound basis by the friendly intercourse of the heads of both Churches and the deeper knowledge of the nature and position of each Church by their theologians, especially since the beginning of the present century, are becoming every day closer. This is shown not only by simple acts of friendliness, but by real compliance and tolerance in what does not touch Inter-Communion, such as, for the Orthodox Church at least, would a century ago have been considered as quite inconceivable. At that time in the East the idea prevailed that the Ecclesiastical body called the Anglican Church was no other than a Protestant branch which, as a remnant of the ancient Church, preserved Episcopacy. Here perhaps, as elsewhere in the West, the Orthodox Church was considered as a dead branch of the ancient and undivided Church, which, while retaining some elements of its doctrine, was on the other hand a mass of superstitions which, owing to their greater number, prevented the distinguishing of the hidden kernel of truth within. Now, thanks to the endeavours made on both sides, the fundamental position of each Church has been examined and cleared of the former prevailing prejudices. But what are the prospects of the future of these relations? That is the point I wish to dwell upon before concluding my address.

III

HOPES AND FEARS.

The Orthodox Church has always discriminated between intercourse and co-operation of the Churches and the union of them in faith and order. It considers unhesitatingly that the first is possible, even if each Communion retains untouched its own confession, after certain conditions have been fulfilled. These conditions are the cessation of Proselytism among Christians and the cultivation of a brotherly spirit between the different Churches like that which, according to St. Paul, must characterize all the members of one and the same Church. It is true that the object for which the Œcumenical Patriarchate sent its Encyclical in 1920 has not yet been realized in the manner in which it was conceived from the beginning. This is due to the fact that the different Churches either did not make its contents a subject of special study, or did not communicate their opinions to the Œcumenical Patriarchate concerning the manner by which the proposal could be realized; or, finally that the Œcumenical Patriarchate, owing to its own diffi-

culties, could not return to the subject. Nevertheless, if one considers the willing and wide co-operation shown by the Orthodox Church in the movement for reunion, it cannot be denied that the policy of the Patriarchate since this Encyclical has been inspired by sympathy towards all the Christian Churches. And that this sympathy is more emphatically shown to the venerable Church of England is explained not only by the special relations into which it entered for the reasons given above, but also because the Orthodox Church cherishes the conviction that, in spite of all existing difficulties, the reunion with the Church of England in faith lies within the boundaries of possibility in a nearer future than with any other Church, except perhaps with the Old Catholics. What is the plan of co-operation in this League of Churches proposed by the Encyclical, each can conceive for himself if he studies the contents, which would make further remarks here unnecessary.

But the Orthodox Church, although she recognizes the preparatory character of this intercourse and co-operation for the work of reunion in faith and order, has always discriminated between them. It has always conceived of the Unity of the Church as Unity in faith in the fundamental doctrines of Divine Revelation as they were laid down in Scripture and Holy Apostolic tradition and have been confirmed by the decisions of the seven Œcumenical Synods and the nine first centuries. It is therefore easy to understand why the Orthodox Church always advances the faith of the ancient and undivided Church as the model which every discussion with theologians of other Churches should take, and as the starting-point from which every discussion should proceed on the points, undefined formally, but which are accepted in the Orthodox Church on the basis of the Divine Revelation. As the whole content of Divine Revelation has not been defined authoritatively, but is taught and accepted on the authority of the Church, this fact offers great scope for theological discussion, not only among the Orthodox theologians, but between them and theologians of other Churches. Despite this, however, the Orthodox Church accepts as true members those only who declare their belief in its fundamental principles, and considers that they only have the right to partake of the treasure of its grace through its sacraments. As, therefore, the Orthodox Church holds that Unity presupposes dogmatic Unity also, for this reason, when the proposal was made that the Patriarchate should recognize the validity of mutual ministrations of Orthodox and Anglican in cases of necessity, while it recognized the validity of Anglican Orders, it reserved its opinion on this question, and postponed it to the judgment of a future Pan-Orthodox Synod. I simply mention the fact that certain isolated examples which were dictated by anomalous conditions and necessities must not be considered as precedents which abolish the rules prevailing in the Orthodox Churches.

From this it will be seen that the future direction of discussions between the two Churches must be the following: By what means will be raised the existing dogmatic differences between them, and an agreement reached on a common confession of faith? Before

we reach this goal, let us not buoy ourselves up with the idea that a safe and enduring Union of the two Churches can be accomplished. To arrive at this goal, how many obstacles must be overcome! On the Orthodox side, there is not only the difficulty of convening a Pan-Orthodox Synod in order to lay down, in the name of the whole Church, the general lines of such a procedure for Union; but the need also for the preparation and enlightenment of the Orthodox people as regards what is essential or non-essential in the faith, and their instruction in the great advantages to be derived from the reunion of the Churches. For the removal of these obstacles not only requires time, but enlightened workers, full of zeal and devotion to the work of reunion. With regard to the obstacles on the Anglican side, may I, instead of mentioning these, be allowed to end my address with a short personal confession.

On my last journey to the East, when the question of the reunion of our Churches was raised, an Orthodox cleric said to me: "It is evident that Unity in Faith is not a *sine qua non* in the Anglican Church; for in that Church different views are held, not only in secondary matters but in fundamental matters of faith. The appeal of the last Lambeth Conference to all the Christians and the conduct of the English Church towards ecclesiastical bodies which had severed their continuity with the ancient Church, and finally the well-known discussions at the time of the revision of the Prayer Book, show clearly how wide the conception of the Church is among Anglicans. What can further discussions avail, when there exists a radical disagreement between the two Churches on this fundamental point? If, on the other hand, the object of the discussion is to define the common teaching of the Faith, as a link uniting the two Churches to each other, and one of the debating parties has made advances to others on a much wider basis, does not any further discussion seem in vain? Let us therefore be content to cultivate friendly relations and intercourse with the Anglican Church also, and stop deceiving ourselves as well as others with hopes that Unity in Faith is possible."

I answered him thus: "I recognize in one way your doubts and I share your uneasiness, but I shall never reach your despair; you despair because you ignore the nature and constitution of the Anglican Church, and you have not followed at close quarters the slow but undoubted evolution of this Church. If you knew this Church from the moment of its emancipation from Rome; if you had studied the many struggles of some of its members to save what is truly Catholic in it; if you, through close touch, became persuaded of the sincerity of their intentions and the depth of their religious convictions, then despair would not have found a place in your heart. Why should we not think that a time is coming when the Catholic nucleus which always existed in the Anglican Church should not prevail over the whole body, so that it should appear in that form which would make reunion with our Orthodox Church possible? Meanwhile, the duty of the Orthodox is not to break the definite bond which binds us to the Anglican Communion, but to help in such an evolution, through friendly inter-

course and in a spirit of peaceful discussion. And finally, since the work of reunion appertains first to the glory of God and the prevalence of His Kingdom on earth, why should we not lay our hopes on Him, who is everything and in this also, as in the work of our religious edification?" So then, "neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase" (1 Corinthians iii 7). *Oremus et laboremus.*

THE LATE PATRIARCH GREGORIOS OF ANTIOCH.

THE death of the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, Mgr. Gregorios, took place on December 13th at Damascus, the modern seat of the Patriarchate. The deceased Patriarch, who was in his seventieth year, had reigned for nineteen years, having been elected when Metropolitan of the Syrian Tripoli to succeed the Patriarch Meletios III., on the latter's death in 1909.

The Metropolitan of Laodicea, Mgr. Arsenios, who has been appointed *locum tenens* of the vacant Patriarchal Throne, was consecrated to the episcopate in 1903, and is in his sixty-fifth year.

Of all the five ancient Patriarchates of the Orthodox Church, the Patriarchate of Antioch is the most depressed. Antioch, the Golden City, the ancient walls of which still climb in a thirty-mile semi-circle up and down the hills which ring it in, has been a squalid village for centuries, and the flock of the Patriarch, who until the 'seventies resided in Constantinople, and nowadays resides in Damascus, has dwindled to a dispersion of a few hundred thousand Orthodox among a solid Moslem majority. None the less, the prestige enjoyed among the Orthodox Churches by the four ancient Patriarchates is undiminished; and as the third dignitary in the whole Orthodox Church, the late Patriarch was known by name to every Orthodox, and exercised considerable influence in all Orthodox, ecclesiastical circles.

Of the simplest origin, the late Patriarch did not have the advantages of that scientific modern education which most of the leading personalities in the Orthodox Church of to-day have had, but was "unlearned." He was possessed, however, of great native intuition, was a shrewd man of affairs, and a wise administrator, and had a rare nicety of judgment both as to men and events. His reign in many ways has marked a transition in the Antiochene Patriarchate, the great majority of the flock of which, as do the small minority and the large majority respectively of the flocks of the Alexandrine and of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, consists of Arabophone Syrians, who are often erroneously termed Arabs, but except for their use of Arabic, belong everywhere, both by culture and tradition, to the Byzantine *bloc*.

Until the close of last century it never entered the heads of the

Arabophones anywhere to differentiate themselves from the Greeks, like whom, under the Turks, they continued to think of themselves as Romans in the manner in which their forefathers had thought of themselves under the Byzantine Empire. With rare wisdom, however, the higher clergy of the Antiochene Patriarchate, who were mostly of Greek race, forestalled the effect of these modern movements which have asserted racial nationality, and in the spirit of that true supranationality, which is characteristic of the Orthodox Church, concurred in the 'nineties in being replaced by an Arabophone higher clergy, and in Arabic becoming the liturgical language of the Patriarchate. It was thus that, in spite of his lack of some qualifications, the late Patriarch came to be elected, and that during his reign the Patriarchate ceased to be Roman—*i.e.*, Greek—and became Arabophone.

By outlook and mentality, and possibly through the limitations of his advantages—so far as I know, the late Patriarch never visited Western Europe—he was a somewhat narrow Conservative, and opposed to reform. He could move, however, with the times; and though when it was first mooted, he was a vigorous opponent of the reform of the Calendar initiated by the present Patriarch of Alexandria, almost his last act was to concur with his Synod in its adoption. A month or two ago he decided also upon the reopening of the Patriarchal Theological College of Pellemont, and was planning its staffing and conduct on modern lines.

If he had died before the War, we Anglicans would doubtless have been interested in the passing of a symbolic personage invested with being the lineal successor of St. Peter—a secondary title of the Patriarch of Antioch is the Holder of the First Throne of Peter—St. Paul and St. Ignatius in the city in which the disciples were first called Christians. The romance of the Patriarchate is writ large in our Church history books.

But though he complained that France, as the mandatory power in Syria, furthered the uniatizing propaganda against his people, and though, however anti-clerical at home, being invested with the cherished prerogative of the protection of the Papal interests in the Levant, the French Government gave some reason for the complaint, he rejoiced that among the many other benefits which the substitution of the French flag for the Turkish brought him, his new and relative freedom put him in actual touch with the Anglican Church. If he had been permitted he would himself have attended the Nikæan Celebration of 1925 in Westminster Abbey. As it was, he asked the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria to represent him at it.

Indeed, he let pass no occasion of showing his goodwill to us Anglicans, and in particular acted as a genial and kindly host to the members of the Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages who in the past five years have visited Damascus. By them his loss will be regretted for the sake of his simple and gentle personality.

Mgr. Arsenios, who is expected to be his successor, is a man of fine scholarly attainment, and being versed in modern life, may well be expected to lead the Patriarchate into the common possessions of twentieth century religious life. His task is not altogether easy, and he will have many difficulties to contend with; but he is of the stuff to carry through and to rise to his fine opportunity. None the less, however successful he may be, he will not easily eclipse the name of his predecessor either for relative achievement or for personal sanctity. According to his time and to his vision, the Patriarch Gregory was a good man and a wise ruler, and as such was worthy of his great office and its traditions.—R.I.P.
J.A.D.

(From *Pantaenos*.)

Mgr. Gregorios resided at Damascus, and it is a curious fact that, of the four titular Patriarchs of Antioch, not one resides in that city; the Greek Catholic, or Uniat, Patriarch divides his time equally between Damascus and Egypt, the Maronite Patriarch resides in the Lebanon, the Syrian Catholic at Beirut, and the Latin in Rome. All four claim the sole direct Apostolic succession in the first city of the Christians from St. Peter, the first Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 33-40), but the Greek Orthodox line of descent (wonderfully preserved through centuries of war, persecution, and unrest) is probably the most authentic and regular from the historical point of view. Fourteen episcopal Sees are attached to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch—Beirut, Acre, Zahleh in the Lebanon, Tripoli-of-Syria, Homs (the Crusading Edessa), Tyre and Sidon, Laodicea, the Hauran, Diabekir in Armenia, Aleppo, Tarsus and Adana, Epiphaniias, Lebanon, and Erzeroum. The Patriarch of Antioch wields wide powers, both civil and religious, which are peculiar to the See. He can call a local synod for settling questions of Church order and discipline, and he can imprison members of his flock; in religious matters he is subject to the judgment of the Holy Synod, but, up to 1914, in civil cases he had direct access to the Porte, without having to pass through local tribunals or officials first, but only through the Patriarchate of Constantinople. He was personally responsible for his flock to the Porte.

When the War broke out Gregorios' marked pro-Russian and pro-Ally sympathies made him an object of suspicion to the Turks, but by degrees he won the confidence and friendship of Jamal Pasha, who allowed him to remain at his post throughout the War, and even gave him much-needed help for the Orthodox poor. At some personal risk Gregorios gave secret help to British, Russian, and other Allied subjects who were stranded in parts of his see. In 1917, when the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem and his synod were deported

to Damascus by the Turks, Gregorios housed and fed them in his own residence; but when the Palestine synod rebelled against Damianos (1920) and appealed to him for help against their Patriarch, Gregorios refused to be drawn into the dispute on either side. When the Druses rose against the French (1925-26) Gregorios wrote a personal letter to their leader, Sultan Pasha el-Atrash, asking him to protect all Christians as far as possible; he also sheltered and fed some 500 Christians of all creeds who were rendered homeless through this little war. This action, and his strong pro-British sympathies, which he was at no pains to conceal, made him unpopular with the French authorities in Syria.

THE ORTHODOX REFORMED CALENDAR.

THAT a good deal of confusion should exist not only among usually well-informed English folk, but even among the Orthodox themselves, as to what is the present position of the Orthodox Reformed Calendar, is not surprising. Accordingly the appended letter, addressed to the *Church Times* by the Metropolitan of Thyatira, which incidentally gives the number of the autocephalous Churches that are recognised as such to-day by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and which is authoritative, will be welcome. The new Calendar, which, *pace* the Metropolitan, is *not* the Gregorian, but an emendation of it, was put forward at the Pan-Orthodox Conference convened in Constantinople in 1922 by the present Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, who was then Œcumenical Patriarch. That Conference, the validity of which was questioned at the time, and which professed to be no more than advisory, simply recommended the new Calendar for the consideration of the autocephalous Churches, and certain Orthodox hierarchs, among whom the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev and the late Patriarch Gregorios of Antioch criticized it sharply, not indeed for the Calendar in itself, but for handling the matter of the readjustment of the old Calendar at all—a proceeding which they held should have been postponed until an Œcumenical Council can be convened. So great a change, they argued, could only be accomplished by a decision of the supreme legislative organ of the whole Orthodox Church, and ought at least to wait until the Russian Church could give its voice in the matter. None the less, the Œcumenical Patriarchate not only saw the Conference through, but, after notifying the other Churches and inviting them to follow its example, adopted the new Calendar itself in 1923, an example which was followed at once by the Churches of Cyprus, Rumania and Hellas, and more slowly by those of Georgia and Poland and by the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, the last two having made the change only in the past twelve months. In Russia, while the Synodal Church, which must by no means be confused with the now disintegrated Living Church, made the change in 1925. The Patriarchal Church has

not yet done so. Both sides of the Russian Church in Exile have adhered to the old Calendar, and the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, with his Synod at Karlowicz, is firm against it, his influence, which is strong in Serbia, being generally regarded as the main reason why the Serbian Patriarchate has not yet conformed to the action of the Jugo-Slav State, which has put the Gregorian Calendar in force in its own secular sphere since 1919. The Jerusalem Patriarchate has expressed itself as being in no way opposed on principle to the new Calendar, but has not adopted it for the avowed reason that the greatest inconvenience would arise in the Holy Places if the Orthodox fixed feasts coincided with the Latin.

If, as now appears very possible, the new Calendar is thus adopted by General Consent of the Orthodox Churches, an important precedent of individual action on the part of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in initiating a change—and the change is, of course, of considerable magnitude—would be established, and complete justification would be given for the contention of Professor Komnenos, who, in his brochure on Anglican Ordinations, maintained in 1922 that the Œcumenical Patriarchate, or, indeed, any autocephalous church, could initiate Economic Intercommunion with us.

The initiation of a change in the fixing of Easter made by the Roumanian Patriarchate is, necessarily, open to greater challenge than was the adoption of the new Calendar by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, inasmuch as it involves the supersession of a Canon of the First Œcumenical Council, the decrees of which are generally assumed to be reformable only by another Œcumenical Council, or, at least, by Unanimous Consent of the Autocephalous Churches. The Metropolitan's letter runs:—

To the Editor of the *Church Times*.

Sir,—In your issue of February 8, you state that “on March 31, for the first time in the last 347 years, Easter Sunday will be celebrated unitedly by all sections of Christians and Jews, during the Jewish Passover, because the Synod of the Orthodox Church, assembled at Bucharest, has decided to advance by fourteen days their Easter date, bringing it to the Gregorian Calendar's Easter Sunday.” This statement is not strictly accurate in itself, as it confuses the change of the Calendar in most of the Orthodox autocephalous Churches with the fixing of the Easter date.

In regard to the acceptance of the new or Georgian Calendar, the position now existing in the Orthodox Church is as follows. The Church of Russia, as in other matters, is divided on the Calendar question, in so far as the “Patriarchal or Tychonic Church” follows the Julian Calendar, while the “Synodal Church” follows the Gregorian. Of the other autocephalous Churches, eight, *i.e.*, the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antiochea, and Rumania, and the Churches of Cyprus, Greece, Poland and Georgia,

IV.



V.



(iv). Church of Gracanica.

(v). Patriarchal Church of Pec in the Zeta, consisting of three Churches, the oldest of which was built in the middle of Century 13.

version to Christianity by the apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, the Serbs were divided between the Roman-Catholic religion and the Orthodox Church. An outburst of the Bogomil heresy, which afterwards appeared in France as the Albigensian heresy, decided Stephen Nemanja to call an Assembly, which proclaimed the Orthodox Church the religion of the State. Nevertheless, Nemanja tolerated Roman-Catholicism wherever it had taken root, especially in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic. The art of both civilizations dwelt together no less fraternally, and in the mediæval monasteries of Serbia the Byzantine dome spans the Roman arch.

It was the fashion among the monarchs of the Nemanja dynasty to build monasteries and churches, which were at the same time the expression of their piety and the revelation of their power and wealth. The nobles followed their example, and the religious communities were endowed with the reckless generosity of the Middle Ages. One monastery owned ninety villages, another possessed seventy-five pastures, supporting five hundred families. In South Serbia, the cradle of Christianity, the monasteries are particularly numerous, and the lakes of Prespana and Okhrida are encircled by a ring of domes, such as adorn the church of St. Jovan Bogoslav, dominating the latter lake (illus. 1) and St. Kliment in the town of Okhrida (illus. 2).

Stephen Nemanja handed over the cares of the State to his eldest son, Stephen-the-First-Crowned, and withdrew to the monastery he had built at Stoudenitza. This noble building of lofty domes and spacious arches was built entirely of marble, and decorated with graceful sculpture. Nemanja was buried in the church, under his appellation of Simon the Peaceful. This able soldier and statesman was also a man of great piety, and built the monastery at Hilendar, which was so perfect in form and proportion that it served as the model for almost all the other Serbian monasteries. It stands upon the brink of the Ægean Sea under the shadow of Mount Athos. The Holy Mount, with its tiers of religious houses rising from the rocks, was one of the chief centres of monastic life in the Middle Ages. The community, which now numbers three thousand monks, sprang from a handful of hermits. Athanasius gathered together the scattered elements and founded the "religious republic," which exercised so powerful an influence over the whole of the Orthodox world.

The Monastery of Sopocani, in the County of Rasko (illus. 3) was erected by Uros I., the son of Stephen-the-First-Crowned. This monarch married a French princess, Helena of Anjou, who endowed many religious houses, and whose pious and holy life was crowned by canonization. Dragoutine, the eldest son and successor of Uros I., reigned only a short time, and was succeeded by his brother Miloutine, one of the greatest rulers belonging to the Nemanja dynasty (1281-1321). Under this monarch the prosperity of the country increased

rapidly, Serbia became the most united and powerful State in Eastern Europe, and the Serbian language was most commonly in use all over the peninsula. Miloutine not only extended the boundaries of the country, but also organized its commerce and improved the education of the people. He endowed many religious houses, amongst them the splendid Monastery of Gracanica, dominating the plain of Kossovo, the Field of the Blackbirds, destined to play so tragic a part in the history of Serbia (illus. 4). This is one of the most important of the mediæval monuments, and with its five exquisite cupolas is architecturally perfect. The church, which is built of free-stone and brick, has three naves. The interior is decorated with frescoes representing the Nemanja dynasty, and contains a statue of Queen Simonida, the spouse of King Miloutine. The successor of this monarch, Stephen Detchanski, built another famous monastery to celebrate a victory he had gained over the Bulgarians. The Detchani Monastery was only completed in the reign of the Emperor Dusan.

Dusan, surnamed the Strong, has been compared by many historians to Charlemagne, and was venerated by the Serbs as the Father of the People. He was proclaimed emperor by both Serbs and Greeks in 1345. One of his first acts was to call an Assembly at Skoplje, afterwards called Uskub by the Turks, at which the Serbian archbishopric was transformed into a patriarchate, and the town of Pec was designed as the seat of the patriarchs. The Monastery of Pec (illus. 5) enclosed three separate churches, the oldest of which was erected by Archbishop Arseneje in the thirteenth century. This monastery was abandoned with the advent of the Turks, but was turned into a school in the eighteenth century, and afterwards served as a prison.

The vast empire over which Dusan ruled included Greece, Albania and Bulgaria, but the emperor predicted danger from the neighbourhood of Turkey. It was in order to forestall this menace that he determined to conquer that country. But when his army was encamped before the gates of Constantinople, his plans were defeated by an act of treachery, and Dusan was poisoned on the eve of victory.

With the death of the emperor, Serbia's prosperity began to decline. Dusan had divided the country into provinces, each under the government of a powerful vassal. But his son Uros, who succeeded him, was too feeble to control the vast mechanism of the State. The vassals quarrelled among themselves, and the Turks took advantage of their dissension to invade the country.

From Bosnia came countless armies of Turks,
With shining sabres,
And exploding guns,
And multitudes of companies.
The Drina sobbed,

Matchva barely breathed,
Jadar, Potserie, and Cabatz sighed,
The clouds accumulated,
The sun of Serbia was veiled.¹

Thereafter the Serbs were divided between desperate attempts to throw off their enemies, and migrations towards the north when they preferred exile to submission. This period was fatal to art. The mediæval monasteries fell into the hands of the Turks, who pitilessly ill-treated them, whilst those built in the north among the snow-clad heights of Fruska-Gora, lacked the nobility of the earlier buildings. Nevertheless, the fifteen religious houses of Fruska-Gora were faithful guardians of the treasures carried away by the fugitives: manuscripts, pictures, and archives.

The architecture of the Serbian monasteries falls into three divisions, closely connected with the history of the country. In the earliest monasteries the Roman style mingles with the Byzantine style. The magnificent palace of Diocletian dominating the little town of Split, on the Dalmatian coast, is still one of the best preserved monuments of ancient Rome, and was as fertile a source of inspiration to Serbian artists as the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. But with the conquest of Macedonia the Byzantine style prevailed, as may easily be seen in the many cupolas which adorn the monastery of Gracanica. The migration to the north produced a Baroque style, unworthy of the Nemanja period.

More attention was always paid to the exterior of the buildings than to their internal decoration, nevertheless, the walls of the churches were covered with frescoes, usually representing the donors or national saints. Some of these painted figures are of monumental size, and strangely imposing in spite of their austerity. Other frescoes were inspired by the work of the monks engaged upon illuminating mediæval missals, and these display an extraordinary wealth of detail and variety of colour. The fragments preserved in the monasteries of Fruska-Gora reveal what a wealth of adornment must have been lavished upon the mediæval monasteries; reliefs and bas-reliefs in stone, carving in wood, ivory, copper, bronze and gold, tables in marble, icons in mosaic, and admirably painted portraits of the saints.

THE ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF PARIS AND ITS INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

By PROFESSOR GLUBOKOVSKY.

IN October-November, 1928, I had occasion to take a fairly intimate part in the activity of the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute of Paris, and thus to verify on personal experience my previous impressions; I had already delivered in July and August,

¹ Serbian folksong.

1925, ten lectures there on the New Testament, and in the autumn of 1927, in the capacity of an observing bystander, I had watched its work and hardships. Now I feel the obligation to express my firm conviction concerning the Institute.

There is no doubt that this young institution—which started to function only in 1925—is valuable and important for the Russian Orthodox Church. Now, when the Bolsheviks have destroyed all Theological Academies and Seminaries, as well as all lower ecclesiastical schools of Russia, the Institute is the only torch of the Russian Church in the whole world. The Paris Institute is the only guardian and transmitter of the Russian theological tradition—and it does zealously fulfil this holy mission by all its activity and organization.

The Institute resembles the Theological Academy of Moscow more than any other theological school. Like the Moscow Academy, it is living under the spiritual guidance of St. Sergius; its residence is St. Sergius' House, and the Institute celebrates the day of Intercession of the Holy Virgin (1st of October—old style) as its holy day, when the open annual inauguration of the year's work takes place in strict accordance with the old Moscow custom. The students are living in constant prayer and in hard work. They attend daily (twice at least) the Church, which is situated over their dormitories and lecture halls. They take an active part in divine services as ministers or aspirants for ordination; these services are celebrated according to monastic rules; the students sing in choir with a canonarch, and all, including laymen, attend the Church dressed in ecclesiastical gowns. In all these aspects the Institute is a real "School of Piety," as all this is attained without any compulsion or formality. The students are inspired by the example of their leader—the Metropolitan Evlogius; and all their teachers serve God in sincere devotion of their hearts, although, due to the paucity of the financial means of the Institute, the students are heavily overloaded by various household occupations. They are also compelled to compose their own study-books, taking for basis their lectures—or to use borrowed books—there is no possibility of providing the Institute with a library which would even slightly resemble the library of the Moscow Theological Academy, the riches of which surprised in 1890 the well-known Ad. Harnack (*vide* his review of my book on St. Theodorit). The whole day of the students is occupied by divine services and the study of divine sciences, the first being enlightened by reason and the second by piety.

We are not considering here the actual situation, and we are far from intending to underrate the merits of anyone else, but still we must say that all Orthodox Theological Schools cultivate markedly a rational scientific aspect of theology without trying to bring it into organic unity with its ecclesiastical elements, the knowledge of which is for the students only a by-product of their studies depending

mostly upon their personal and individual desire, the latter having not always the possibility of full development.

This is why the Theological Institute of Paris is at the present moment the only manifestation of normal Orthodox Theological Science. And the pious western world, which is now searching for Church unity and for Church revival, is anxious to see and to learn just what is this Orthodox Theological science.

The same must be said about the scientific system adopted by the Institute. The Institute does not try to introduce innovations, and prefers to follow the old academic programmes, which have behind them a long historic experience. The deviations exist only in as far as they are necessitated by the actual conditions: the Institute has no possibility of maintaining a full faculty with an executive staff of about 25 to 30 men, as was the rule in Russian academies, when all necessities and commodities of life were at hand both for teachers and students, and when the majority of students were fully provided with all necessary means, and could freely devote themselves, therefore, to their scholastic work, which was always highly intensive.

However, even in the character of these deviations from the old methods, as well as in all the principles and programmes of the Institute, it is impossible to fail to see a rational and consequently realized system. These deviations are not occasional, but represent definite adaptations to changed conditions. Those are indisputable innovations, which are introduced partially—to the extent of the rather limited possibilities of the Institute. They are the source of fears, which are transformed by old-fashioned and ignorant persons—although sometimes vested with high hierarchical dignities—into direct suspicion that the Institute is deviating from the purity of the Orthodox Faith. This suspicion, however, is nothing but pure nonsense, and a product of reactionary intolerance, which is untrue with regard both to individuals and to the system as a whole. If individuals sometimes express their opinion in terms which may seem ambiguous and uncommon, they are still proclaiming our traditional Church teaching, and are trying to make it intelligible and acceptable for the modern mind, with its special propædæutics and special interests. As far as the whole scientific and pedagogical system is concerned, it would be both strange and pernicious to continue on the old viewpoints, and thus to become lifeless and in a state of real petrification. The Gospels and commonsense bid us discern the special signs of the times, and to comply accordingly with the new claims under given conditions, in order not to fight uselessly against facts, but to direct them into the channels of religious ideas and interests. The Theological Institute is fulfilling this task to the extent of its possibilities. Therefore, it is the duty of all wise men to assist its cause in all aspects, and not to place obstacles in its way by premature criticisms.

It is also necessary to point out that the Institute is contributing diligently to the cause of Interconfessional Unity. Thus, for instance, in its instruction the Institute brings wisely into the forefront the common points of the Christian confessions, and does not emphasize destructive polemics. It wisely attracts to its church services the members of other communions by celebrating the divine service in the French language. It practically promotes the cause of Union by sending its leaders to various religious World's Conferences and private gatherings.

On account of these facts, the significance of the Theological Institute passes over national and confessional boundaries, and assumes an all-Christian, and consequently international, significance. Therefore, it should be only normal and natural that the Institute should secure regular international support in order to become a regular international institution for the spiritual Christian pacification of the whole world.

Such functions as these ought to be the moral and vital duty of all international institutions engaged in this cause, and especially in that of the League of Nations (which is sterile without a Christian foundation) and of responsible Christian leaders.

Those who have ears to hear, let them hear, that the hand of the giver will never experience scarcity.

SOME NOTABLE BOOKS ON ORTHODOXY.

By the Rev. L. PATTERSON, D.D.

I. EASTERN ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY.

(DAS ORTHODOXE CHRISTENTUM DES OSTENS.)

By STEFAN ZANKOW, *Professor of the University of Sofia.*

Furche-Verlag, Berlin. 1928.

THIS book, the outcome of lectures delivered at Berlin University in the summer of 1927, possesses, we believe, permanent value as a concise but adequate exposition of Orthodox doctrine. Apart from the actual contents of the lectures, the bibliography prefixed at the beginning of the book gives a useful summary of modern works on the Orthodox Church, written in Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, which may be consulted by scholars who possess a working knowledge of those languages. Although Prof. Zankow does not claim infallible authority for all his theological statements, he is a scholar who combines definite convictions with a broadminded and progressive attitude towards non-orthodox communions.

At the outset, Prof. Zankow endeavours to define the meaning of Orthodoxy, according to two formal principles. (1) Orthodoxy consists not only in the right doctrine, but also in the right belief and the right form of worship (*Lobpreis*). (2) The Orthodox Church is the Church of primitive times, and in this sense, a Church of tradition.

The principal sources of orthodox doctrine are (1) Scripture, (2) tradition, (3) symbolic books. Prof. Zankow does not attach much importance either to the Confession of Faith of the Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mogilas (1640), or to the decisions of the local synod of Jerusalem (1672), and the Confession of Faith of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, confirmed at that synod, and afterwards sent broadcast by the Eastern Patriarchs in 1721. In these confessions of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, he detects either Roman or Protestant influences. The only œcumenical symbol of the Church is the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

It is not to be expected that Prof. Zankow would enunciate any original or extraordinary views on the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity or the Incarnation. As to the former, he emphasizes the unity in love of the Divine Trinity, and in the Incarnation he insists that God became man in order that man may become like God. Soteriology is essentially Christology, but still the Cross has a great significance for Orthodox Christians, both in doctrine and religious life. At any rate, most modern Orthodox theologians have rejected the juristic theory of redemption, which, as we know, was adumbrated by Athanasius and Augustine, but was fully developed by Anselm. The death on the Cross is completed by the Resurrection, which is the special pledge of salvation and eternal life.

Eschatology has a special interest for the Orthodox, because he has a vivid feeling of the expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God. In fact, Prof. Zankow quotes a story to show that the simple-hearted believer tends to universalism. In a poor country church of Russia, an old peasant woman lights a candle before a picture representing the Last Judgment. "Why do you do that?" she was asked. She answered "No one prays for him. One must pray for him also." She meant the devil; but she would not mention his name in church. Her theology may have been faulty, but her heart was generous.

The Church is defined as an organic unity or organism. Prof. Zankow rejects the distinction between the visible and invisible Church, cherished by some Protestant thinkers, as misleading or tending to ecclesiastical nihilism, as no one can determine who are the true members of the invisible Church. There is the practically more important question as to the relation of the non-orthodox communions to the One Church. Some Orthodox theologians take the view that the Orthodox Church is the One Church, and that all the rest do not belong to her, because they have lapsed. Prof. Zankow inclines to the other view, that the Church is One and embraces all who have been baptised in Christ. He quotes in this connection Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, N. Glubokovsky, and Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira. Of course, comprehension in the One Church does not involve participation in the Lord's Supper, as was proposed at the Lausanne Conference.

The Orthodox Church is hierarchical, but not hierocratic. The bishop depends on the co-operation and consent of his priests in the most important affairs of diocesan administration, and, in dogmatic questions, the agreement of the bishops and the laity is indispensable. In fact, the true guardian of faith in the Orthodox Church is the body of the Church, the people themselves. (This plainly reminds us of the definition of the Church in Article XIX.)

Prof. Zankow affirms the Orthodox belief that the Eucharist is an unbloody sacrifice, and that the consecrated gifts are the true body and blood of Christ: further definition, however, belongs not to the sphere of dogma, but pious opinion. Some Russians hold a moderate doctrine of Transubstantiation, but Khomiakof and Glubokovsky repudiate it definitely, and it may be presumed that Prof. Zankow agrees with them.

With regard to Church life and religious activities, Prof. Zankow complains that Western writers have represented the virtues of Orthodox Christians as purely passive, or have asserted that they are not ethically interested in this world. The truth is that they are not tied to this world. Dostoievsky, Gogol, and Soloviev feel themselves as wanderers and pilgrims in this life. The principal virtues of the Orthodox Christian are humility before God and love for all, even the worst sinner. The elder Sosima, in Dostoievsky's *The Brothers Karamasov*, says: "Love man, even in his sin, for that is a pattern of the divine love, and the highest love on earth."

The relation of the Church to the State and the nation may be very briefly summarized. As far back as 1905, there was a movement in the Russian Church against the excessive influence of the State, and now it is forced by the circumstances of the Revolution to demand its full freedom. The Rumanian Church has been emancipated from the authority of the State since its new constitution of 1925, and the Serbian Church is developing in the same direction. In Bulgaria there has been a free relation between State and Church since the establishment of the new Bulgarian State (1879). On the other hand, the Orthodox Church does not deny nationality, but rather the nation is the vehicle of Orthodox Christianity.

In conclusion, Prof. Zankow tries to determine the right relation between Orthodoxy and Romanism or Protestantism. As he wisely says, the Christian churches exhibit many differences; we must distinguish (unter-scheiden), but we may not divide (scheiden): for in Christ they are not divided. The Orthodox Church agrees with the Roman Church on the faith and sacraments, but not on Papal Infallibility. The Orthodox Church comes nearer to the Protestants (including the Church of England) in their free use of Holy Scripture, and the central position, which Christ takes in their common devotion. We are tempted to quote more, but we may conclude with Prof. Zankow's declaration of the part which the Orthodox Church can play in the work of reunion. "Her holy duty and her immediate

task is to co-operate in a creative manner in the divine work of the reunion of the churches and the comprehensive development of Christianity . . . Her motto will be 'In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.' "

II. THE EASTERN CHURCH: WORLD VIEW AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE.

By N. v. ARSENIIEV, *Privatdozent in Königsberg*.

Berlin and Leipzig, 1926.

THIS little volume is intended to be an introduction to the inner life of the Orthodox Church. It deals with worship and the sacraments, and quotes freely from the writings of the Church fathers, and specially from the *Philokalia* (Russian *Dobrotolublye*). It reviews the great feasts of the Church Calendar, from the Nativity of the B.V.M. (Sept. 8th), and discusses their cosmic significance, especially that of the Resurrection. Among ascetic works, special attention is given to the Penitential Rule of Andrew of Crete, and the *Μάχη ἀγίας* of Nicodemus of Mt. Athos. There are some interesting passages about the history of eikons and the mystical or sacramental life.

III. LIST OF SOME WORKS ON THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

- ARSENIIEV, N. *The Church of the East and Mysticism*. Munich, 1925.
The Church of the East. Berlin, 1926 (German).
 BULGAKOFF, S. *Sketch of the doctrine of the Church* (Russian). Paris, 1925.
 DYULGEROFF, D. *Jesus Christ. Dogmatic Exposition of the redemptive work of Christ* (Bulgarian). Sofia, 1926.
 GALA-GALACTION. *Piatra din capul unghiului* (The Corner-Stone, Rumanian). Bukharest, 1926.
 GYAUROFF, CHR. *Introduction to Orthodox Theology* (Bulgarian). Sofia, 1926.
 GLUBOKOVSKY, N. *The Essence of Orthodoxy* (Russian). St. Petersburg, 1914.
 MIHALCESCU, J. *Catechism of the Orthodox Christian* (Rumanian). 1925.
Manual of Dogmatic Theology (Rumanian). Bukharest, 1916.
Problems of Russian Religious Experience (Russian). Collected Essays, Y.M.C.A. Press. Berlin, 1924.
Theological Encyclopædia. Lopuchin and Glubokovsky, St. Petersburg, 1910-11 (Russian).
 ZANKOW, S. *Eastern Orthodox Christianity* (German). Berlin, 1928.

IV. THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS OF EDUCATED MEN.
(VERSKI PROBLEMI OBRAZOVANIKH LYUDI.)

MILAN G. POPOVICH. Nish (*Constantine Press*). 1929.

THIS short outline of Christian doctrine is written by one who was formerly a theological student at Oxford after the War, and is now a parish priest at Crepaia (Tsrepaya), Banat. As the author states in his preface, it is one of a series of essays, designed not for the professional theologian but for the educated layman. It has the twofold aim (1) to stimulate the educated lay reader to reflection about religious problems, (2) to try to remove his prejudices and preconceptions about Christianity. The following subjects are briefly handled in eight chapters: the nature of religion, the creation of the world and original sin, the personality of Jesus Christ and His resurrection, sin and salvation, asceticism and the belief in a future life. Fr. M. Popovich approaches all these questions from a fairly conservative but critical standpoint, and would, we believe, find himself in full sympathy with such scholars as Bishop Gore, Dr. Goudge, and others.

Religion is compared with science and metaphysical or moral philosophy, but has its own separate and fully independent sphere. The domain of religion is personality, and the solution of all these problems which are connected with the perfection of personality. Fr. Popovich lays special emphasis on the conception of personality throughout his book, and specially in his interpretation of our Lord's character and work.

The creation of the world and original sin (strictly speaking, the sin of our first parents) is treated altogether from the modern standpoint. There is no attempt to defend verbal inspiration or the historical existence of Adam and Eve. According to the teaching of the Church, the writers of the books of the Bible were inspired only in the religious sense; all else depended on their personal capacities. The Church has proclaimed the Bible as a holy book, not because of its historical or scientific teaching, but exclusively because of its religious value, because it contains a history of the human soul. We must, like St. Paul, regard Adam as the personification and prototype of the human race. Neither in the Bible, nor in the teaching of Jesus Christ, nor in the Church teaching of the first centuries, is it asserted that the sin of the first man, as a historical fact, left any consequence on his posterity. Through Adam death came into the world, but that is not ascribed to his personal sin, but to his fallen (should we say fallible?) earthly nature.

The personality of Jesus Christ, as it is manifested in the Gospels, is undoubtedly a moral miracle, which has no equal in the history of mankind. There was no defect nor exaggeration in His character, but everything was in perfect harmony. The full human nature of our Lord is manifested in temptation and suffering, but at the same time, His divine nature is revealed by the content and quality of

those temptations. Fr. Popovich admits that some educated people would prefer the personality of Christ without the physical miracles, but holds that they are so closely interwoven with the Gospel records that they stand or fall together with them. The greatness of our Lord's personality is shown in His attitude to sinners, because true greatness lies not so much in the attainment of one's own perfection as in the successful elevation of others to perfection. If we are asked why we believe in the God-Manhood of Jesus Christ, we may answer simply that He represents the highest development of human personality, and that God is most fully known through an intelligent personal being.

We can only deal very briefly with Fr. Popovich's exposition of the nature and effect of our Lord's Resurrection. His body passed through certain changes, which showed clearly that He belonged to another world. But the truth of the Resurrection is attested by the fundamental moral change which it wrought in the disciples. As a religious belief, the Resurrection has always been of inestimable value to devout and sinful people.

We are grateful to Fr. Popovich for pointing out that there is no sin in human impulses and instincts, but only in their misuse. Sin and moral evil are not synonymous, but the confession of the Prodigal Son brings out clearly the two aspects of the same fact. Consciousness of sin depends on the intensity of man's love towards God. We agree with Fr. Popovich that the classification of the seven capital sins, under the influence of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, already indicates the experience of the monastic life, and is foreign to the essence of the Gospel.

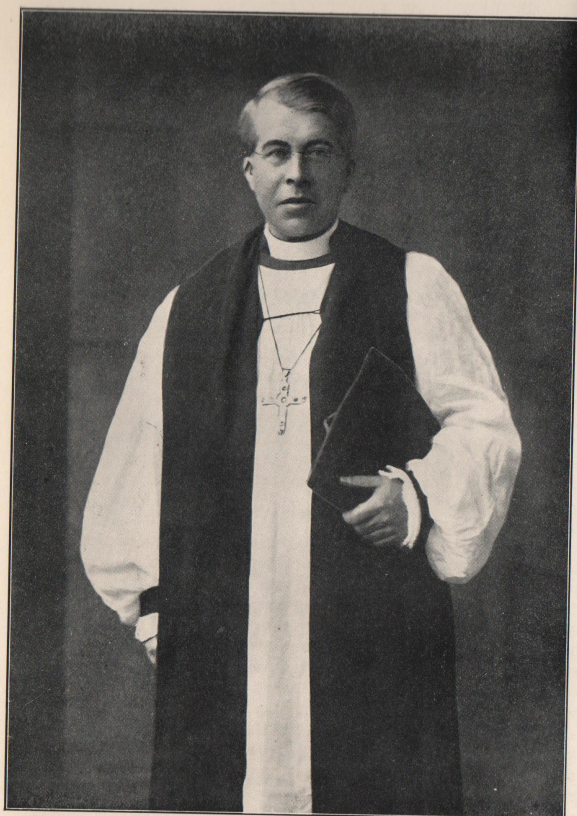
Salvation may be considered in relation to pain and suffering. It is a common experience that people wish to be saved from the consequences of sin, that is suffering, rather than from sin itself. But Jesus Christ showed by His own example that He did not regard suffering as an unmixed evil, but rather as a means of whole-hearted self-sacrifice. Salvation, then, means redemption from the sinful state in which the natural man finds himself. It means perfection in true holiness, harmonization of man's will with the will of God, and lastly, union with Him.

We are inclined to join issue with Fr. Popovich on the question of asceticism. It may be granted that asceticism found its way very early into the life of the Church, that it is an important element in the piety of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. But how much of this piety is an essential and integral part of the teaching of the Gospel? Fr. Popovich admits, in a previous essay, that our Lord was not an extreme ascetic. Apart from the fast in the wilderness, as a preparation for His mission, our Lord seems to lay little emphasis on these external observances. He contrasts Himself with John the Baptist as One Who came eating and drinking, and He does not

pray that His disciples should be taken out of the world, but rather that they should be delivered from moral evil. We must confess that what appeals to us in the character of St. Basil, the father of Eastern monasticism, is not his rigid austerities, but his theological learning, and his social enthusiasm.

Lastly, we turn to some of the intellectual arguments for belief in a future life. It may be asserted that, without this belief, life would lose the greater part of its meaning and purpose, that ethics would lose its highest sanction, because there would be no certainty of good overcoming evil. But the main proof of human immortality, as opposed to the evident fact of death, is found in human personality, in that ultimate mystery which transcends the physical organism. Personality, which is conscious of itself and inspired with high ideals, looks forward to immortality with its many-sided personal relations of self-sacrifice and love, and as the continuation of all that is the perfection of personality itself.

There are many things which must remain unknown or mysterious, because our Lord never gave us any definite revelation on the details of the future life. But religion must have its mysteries, nay, more, a religion which claimed to solve all the problems of life and the universe would not deserve the title of religion.



Nugent Gihaltan :

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IN ATHENS.

(The following interesting account of the Archbishop's visit to Athens is taken from Ekklesia of April 20).

LAST Wednesday morning the Archbishop of Athens and Primate of the Anglican Church arrived in Athens, having telegraphed by wireless from the sea that he desired to visit His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens at 3 p.m. As he was travelling unofficially he did not wish there to be a reception at the Piræus. Before his departure from the Legation, His Grace the Metropolitan of Trebizond went to greet him on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarch, and spoke as follows:—"Your Grace, His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Basil III., has commanded me to express the joy of the Greek Church of Christ and her blessings on the joyous occasion of Your Grace's visit in person to the Orthodox East, which she regards as a pledge of a closer drawing together of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. The Church of Constantinople, the chief of all the Orthodox Churches, prays that the Lord God may strengthen Your Grace in your lofty task for the good of the Anglican Church of which Your Grace is the glory and pride."

The English Archbishop replied, returning thanks and declaring that the glorious Church of Constantinople enjoyed the warm sympathies of the Anglican Church. At the appointed hour the English Archbishop arrived at the Cathedral, to the joyous sound of the ringing of the bells, and was received by His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens, who was vested in *mandyas* and carried his pastoral staff. When they had saluted one another, he was led into the centre of the Church where two seats had been placed. The Church was crowded with a devout congregation. All the Holy Synod and all the bishops staying in Athens, to the number of about twenty in all, wearing *enkolpion* and *epanokamilavkon*, had taken up their position in front of the holy Sanctuary. Behind them stood a great number of priests and deacons and from the doors of the church reaching to the centre, the students of the Rizareion School were drawn up in two rows, one on either side. The priest of the holy church and two deacons were waiting vested and the holy service, which was carried out in perfect order, was begun just as the two Archbishops reached the centre of the church. The hymn "To the Defender" and the Doxology were sung most beautifully

by the choir, and supplication was made for "the good estate of the Holy Churches of God and the union of them all." The English Archbishop, deeply moved, followed the litany with deep devotion making the sign of the cross. At the end of the litany His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens led the English Archbishop to the tomb of Gregory V., before which he bowed with great reverence, recalling with admiration the history of the Patriarch's martyrdom and the details of the preservation of his sacred body.

In the meantime their Reverences the bishops and also the rest of the clergy and the students of the Rizareion had gone to the Archbishop's Palace, while the crowd covered the square in front of the holy church and ranged themselves along the road leading to the Archbishop's Palace. The two Archbishops proceeded to the Palace in a car. The English Archbishop expressed his gratitude and his deep emotion at the magnificent reception which had been accorded him and expressed his surprise at the respect, the cordiality and the warm sympathy which the Greek people had manifested towards him. From the road up to the Great Hall of the Archbishop's Palace the students of the Rizareion and the clergy were drawn up in order, greeting the distinguished visitor respectfully as he passed along.

In the Hall His Beatitude the Archbishop presented their Right Reverends the Bishops to the English Archbishop, after which he addressed him as follows:—"Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Great is the joy which we feel to-day in receiving you, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Anglican Church. Your visit, as a wholly exceptional event, will certainly signify an important stage in the relations between our Churches. The Church of Greece in the presence of Your Grace recalls with emotion the fact that it was from Athens in the seventh century—where he was labouring as a teacher—that the great Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, who became the reformer of the Anglican church, started forth, and that it was from Athens about the middle of the last century that the signal was given for the beginning of new friendly relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches by the mission to England of Alexander Lycurgus, the Bishop of Syros. A short time ago we prayed to God at your visit for the good estate of the holy Churches of God and the union of them all. This prayer is offered up daily in our Churches and finds a deep echo in the hearts of the Orthodox. Be assured that at this moment you find yourself in the midst of sincere friends and brothers. We receive you as our own, knowing the love you cherish towards the Orthodox Church.

Giving thanks for your visit we pray the Lord God to restore fully your precious health and to bless and strengthen you as you continue to shepherd the Anglican Church. Welcome!"

In reply to the address of the Archbishop of Athens, the Primate of the Anglican Church expressed his sorrow that he could not reply in the glorious Greek tongue and that his visit could not be an official one inasmuch as his journey bore an entirely private character. "I desire to assure you," he said "that I have rarely felt an emotion equal to that of to-day at your most friendly reception. I think that although I have frequently in the past come into contact with the Orthodox Churches, this is the first time I have found myself in the presence of so many Orthodox clergy. Rest assured that your reception to-day and the beautiful music which I have heard in the cathedral will remain in my memory as something never to be forgotten. Although my visit bears a private character, I am fortunate in being afforded an opportunity of visiting the city of Athens. I am less fortunate, however, as regards the carrying out of the original plan of my journey, inasmuch as by reason of very important affairs, I shall not be able to visit the Church of Jerusalem. But I take the opportunity of contradicting all the inaccuracies which have appeared in the Press, namely that other reasons have contributed to frustrate my visit to Jerusalem. It is a question of time; otherwise my going there was definitely settled. I return to London to prepare for the great Synod of the Anglican Church at which 300 Bishops will be present and I shall be happy if the questions which relate to an understanding between our two Churches are seriously discussed at it. I am glad that an opportunity has been afforded me of holding intercourse with the Archbishop of Athens and the other Bishops of Greece, whose ties with the Anglican Church are well known. And I look forward with confidence to an understanding between the two Churches for the good of both. You have just recalled the memory of Theodore, the Archbishop from Tarsus. I am glad that his successor in the twentieth century comes to Athens with no less veneration." Concluding, the Archbishop again expressed his gratitude for the reception which had been accorded him. The address of His Beatitude the Archbishop was translated into English by Prof. Alivisatos, as also the extempore speech of the English Archbishop. The reply being ended, His Beatitude the Archbishop presented the Archbishop of Canterbury with a gold pectoral cross with ribbons, which the latter, deeply moved, received and hung upon his breast, and removing the one he was wearing, expressed his quite special emotion and gratitude at, as he said "this priceless and most sacred gift." After this His Beatitude the Archbishop communicated to him the following telegram from His All Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria.

"We beg you to salute His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on our behalf and to assure him that we grieve at being deprived of the gift of his visit, but we share in the joy of the Church of

Greece at his presence in Athens, conceiving that the honour of it is reflected over the whole Orthodox Church."

The English Archbishop begged that his heartfelt thanks might be transmitted to the Patriarch of Alexandria with a brotherly salutation. The Exarch of the Holy Sepulchre—the deacon Benedict—being also present in the Hall, greeted the English Archbishop on behalf of His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Archbishop of Canterbury begged that his thanks and brotherly greetings might be conveyed also to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and expressed the hope that after the Lambeth Synod of 1930 he might be able to visit the Holy places which he could not visit now, for no other reason, he added, than that it was urgent for him to return to London. After this the Archbishop of Canterbury, escorted by His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens left the Palace with the same honours, expressing yet once again his boundless thanks for the deeply moving reception which had been given him.

The next day, about two o'clock, His Beatitude the Archbishop, accompanied by Prof. Alivisatos, went to the English Legation to return the visit. He remained conversing with him for some time and finally bade him farewell. The Right Reverend Metropolitan of Thebes and Lebadeia came to the Legation at the end of this interview and presented the Archbishop of Canterbury with a small and very ancient Book of the Gospels in a very costly binding, which the Archbishop received with emotion and declared he would place amongst the treasures of Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop having visited the monuments of Athens left yesterday on his return to London.

It will be remembered that during the Constantinople investigation of Anglican Ordinations, great importance was attached by the Orthodox theologians to the recognition of the Anglican Episcopate implicit in the custom of the Patriarchs, beginning in the 17th century, to write to an Archbishop of Canterbury as "Beloved Brother."

In 1922, the Patriarch Meletios II. set the precedent of giving the Metropolitan of Thyatira letters to our Archbishop as his Apokrisarios, *i.e.*, a permanent legate such as the Eastern Patriarchs maintain at, and hitherto have only maintained at each other's courts. It being understood that the Œcumenical Patriarch would be ready and wishful according to the practice of the Eastern Patriarchs among themselves, to receive a formal notification of his canonical election and enthronization from our present Archbishop, such an Enthronistic and Eirenic letter has been addressed to him, and with his reply is appended here.

The Archbishop's Enthronistic Letter.

TO HIS ALL HOLINESS, THE LORD BASILEIOS, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH, THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE, THE PHANAR, CONSTANTINOPLE.

BELoved BROTHER IN CHRIST,

Being now recovered by God's goodness from the indisposition which fell upon me shortly thereafter, I write now to inform your All Holiness that after my due and canonical election as Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, and after the confirmation thereof according to ancient custom of our land, I was duly and canonically enthroned in the Chair of St. Augustine in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Canterbury on Tuesday, December 10th, according to the ancient canonical manner and with the customary rites of the Church of England.

In notifying your All Holiness that I have been called to this high office, I desire to assure you of my earnest hope and prayer that the sisterly relations which have been developed between the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church in general, and between their primatial sees of Canterbury and of Constantinople in particular during the past fifty years may not only remain unimpaired but may be rendered even more close during my Primacy and that at all times it will be a peculiar satisfaction to me to find myself in brotherly relation to your All Holiness.

And accordingly if your All Holiness shall see fit to give him letters to myself as to my predecessor, I shall find pleasure in receiving our beloved and wise brother the Most Reverend Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira as your apokrisarios.

Asking your All Holiness' prayers alike for myself and for the well-being and peace of the Anglican Church to the Metropolitan Throne of which God has been pleased to call me, and assuring of my Prayers as for yourself and for the well-being and peace of the Great Church of Constantinople so also for the whole Orthodox Church.

I am, Your All Holiness' Beloved Brother in Christ,
(Sgd.) COSMO CANTUAR.

Reply of the Œcumenical Patriarch.

(Translated from *Orthodoxia*, 30th April, 1929).

MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF CANTEBURY AND PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, BELOVED AND CHERISHED BROTHER IN CHRIST, LORD COSMO LANG, GRACE BE WITH YOU AND PEACE FROM GOD OUR FATHER AND THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

In company with our Holy Synod, we have received and have read with delight the letter dated last month which your Grace sent us after your happy recovery from your sickness, informing us of

your canonical election and accession to the primatial Throne of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of All England.

We rejoiced to learn of the restoration of your health and of your active assumption of the duties of that primatial office in which the judgment and the election of your revered Church have placed you. And we pray that your honoured Grace's labour therein may ever be fulfilled with Blessing and Grace from the Lord and that your great gifts of Christian erudition and wisdom may bring forth fruit more and more in the primatial see of the Anglican Church which we love and revere.

We felt also profound thankfulness when we received the assurance which you gave us of your heartfelt hope that the relations which have developed in general between the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church, and more particularly between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Constantinople would not only remain unlesened but would be developed in even greater strength during your Primacy. May the Lord bless and confirm that hope and prayer which in its wholeness we reciprocate and share.

Our own Church will always have at heart and will pursue with eagerness and devotion the maintenance and emphasis of those cordial relations which have had their origin in the disinterested spirit of mutual apprehension and of love, as also at the same time the furtherance of the coming together and of the much desired mutual understanding of the Christian Churches and of the Christian peoples in service and in progress.

We read with most particular pleasure that which in your kindness your Honoured Grace wrote of your high appreciation of the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyatira, our well-loved Apokrisarios Germanos. The expression of high appreciation of the work and devotion of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Germanos on the part of your Grace, leads us to renew now to him by this present fraternal letter of ours with even greater urgency our mandate to act as representative of our Church of Constantinople to the venerable Church of England. We beg your Grace, therefore, to bestow as did your revered predecessor, your signal love and goodwill upon Mgr. Germanos, the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyatira, our Apokrisarios, as upon our beloved representative who enjoys altogether the confidence and appreciation of ourselves and of our Church.

Making this reply in love to your Honoured Grace and again wishing your Grace in the Lord every fruitfulness with all our soul, we remain with deep respect.

Your Honoured Grace's Beloved Brother in Christ,

BASIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

27th April, 1929.

IMPRESSIONS OF MY FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE NEAR EAST.

By THE RIGHT REV. NUGENT HICKS, LORD BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR.

THE Editor has asked me to write something for *The Christian East* about my first visit, last autumn, to the countries in the Eastern part of the Diocese of Gibraltar. I do so gladly, yet not without misgivings. It is the misfortune of the Bishop of Gibraltar that there are at most only seven or eight months in the year during which he can effectively visit the British Chaplaincies and communities which are his primary responsibility. During the summer months some Chaplaincies are closed, and others are running at half strength with a considerable proportion of their residents away on leave: and the Bishop, on his side, needs a period each year for administrative and money-raising work in England. It follows that it is physically impossible for him to visit every part of the Diocese every year; and on the other hand there are certain important districts and centres, where the numbers of English-speaking people are large, for which an annual visit is necessary. The other parts of the Diocese, therefore—roughly speaking the Eastern and Western ends—can only be touched every other year. And even so there are fixed points, as regards time, which must be observed. Malta, Sicily, Italy and the French Riviera must be taken, as a rule, in the months from Christmas to Easter. And other parts must be fitted in according to the special emergencies of each year.

My last season's travelling could not begin until October, for until the latter part of that month there were many of my own people in Belgrade still away. We started from England on October 15th and returned on May 7th. Between those dates we travelled through every country on the North of the Mediterranean: North Italy, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey and Greece, Sicily, Malta, the French Riviera, Rome, Florence, Milan, Naples, and other Italian Chaplaincies: and, after Easter, Spain, Gibraltar and Portugal.

It was a never-to-be-forgotten experience. But it meant that there were only seven weeks for the "Eastern" trip proper. That is my reason for writing with misgivings. Except for a private visit to Jerusalem long ago, and delightful links, and I hope I may say friendships, with Orthodox Bishops and clergy in England, at Nice early in 1928, and elsewhere, it was my first contact with Orthodoxy, and my first official visit as Bishop of Gibraltar to Orthodox countries. Long standing interest in, and growing affection for, the Orthodox Church, such as I hope I may claim

I am, for this reason and others, especially glad that my friend and predecessor, the present Bishop of Guildford, has been able in the last few weeks by his visit to Yugo-Slavia to help me in the work of friendship and *rapprochement* which both he and I have so much at heart.

for myself, and occasional and all too short intercourse with her members, may prepare the way for a personal visit. But they cannot give the full and direct knowledge which is needed to make seven short weeks a qualification for writing down impressions.

I may be forgiven, therefore, by my English, and I trust that I shall be approved by my Orthodox, readers if I shrink from rushing into print. The Holy Orthodox Church is too great, too venerable, too significant, to be either superficially inspected, or hastily appraised. I am only too conscious that, unless and until my vast Diocese be divided, no Bishop in charge of the Anglican congregations in the Orthodox countries which I visit can ever give sufficient study to the Orthodox Church on the spot. I can only say that as the years go on, I shall, if I am spared, do my best.

For what I can say, and say gladly, is that I saw enough to make me wish to see far more. If I write to-day with reserve, it is the reserve of respect and of affection, not of a cautious and doubtful judgment.

I say of affection: for on the side of personal intercourse I have but one story to tell. From the time when the venerable Patriarch of Yugo-Slavia got up, during serious illness, to receive me on my arrival at Belgrade, to my farewell meeting with Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens, it was a succession of warm personal welcomes, both in private intercourse and in public; and we look forward keenly to our next visits because we know that we shall be coming back among friends. I say, in this respect, "we," because it was, I suppose, the first occasion on which an Anglican bishop had been accompanied, on such a tour, by his wife; and we shall not easily forget the delicate courtesy and the cordial friendliness which, in Yugo-Slavia for instance, included my wife as well as myself in an invitation to lunch with the Holy Synod during its session at Karlovci, and in a day's happy entertainment there. My more formal and public intercourse included, in Yugo-Slavia, a meeting with the Holy Synod at which we exchanged cordial greetings on behalf of our respective Churches, and a delightful, if less formal, visit to the Theological College at Karlovci, at which we heard beautiful singing by the students, to whom I was invited afterwards to speak. Here, as in an equally happy visit to the Rizareion, the Theological College in Athens, where I was carried away by the life and vigour of the stirring national songs rendered by the students, as also by a beautiful and impressive service in what we should call the College Chapel, I felt, as a former Principal of a Theological College in England, singularly at home.

My Sundays at Belgrade and at Sofia were full of movement; for between our own services at 8 and at 11 (the "home from home" side of English-speaking life abroad), I was welcomed at the Liturgy, at Belgrade in the Cathedral and at Sofia in the great

Church built in memory of the Tsar Alexander. I attended both services in cope and mitre, "in the altar"; and at Sofia I was deeply touched by the request of the celebrant, the Archbishop of Stara Zagora, at the end of the Liturgy, that I should give the blessing. It was a moving experience for an English bishop to stand at the Royal Doors, and to give the blessing in English with the silver cross, that lies for the purpose on the altar, in his uplifted hand.

I cannot omit a reference to the courtesy and hospitality of the Yugo-Slavian Minister of Public Worship, who received us on the day of our arrival, had the Patriarchal saloon carriage attached to the train for our journey to Karlovci and back, and subsequently gave a banquet for us. And it was a great pleasure to renew an old friendship with Bishop Nikolai of Okhrida, who preached for me in 1916 at the annual reunion of Bishops' College, Cheshunt, and to make new friendships with Bishops Barnabas of Sköplje, Dositei of Nish, Bishop Ireney of Novi Sad, the Bishop of Serajevo, Bishop Maximilian, recently enthroned as Bishop of Sibenik, and others. Another happy feature of the visit to Yugo-Slavia was a call that I was able to pay on the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, who lives in the Patriarchal Palace at Karlovci. He received me with great friendliness, and at the luncheon made a most kindly speech of welcome on behalf of all the Bishops present.

Our time at Sofia was accidentally shortened: but the welcome there was none the less warm. I paid a formal call on the Presiding Metropolitan of the Bulgarian Holy Synod, who was accompanied by the Metropolitan Stepan of Sofia and the Archbishop of Stara Zagora; I speak of it as a "formal call," but it soon became a long and friendly conversation, so that when the two Metropolitans and Bishop Paisi came afterwards to a luncheon given at the Legation by the British Minister and Mrs. Sperling we could feel that we were already friends.

Our visit to Roumania was for a bare week, and half the time was spent with our English and American colony at Ploesti, the oil centre. We were in Bucharest from a Friday to the Monday evening: it was unfortunately at the time of the Ministerial crisis, so that the Patriarch, who is one of the Regents, was fully occupied, and unable to see me until the day of my departure. I was received with the utmost cordiality, though of necessity in a somewhat formal and public way, at the Patriarchal Palace. The Patriarch's engagements prevented any further meeting, but I look forward to a longer stay in Bucharest on another visit.

At Constantinople the Œcumenical Patriarch sent his Vicar-General to call on me on my arrival, and the next day I returned the visit, accompanied by our own clergy at Constantinople, and the Rev. J. H. Sharp, one of my Chaplains. His Holiness received me with a graciousness and an affection which I shall

ever warmly and gratefully appreciate. He spoke much of the movement towards understanding and unity that lies so near his heart, and it was a great privilege to me, when I was conducted afterwards by members of the Holy Synod to the Cathedral of St. George of the Phanar, to be invited to pray at the Altar for what His Holiness and I had spoken of. On the Sunday of my visit three Metropolitans and the Vicar-General were welcome visitors at our own service at the Crimean Memorial Church, and one of the Metropolitans, at my request, gave us the Blessing.

We were delayed by bad weather at Smyrna, and arrived in Athens a week late. This delay, and the critical condition of His Majesty our King, broke up all the arrangements of a more formal kind that had been made for my visit. But besides a formal, but most friendly visit to the Holy Synod, I had, happily, several opportunities of meeting Archbishop Chrysostom, whose great work for the Church in Greece ought to be better known in England. I am thankful that it was possible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to pay a visit to Athens, and that he has therefore had the opportunity of seeing for himself the warm friendliness with which representatives of the Anglican Church are received by Archbishop Chrysostom.

Of my visit to the Rizareion I have already spoken: and from Athens I went out of the Orthodox countries into the Western part of my Diocese. I have given little more than a record. But I think such records have their value. Mine has at least given me the opportunity of showing how deeply I value and appreciate the personal kindness which was shown to me, and the beginnings of friendships which I hope I have formed. Later in the season there was a happy, and wholly unexpected, renewal of two of these at our own Sunday Evensong at Nice, in March. I was due to preach, and found, to my delight, that Bishop Ireney of Novi Sad, who was also at Nice, was coming to the Service; and, over and above that, the Russian Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris came to call on me before the service began. He had stayed with us in my country parish in Bedfordshire a few years before and was, therefore, an old friend: and the service became a memorable one for our English congregation, because the Metropolitan, who could only be present at the beginning, opened it with a Blessing in Russian, and Bishop Ireney closed it with the Blessing in admirable English. I was thankful that the Western part of our Diocese was thus brought into contact with the wonderful movement of friendship which is progressing so happily in the East.

I speak of it as a movement of friendship, because of that at least we are certain. If I dared, with my present limited knowledge, to say more, I should write in stronger and more definite language. But it is with personal friendship that all sound movements towards unity must begin. For it is only through

friendship that true knowledge can come: and I am convinced that once we have real knowledge of each other, much can follow. The last few years have done much to widen the basis of this knowledge, though for long before that the Church owed an incalculable debt to such pioneers on our side as Mr. Athelstan Riley and the late Mr. W. J. Birkbeck. But the isolations of centuries, which kept East and West apart, cannot be bridged in a moment, or by the holding out of a few hands only on either side. I long for the day—and may it soon come—when free and constant intercourse in England as in the Orthodox countries between clergy and laity on both sides may become a normal element in our Christian experience. Such intercourse must be extended beyond those who are specialists. I have seen something of this extended intercourse, indeed, on a small scale, among what may be called the rank and file of our two Churches, and what I have seen, where there is the right spirit, is full of promise. For, in truth, the more we penetrate beneath the surface, and behind the obvious and outward differences, the more do we find of a real community of spirit. Among all the nations of the West, our own has, in experience and in temperament, some special facilities for understanding the Eastern mind. There ought to be a deep inward link between two Churches which have in their past history made such efforts and sacrifices for freedom. And it is not for nothing that the first great champion alike of the unity and of the liberty of the English Church was the great Greek Archbishop Theodore. Nor can it be in vain that two Churches should approach each other of which one, alike in a great convulsion and in the steady currents of her own distinctive theology, has reasserted her appeal to the doctrine and discipline of the early Church, and the other has preserved that same doctrine and discipline, with the least possible changes, from the beginning to the present day. I write with a great hope that the closer we study and the more we experience the worship, the doctrinal attitude, the ecclesiastical position of the Holy Orthodox Church, the more we shall find in it to enter into and to learn from: and the nearer we can draw to each other, without any premature forcing of issues, the more wholehearted, and the more effective, and the more mutually helpful, may be our partnership.

THE FIFTH ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.

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

By the kindness of my friend, Mr. Sidney Dark, its editor, the *Church Times* has already published my general description and impressions* of the Fifth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage and I do not purpose in this article to cover that ground again.

* In its issues of April 12, 19, 28 and May 3.

In fact, however, the history of Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the Holy Land has been detailed year by year in the *Christian East* since its inception, and before proceeding to my special function of writing about the contacts which it gave us with the Orthodox and with the Copts and other historic Christians of the Near East, I will put a short account of it on record.

THE PILGRIMAGE IN ITSELF.

Our Dimissory was given on Easter Monday at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, by that staunch and veteran patron of the A.C. Pilgrimage Association, Dr. Perrin, Bishop of Willesden, in consort with Archbishop Germanos, of Thyatira.

On Easter Tuesday, April 2nd, we left Victoria by the mid-day train and reaching Marseilles the next morning at 7.30 a.m., proceeded to the Messageries Maritimes steamer, *Mariette Pacha*, which put off at mid-day.

The arrangements made for our comfort by the kind care of our good friend, Sir Henry Lunn, were admirable and I should record that we are all enthusiastic in our gratitude to him. His organization moved us about like a well-oiled machine, and first to last never permitted us a hitch.

Of the peace and delight of our voyage I have written at length in the *Church Times*. For my own part, I have never enjoyed a happier week in my life. From the first we were all at home with one another. As the days went on we became a family and the spirit which knit us together was the true pilgrim spirit.

For all that, undoubtedly we owed a great deal to our leaders. Our great regret was the absence of Father Whittingham, the father of modern Anglican Pilgrimage who owing to serious illness last January had been compelled to stay back from an A.C.P. for the first time since he initiated the A.C.P.A. in 1924.

In our President, Dr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Bishop of Argyll, and in our Chaplain, Father Seyzinger, we were peculiarly happy and we owe them much, both for the way they ministered to our devotion and made us at home with one another. Both have the art of conversation and were tireless in exercising it for our benefit.

Major General Carleton Jones was a perfect secretary. Myself, I was privileged to act as a liaison officer to arrange contacts with the clergy of the Orthodox and other Eastern Churches.

In acknowledging also our great debt to M. le Mens, the Captain of the *Mariette Pacha*, for his inimitable and gracious hospitality, I should take the opportunity of commenting on the most unwarranted criticism which appeared in the *Tablet*, on April 26th and May 3rd. I had recorded in the *Church Times* that the Captain had placed the fixed altars on his upper deck and their equipment at our disposal. Assuming that those altars, etc., had been consecrated by a Roman Catholic bishop, the Editor of that paper

saw fit to suggest in some acrid paragraphs that M. le Mens had been a negligent custodian of them and that by masquerading as Roman Catholics we had tricked him into lending them. In fact, the altars, etc., had not been so consecrated and M. le Mens did not offer to lend us the consecrated altar slabs on which, when using them, Roman Catholics celebrate. Moreover, we used our own altar slabs and vestments.

We reached Alexandria on Sunday, April 7th, stayed there till the Tuesday, and finally arrived at Jaffa on Wednesday, April 10th.

A great deal can happen in seven days, and in my life I do not remember a fuller week than that which we spent in the Holy City. Of course, we paid visits to the Holy Sepulchre, to the Temple, and to Bethlehem and soon rendered such acts of devotion as the following the Via Dolorosa, and the making the mystic night march from the Cœnaculum down the Temple Declivity and across the Kedron to Gennesaret. But over and above all that, we found time to drive to the Dead Sea, Jordan and Jericho, to spend a day at St. John Baptist's birthplace, Ain Karim, in "the hills of Judæa," to ride to Bethany and so on. Also we had a free day on which a few of us took the long trip to Hebron, under the famous mosque of which in the cave of Macphalah, the Moslems say that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph wait with their wives for the Judgment Day.

On Tuesday, April 16th, we left Jerusalem for Galilee in a fleet of taxis, passed between Ebal and Gerizim, and drove through Samaria and over the plain of Esdrælon to Nazareth. En route, we stopped at Sychar and drank of Jacob's Well. The same day we went on to the Sea of Galilee and visited the famous and magnificent excavated Synagogue at Capernaum.

We had Wednesday, April 17th, to ourselves at Nazareth until the evening, when we drove to Haifa at the foot of the long Carmel range and embarked on the Messageries S.S. *Lotus*.

Our return voyage was as delightful and devotional as our outward voyage. We stopped at Jaffa and for two nights at Alexandria. We had our daily Eucharists and services and enjoyed each other's society.

On our arrival at Marseilles on Thursday, April 25th, we rendered our Thanksgiving Eucharist and the Te Deum, and our President dissolved the Pilgrimage.

Most of us came straight home, reaching Victoria on Friday, April 27th.

In regard to our contacts with the Orthodox and other Easterns, the following paragraphs may interest the reader.

THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS.

The Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios II., whom we knew as Meletios III., when he was Œcumenical Patriarch, had

decided to give us a striking reception and to that end had arranged that several bishops of his Synod should be there. Unfortunately he had not been told that the greater number of us would be going to Cairo in the evening and had fixed that event for Monday, April 8th. Accordingly, on our arrival at mid-day, it became my business to get the ceremony transferred to the afternoon. All the world in Alexandria—even I suspect the Patriarch himself—takes a siesta after lunch. It speaks volumes, therefore, alike for the goodness of the Patriarch and for the efficiency of his officials that we were bidden to be at the Cathedral of St. Saba at 4 o'clock and that though the members of the Holy Synod could not be got together at that short notice and much that had been planned had to go by the board, the Orthodox rite for a Pilgrimage Itinerary was celebrated by his Beatitude with extraordinary dignity.

St. Saba is the one symbolic church possessed by the Orthodox in Egypt and much of its edifice is late, it dates from the eighth century.

That the Patriarch Meletios has played no small part in the history both of the Orthodox Church and of the Greek nation during the past thirty years can need no saying to the readers of *The Christian East*. As secretary of the Synod of Jerusalem, he had a great share in preventing the exploitation of the Arabophone question in the interests of Pan Slavism before he accepted the Bishopric of Kition in Cyprus in 1909. In 1917 on the deposition of the Germanophil Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens, he was called to the primatial Throne of the Church of Hellas. In 1920, after the restoration of King Constantine, he was driven into exile from Greece. But in December, 1921, he was elected to be Œcumenical Patriarch. His occupancy of the Chair of St. Chrysostom was less than two years in duration and during those two years he was incessantly in danger of his life. Once, indeed, the agents of Mustapha Kemal were within an ace of kidnapping him and of hurrying him off to be hanged at Nicomedia. None the less, he refused to abandon his charge until, when nearly a full twelvemonth after the Smyrna Holocaust of 1922, the Kemalists were on the eve of entering Constantinople and his continued presence would have risked the massacre of his flock. But stormy though it was, his short Patriarchate was full of salient achievements. Thus he initiated that Reform of the Calendar which with the exception of Jerusalem, Yugo-Slavia and the Patriarchal Russian Church, has now been adopted by all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. By his acceptance of the validity of our Ordinations in 1922, he not only removed the most thorny of obstacles to the approach of Anglicans and Orthodox to re-union, but both brought them into close *economic* relations and created an atmosphere congenial to the development of spiritual intimacies and practical co-operation between them. And so on.

After his abdication in November, 1923, he lived at Kephissia near Athens in retirement until his election in 1926 to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria in succession to our good friend, the late Patriarch Photios. Of course, as every man of marked vigour and action must have, he has many critics, but no one can dispute that he has a way of getting things done. In his 2½ years at Alexandria he has already accomplished a great deal of that kind of quiet constructive work for which he has great capability and for which the times gave him no opportunity at Athens or Constantinople. Thus he has shown high administrative ability in the at least temporary satisfaction of the demands of the Egyptian Arab speaking Orthodox by the giving them a Syrian bishop and has thus gone far to settle a problem which is of *pari materia* with the familiar Palestinian Arabophone problem and though less acute, is almost as difficult. He has taken the first step towards equipping the Patriarchate with an efficient system of clergy training by instituting a Theological School in Alexandria. He has created new dioceses and has begun the overhauling of the administrative machinery of the Patriarchate. And so on. At the same time he has shown great pastoral activity and has vastly stimulated the life of his people in every way.

Always a dignified figure—his beard, which in 1922 when he was last in London, was black, is now driven-white—he was every inch a Patriarch as robed in his mitre and *mandyas* and with his *paterissa*, topped with St. Mark's Lion in his hand, he received us in St. Saba, and the students of his new Theological School having sung the office, welcomed us. In what he had to say, he made reference to the kinship which by its origin and through Archbishop Theodosius in century VII, the English Church has with the Orthodox, to his own 17th century predecessors, Cyril Lukar and Critopoulos Metrophanes—to the former's gift of Codex Alexandrinus and to the latter's sojourn in London—and to many others who have worked to bring the Churches together. Finally, he paid a very eloquent tribute both to Archbishop Davidson and to our present Archbishop, and gave utterance to his confident hope that the Lambeth Conference next year would be marked by evidence of the close approximation of the two Churches. In reply the Bishop of Argyll expressed the warm affection in which the Patriarch is held in all the Anglican Churches and the admiration felt for the courageous part he played at Constantinople and his splendid services to Christian Re-union.

THE COPTS.

After the Patriarch had received each member of our Pilgrimage and had given us coffee in his Reception Room, we went on to the Coptic Cathedral.

I need not remind the reader of *The Christian East* that the

themselves to serve the Copts. Moreover, the whole problem is rendered immeasurably more difficult for them by that "inferiority complex" which is the root of the Egyptian national question. There is plainly a danger that if the representatives of Western Christianity in Egypt become involved in domestic Coptic controversies and even in appearance afford a base for the advanced Coptic reformer, the conservative Copts will tar them with the brush with which the Wafdist has tarred the British Egyptian Administration. *Mutatis mutandis* the cry of No British interference in our Church, might be as effective among Copts as, No British Government of our country, has been inflammatory among the Egyptians in general. Of course, the responsible representatives of the Anglican Church in Egypt and of the Y.M.C.A. are well aware of the injury which unwisdom might do to their power of service to the Copts.

Their ability to walk warily but withal courageously is now being instanced and tested. On the death of the centenarian Patriarch Cyril, in 1927, a more modern method than that by which he had been elected over half a century before had plainly to be devised for the election of his successor and the matter gave rise to a sharp controversy between the bulk of the laity and the more progressive clergy on the one hand and the hierarchy and more conservative clergy and laity on the other. The Coptic Patriarch is, of course, a major official of the Egyptian state and nothing could be done without the consent of the Egyptian Government. The story of what happened is not very clear, but widespread agreement exists that resort was had to mediaeval methods such as bribery. For the representatives of the Anglican Church to show indifference in such a case was impossible, but apparently the Copts' confidence in their general impartiality and determination to abstain from interference in the domestic affairs is such that the attitude of Bishop Gwynne and his clergy has not been misconstrued.

I made the acquaintance of the new Patriarch, the Amba Yohanna, twenty-five years ago when I was doing duty at Alexandria, of which city he was then—and though the Coptic canons do not permit it, still remains bishop. Since then I have seen him from time to time and have kept up some correspondence with him. So that we are old friends.

Under other circumstances, he would have come to Alexandria to receive us, and his Vicar, the Amba Yosef, welcomed us warmly in the Coptic Convent of St. Mark. Its church is a modern structure of the usual Coptic type. In a chamber off its *haikal* or sanctuary, which is separated from the nave by a low screen, the Amba gave us opportunity to venerate the arm of St. Mark. N.B. The Guide Books are sarcastic and say that the Copts claim that they have the body of the Saint which as everybody knows, the Venetian Knights, Tribunus and Rusticus stole in the 9th century

—the doge ought to have bidden his scullion hack off the rumans spurs for their mean sacrilege—and which is still the pride of Venice. What the Copts do claim is that in their cowardly haste, the two ruffians broke off the right arm of the Saint and left it behind.

If Alexandria has no remarkable Coptic church, Cairo has a dozen of great antiquity and symbolic value. They are all in old Cairo or Babylon as the Romans called it—its Arab name is Fostat—the ancient walled city a mile or so up the Nile above modern Cairo.

Our pilgrims who visited half-a-dozen of them came back full of delight. Indeed, they accounted their visit to them as their happiest experience in Cairo. The two most striking are Abu Sirga and Sitt Miriam. Under Abu Sirga is the extremely old—it is certainly earlier than the 6th century—three-aisled crypt which is the reputed Cave of the Sojourn of the Holy Family. Sitt Miriam, *i.e.*, Our Lady Mary, is in one of the towers of a Roman Gateway. Nearly all the old Coptic churches are remarkable for their screens and panellings of cedar, ivory and mother of pearl. Two leaves of eight panels of that exquisite work which were abstracted from this Church only 40 years ago, are now in the British Museum and *ought to be sent back*. The way they were acquired was as dishonourable as the Venetian method of acquiring St. Mark's body. Sitt Miriam, which is in a way the Copts' Westminster Abbey—their Patriarchs used to be crowned in it—is also very old. There was a church on its site long before the Arab conquest.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS.

On Monday, April 8th, while our fellow pilgrims were in Cairo, I had the privilege of presenting the Patriarch Meletios with a letter entrusted to me by our Archbishop and announcing his accession to the Chair of St. Augustine. Such letters which are addressed to each other by the heads of autocephalous Orthodox Churches on their accession, are called *enthronistic* or *eirenic*. The interchanging of such letters on the occasion of our Archbishop's enthronement had been invited by the Œcumenical Patriarch and no such interchange having previously taken place on the part of the Orthodox except with the Orthodox, constitutes an important precedent.

In the morning the Patriarch had a long conversation with the Bishop of Argyll, Mr. Richmond and myself, during which he showed us the plan for the enlargement of his Church of St. Saba, for which he has now £20,000 in hand, and by which the old building will be preserved and expanded into a large Cathedral.

In the afternoon I was privileged to have a personal audience with his Beatitude and also conversations with my old friends,

Mgr. Theophanes, Metropolitan of Tripoli, who was *topolereles* during the vacancy of the Patriarchate, and Archbishop Nikolaos, formerly Metropolitan of Nubia and now of Ermopoulis, *i.e.*, Tanta in the Delta, who came to London in 1925 with the Patriarch Photios and was at Stockholm, Lausanne, etc.

ORTHODOX HOSPITALITY IN PALESTINE.

From the time that we landed at Jaffa where the Archimandrite Philotheos, the priest of the town, welcomed us in the name of the Patriarch until we left Nazareth, the Orthodox clergy treated us with hospitality which illustrates the close, brotherly relations that now subsist between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. So far as I am aware, there was nothing new in the way in which they manifested that hospitality, but that was because short of intercommunion there is hardly a possible precedent which has not been set during the four previous Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages.

In the afternoon of the day of our arrival in the Holy City, Archbishop Timotheos, of the Jordan, with whom my own friendship goes back to 1905, when he was an undergraduate at Oxford, met us on our way to the Church of the Anastasis where the Archimandrite Kyriakos who is the Guardian of the Church and keeps its keys was waiting for us. As on our former pilgrimages the Archimandrite who speaks English admirably, first delivered us an address of welcome and then having admitted us to the Holy Sepulchre two by two, took us to Calvary and the other holy places in the great Church. If he had had his way, he would have invited our leader and chaplain to lead us in our devotions, but the Latin insistence on the *status quo* forbade him.

After we had rendered our vows in the Holy Sepulchre, we went on to St. George's Cathedral, in his garden hard by which Dr. McInnes, our Bishop in Jerusalem was waiting to give us tea and had invited the chief representatives in Jerusalem of the different Eastern Churches to meet us. I imagine that most of our pilgrims were perplexed to place the members of that gathering. Besides the Orthodox, it included Mgr. Tourian, the Armenian Patriarch, the Jacobite and Abyssinian bishops and the Coptic Abbot in Jerusalem. In fact except the Assyrian and, of course, the Maronites and other pathetic Uniates, every Eastern Church was represented in it.

Here, I may take opportunity to say how profoundly thankful every Anglican who takes a wide view of the general Christian complex of our time, ought to be and must be, for the work that is being done by Dr. McInnes and his staff in the Holy Land. I do not write this because during our pilgrimage, Archdeacon Stewart was father and mother to us or because Mr. Bridgeman was unsparing in his service to us; nor am I led to do so by the great kindness which Dr. McInnes showed us all. The fact is that

Dr. McInnes is a very worthy inheritor of the tradition which Bishop Blyth set thirty years ago. He has long experience of and understands the Orthodox, discourages proselytization, has their confidence and is rendering them service which they can and do accept gladly. His lead is taken up by Archdeacon Stewart and the Rev. C. T. Bridgeman, who act as his liaison men, the former with the Orthodox and the latter with the National Churches. Mr. Bridgeman is at St. George's under an agreement reached by Archbishop Davidson and Dr. McInnes in 1926 with the American Church whereby the latter provides a member of the Anglican staff at Jerusalem. His special function is to act in liaison with the Armenians and other National Churches. He teaches in the Armenian Patriarchal College and is a *persona gratissima* in his particular sphere.

The official reception given by the Patriarch Damianos to our Pilgrimage in the Monastery of the Holy Cross on the morrow of our arrival in Jerusalem was as usual most gracious and affectionate. His Beatitude seems not a whit older—he is now in his 83rd year—than when I last saw him in 1925. Indeed, he struck me as more vigorous. This year he presented us each with a beautiful little nacre cross which he had himself blessed in the Holy Sepulchre—a gift which set me wondering as to whether an Anglican-Orthodox Old Pilgrims' League could not be brought into being.

During our stay in Jerusalem, his Beatitude conferred the Orthodox Order of the Holy Sepulchre upon the Bishop of Argyll and Major General Carleton Jones, and it was my privilege at his bidding to present them at our hotel with its decoration—viz.: a collar and a cross containing a fragment of the True Cross of which he also gave a fragment in a reliquary to Father Seyzinger for his community.

During our stay in the Holy City, I had several long and interesting conversations with the Patriarch, as also with the Metropolitans of Madeba, the Jordan, and other members of the Holy Synod.

I was delighted to find that the Arabophone question was far less acute, that the friction between the Patriarchate and the Commission of Financial Control which when I had last been in Jerusalem was acute, had largely disappeared and also that the 1926 Report of the Bertram Commission, the intervention proposed by which in the affairs of the Patriarchate aroused very bitter indignation in all Orthodox countries, is universally regarded as dead and forgotten.

When we visited Bethlehem the Metropolitan of the Jordan, who is the Custodian of the Church of the Nativity, followed the precedent which he set last year and celebrated the Liturgy for us in English, during which he preached us a striking sermon. So far as I know, such an act of economy, *i.e.*, the celebration of the

Liturgy for an Anglican congregation—there were no Orthodox present except the ministers and a few monks, etc.—has no precedent. It certainly is signal and noteworthy.

The Russian Archbishop Anastasy and the Russian Nuns at Ain Karim, showed us that subtly delicate and delicious hospitality which is typically and peculiarly Russian, and the Archbishop rendered a service for us in the Church of his convent there, and lent us his Church at Gennesaret on our night march. He entertained us also at the Russian Church outside Hebron where is the reputed oak of Abraham.

The Metropolitan Cleopas of Nazareth reminds me always of a warm-hearted, jolly Yorkshireman. He leaves his guests no doubt as to his being glad to see them. As it happens, however, he was a pronounced friend of our Church forty years ago in those days when Anglican and Orthodox friendship was at its beginnings and his joy at welcoming us and in devoting himself to be our host was writ all over him throughout our stay at Nazareth.

He not only gave us the use of his Cathedral for our four Celebrations, but himself prepared its Holy Table for them and was present at them. Also in case we had required them, he had his vestments and holy vessels ready for us and by his order the priest at Cana vested our Bishop with his *epitrachelion* at the service we had in its Church. Later in the day, he took us to the ancient church of St. Gabriel which stands on the spot identified by St. Helena as the site of the Annunciation and which—the water is carried underground and comes up in the open at our Lady's Fountain, a couple of hundred yards away—enshrines the sacred spring from which the Christ Child must have drawn water. There at his bidding, we drank of the *ayasma*, sang Magnificat, said the Angelus and rendered our devotions. That done he prayed for our Church and Nation and King, and for the hastening of the Re-union of our churches. Finally nothing would content him but that we should sing our National Anthem.

Assuredly it is enthusiastic love such as his which is forging the links of the chain that some day will bring about Orthodox and Anglican Intercommunion.

We all loved him and can never forget him.

THE SEPARATED CHURCHES.

However much they honour them for their martyrdom, most Westerners are apt to look on the ancient national Churches of the East which are in separation from the Orthodox, as pathetic remnants and the survivals of a past greatness rather than as of practical present and future importance. In that they are, I venture to think, quite wrong. It is true that the Copts, Jacobites and Armenians present themselves to the first glance as isolated minorities in Moslem countries. In fact, however, they are in

communion with each other and are to be regarded as a single supra-national Church made up of national churches among which prevails the widest diversity in every detail of the expression of their faith and life. As they are to-day, they have not much contact with each other, but I venture to estimate that there is no small probability that in the comparatively near future they will become a solidarity which will have to be reckoned as an important factor in the general Christian complex.

Of course, they all went into schism from the Latin and Greek Churches as "monophysites." Possibly they never were deeply infected by that heresy. Certainly the Jacobites and probably the Armenians are quite free from it now.¹ But in any case to style them Monophysites would be offensive. Moreover, the Copts and Jacobites—the Armenians are in communion with both but fell out of Communion with the Greek Church in Century VII, and have never entered into formal union with them—hold themselves to be the Orthodox Church and style themselves Coptic Orthodox and Syrian Orthodox respectively. So that the only thing to do is to describe them by a collective periphrasis such as Separated Eastern Churches or the like.

At the time of the schism there was a third "monophysite" Patriarch, sc. of Jerusalem. But it lapsed soon afterwards. The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria and the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch who is always styled Mar Ignatios, exchange Paschal letters yearly and look on themselves as brother Patriarchs in the same way as do the Orthodox Patriarchs of those jurisdictions. Armenians, Jacobites and Copts, when isolated from their own priests, attend each other's services and mutually receive the Sacraments from their priests.

The Copts, Jacobites and Armenians maintain convents in the Holy City and have chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where they enjoy immemorial rights.

The Armenians have always had a large colony in Palestine and since the Turkish conquest have had a Patriarch in Jerusalem.² Their convent with its superb Cathedral is one of the finest buildings in Jerusalem. Its decoration of tiles and other work is superb and incomparable. It stands on the reputed site of the martyrdom of St. James the Great, whose body is its chief possession. The present Patriarch Tourian is a famous Armenian poet and scholar and a man of the finest scholarship. He received us very warmly and we had a most pleasant and profitable conversation with him.

On the Friday afternoon we visited the Coptic Abbot Gabriel and the Syrian Orthodox, *i.e.*, Jacobite, Metropolitan of Jerusalem,

¹ In 1922 the Jacobite Patriarch forwarded our Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee a statement which it found to be free from heresy.

² Among the Armenians a Catholicos corresponds to a Patriarch among the Orthodox. Their Patriarchs do not consecrate bishops or the chrism. The office, which is anomalous, was instituted under the Turks to provide political heads of the Armenian *millet*s in Constantinople and Jerusalem.

Kurilos Michael Anton, and again we found these visits well worth while and instructive. Both prelates were highly intelligent and gave us much information.

THE HABASH.

On the same day we visited the fine new Abyssinian Monastery outside the walls of the City.

The Habash or Abyssinians are an Arab race which crossed over to Africa in the early centuries of our era and established itself there by conquest over the local African races, but has never merged with them. The population of Abyssinia is therefore mixed and includes heathen peoples as well as those of the Islamic and Jewish religions.

The story of the conversion of Abyssinia by the Egyptian Frumentius in the fourth century goes to show that the Habash derived its Christianity from Egypt and the relation of their Church to the Coptic goes far to establish that deduction. None the less, the Abyssinian Church possesses its own Liturgy and in their customs, outlook and general categories the Habash are in many respects diverse from the Copts. In particular they have many strong Judaic characteristics.

In its theory Abyssinia is an Empire of the Byzantine theocratic type and its Negus, or Emperor, claims descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. While on its secular side, its theory is comparable to that of the sacred and exclusive Tsardom of Russia. Ecclesiastically it is simply a province under the supreme jurisdiction of the Coptic Patriarch. Its Metropolitan or Abuna has always been chosen from the Coptic clergy and nominated and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch.

In its life, however, it has also always been independent and national.

Accordingly, it bears an extraordinary comparison to that Holy Russia which before it became an autocephalous Patriarchate in 1587, was on the one hand simply a province of the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, but on the other hand claimed to be a divinely destined universal Tsardom and the heir of the Sacred Œcumenical Empire of Constantinople.

Until fifty years ago Western Christianity was in another world from the Copts and from the Habash, who formed a world of their own. In that world the Negus at Axum was something like the Russian Tsar in Moscow—at times when the Copts were over-mishandled by the Moslems he relieved them by the threat of crossing over to Mecca and smashing the Kaaba to powder—and the Coptic Patriarch was something like the Œcumenical Patriarch. Obviously, the Habash Empire can bear no comparison with the mighty Russian Tsardom. The Habash remain an exclusive, though dominant racial minority in it. They have played no part

in world history and have made no contribution to world civilization. But though only relative and applicable to their isolated region of the earth, the parallel is there.

The rapid process which is incessantly transforming the old order everywhere out of existence and is bringing every type of its civilization into a *bloc* of modern common life, will necessarily change Abyssinia, but at present, it is only beginning to lay hold of it. No doubt the Habash is now aware of Europe with its railways and aeroplanes and trade and wars. But he is still very far away from it, and is as disdainful of it as was Chinese mandarin of pre-Boxer days.

Abyssinia is the last corner of the world where life is lived under categories which make things spiritual and things secular a real bilateral unity.

The problem of controlling the new wine so that it will not burst the ancient bottles is the problem on the solution of which all of us must wish Ras Taffari, its present Negus, success. That he is wise and far-sighted as well as courageous, all of us who have come into contact with him must agree, but his task is not easy.

Meanwhile, in Abyssinia, Church and State function as they functioned in the so-called caesaropapism of the late Byzantine Empire and the old outlook, the old customs—and superstitions—dominate everything.

That is what made our visit to the Abyssinian Monastery at Jerusalem so interesting.

The Habash is a great pilgrim and you will find him represented in Jerusalem all the year round.

Long ago, he had a chapel in the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, but it passed into the hands of the Copts, and the Copts being adamant in refusing the Habash more than internal autonomy, hold that outside Abyssinia they should be Copts and have hitherto resisted all demands for its restoration successfully. The Habash being thus reduced to a little chapel on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre, Ras Taffari has built them this fine monastery.

Its church is of the usual Abyssinian round form, with a circular inner shrine for its sanctuary¹ under its dome, is surrounded by a circular terrace and stands in a fine garden.

Its Member or Abbot, Weld Mikhail Tesfa, is a refined and scholarly man—the typical educated Abyssinian monk is tall, svelt, reserved, polished and very dignified—and received us in the most charming fashion, first showing us the church and explaining the arrangement of the church, and then putting on his vestments and going with his clergy, acolytes and umbrella bearers—his drums and horns and other musical instruments were at the Holy Sepulchre—in a procession on the circular terrace so that one of

¹ In the Holy Table which stands under the centre of the Dome is a cavity in which is kept the Ark or Tabot that contains the Holy Scriptures, the altar cloth and sacred relics.

our party who had a cinema Kodak might film it, and finally having a long talk with us while he gave us coffee in the garden.

THE RE-UNION MOVEMENT.

I have jotted down these paragraphs because it seemed to me that they might give the ordinary reader of *The Christian East* some idea of the glimpses into Near Eastern Christianity which are open to the Anglican who goes on pilgrimage to Re-union.

In regard to our Movement towards Re-union with the Orthodox and with other Eastern Churches, the times are less propitious now than, say, five years ago, but unquestionably steady progress is being made. In particular, the permissibility of the mutual admission economy of Anglicans and Orthodox to each other's sacramental ministrations when in real isolation or emergency, is becoming increasingly envisaged and is now very widely accepted by the Orthodox everywhere. In general, I have no hesitation in saying that, if it were not for our own domestic controversies, the Orthodox would be ready for a great advance towards the desired goal and are eager for it. The required atmosphere and imponderabilia are there. But nothing is to be gained by blinking facts. For the most part, the Orthodox understand the rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons to have been an arbitrary and erastian vagary. That which troubles them, is the tendency of the Church of England to speak with two voices. They do not expect us to repudiate our past and they make no extravagant demands of us but they cannot understand either why the Anglican Episcopate does not declare itself synodically to be in continuity of Apostolic Faith and Order with the English Church of the sixth century, nor why it should not be in unity with itself. They make no extravagant demands, but simply ask that we should present them with a position on which they can negotiate, and are disappointed that we do not *Piu si muove!*

THE WILDERNESS OF JERUSALEM.

By D. J. CHITTY.

(The Reverend D. J. Chitty has been engaged during the last two or three years in excavation and research work among the ancient monasteries of Judæa, under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.)

FROM the mountain-ridge of the cities (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron) there is an average drop eastwards of some 4,000 feet in a distance of fourteen miles to the shores of the Dead

¹ In particular he has uncovered the Church and Tomb-Chapel of St. Euthymius. The Service of which we give a photograph must have been the first held in the Church since the destruction of the Monastery in the 13th century. The ruin, including the Saint's tomb in which his body may still be lying, is at present in the possession of the Moslem village of Silwan, and it is an urgent need that funds should be forthcoming to restore so notable a shrine to the Orthodox Church. The roof of the Tomb-Chapel remains whole and it would not be difficult to make it once more fit for Christian worship.

Sea. The same is desert. For a few miles there is some scant pasture, and even cultivation. But this cannot greatly mitigate the general effect of the bare beyond. Practically waterless, save for scattered cisterns, it looks up to the east of the cities with the threat of a jealous God. And year by year, when harvest is over, it creeps up to envelop the cities themselves with a taste of itself, when their heavens become indeed as iron and their earth as brass.

Such is the strange monotony of desolation which confronts the passing stranger coming from green countries as he stands on the Mount of Olives and looks away beyond Bethany. And the effect is not lessened by the hasty drive through fantastic hills and valleys down to Jordan: it is as if he had wandered unwitting on to the scarred surface of the moon.

Further experience does not belie this impression. But gradually each hill and valley takes on an individual character. Gradually in the scenes of most barren destruction we slacken our pace to watch among the rocks innumerable unnoticed tiny flowers of every colour. And was it not this Wilderness of Judæa in which David lived as shepherd-boy or outlaw? On these sweet ridges he stood singing:—

“Who is a Rock beside our God?

The God that girdeth me with strength,

And maketh my way perfect.

He maketh my feet like hinds' feet

And setteth me upon my high places.”

Was it not gazing down across the Wilderness from the villages, Tekoa or Anathoth, that border it, that Amos or Jeremiah learnt their prophetic message? Here John preached, and here Our Lord was tempted. And here ever, would we but accept it and turn away from gazing westward upon the merchandise of the Sea, is the strength of God's People.

Flee from our Rock, and He is a jealous God. Accept Him, and He is the Friend.

“And I will lay waste her vines and her fig-trees, whereof she hath said, These are my rewards that my lovers have given me: and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them.

And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim unto which she burned incense, when she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels and went after her lovers, and forgot Me, saith the LORD. Therefore, behold I will allure her, and bring her into the Wilderness, and speak to her heart.

And I will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope: and she shall make answer there as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt. And it shall be at that day,

saith the LORD, that thou shalt call Me Ishi, and shalt call Me no more Baali."

The monk and his Wilderness seem almost indistinguishable. The Western, paying a hurried visit to the scarecrows in their monastic eyries—MarSaba, Choziba, or the Mountain of the Temptation—regards them with an antiquarian interest or an eye for the spectacular, and forgets their manhood. If he should chance to find that this priest was once a grocer in New York, or that monk a stoker for some twelve years on English ships, it serves but to heighten the grotesqueness of his picture of this "relic of a faded past." But the monk, at home in his Wilderness, has forgotten to be conscious of the spectacular in his way of life, if indeed he ever realized it. Rather, he is on a rock from which the fleeting world outside has seen itself to be strange and grotesque. He has outlived many cultures, and he will outlive another. *Reality* for him is learnt in the Liturgy, and the slow movement of the nightly office from midnight to the dawn. In his soul and body he is on bed-rock. Lean your hand on his, and its bones will crack. Like his desert, he has nought but the bare necessity of skin and bone. But over his lips and over his life the sunlight can play with strange, gentle beauty. If the birds of St. Saba will perch on his hand, and wild beasts gather to receive food at his monastery, these are not the only flowers of full humanity that blossom in the crannies of his rockiness. It was not inappropriate that, thirteen centuries ago, the anthologist of this desert, John Moschus, named his book "A Spiritual Meadow."

One mountain, Jebel Muntar, dominates the Wilderness between Olivet and the Dead Sea. The latter is seen from here unbroken in its full length. And on a clear spring day the snows of Hermon in the far north block the head of the Ghôr. Eastward the jungle of the Jordan marks the place of the Baptism. Westward from here as from so many of our desert hill-tops, the cities of the Nativity and of the Passion, the mountain of the Ascension, are seen rimming the sky-line. To the south, stretching away beyond sight, is the Utter Desert. So the Realism of History and the Realism of the Eternal meet together.

The great places of our monastic history are all about us. To this mountain itself an empress came to be restored to Orthodoxy by Euthymius the Great. And it was from here that a few years later (478 A.D.) an angel pointed out to Saba that gorge of Cedron which was to be his home—there, where two miles away below us, a pair of towers mark the one monastery which has kept the thread of its life unbroken, though at times worn very thin, from that day to this.

It is this double Realism which constitutes the uniqueness and centrality of the Judæan Wilderness. The Call of the Holy Places



1. The Mount of Temptation, with Monastery Farm in foreground.



2. The Monastery of Choziba.



3. Archbishop Anastassy conducting a service in the Sanctuary of the Church of St. Euthymius at the conclusion of the excavation, July 29th, 1928.

and the Ascetic Call come here together, correcting and fulfilling each other. Egypt and Syria may startle the world for a moment, then wander off into their own heretical theories. But that inescapable mountain horizon keeps the eyes of the Judæan monk fixed above theories upon the stark historical fact. And if such a Realism, wherein Doctrine and Worship are one in an all-pervading Reality ("We worship what we know"), is the distinguishing mark of Orthodoxy, our Wilderness has had its part, under God, in revealing and preserving this.

Watching from Muntar we see again the monastic history slowly framing itself out of the silence of the early centuries. Even before Egyptian monasticism became the wonder of the world, the Church of the Holy City was preparing, quietly drinking in the lesson of her own desert. And here and there someone, like the great Bishop Narcissus, would unobtrusively disappear into it. Late in the third century, men fleeing from persecution found in the jungle of palms and bamboo-reed west of Jordan a refuge and a training ground (*ἡσκητήριον*), and there would be those among them who, having tasted of this life, would never leave it, knowing that the Church at peace might have even greater need than the Church persecuted of such a training-ground. Here in the Plain will be scattered hermits whose relation to each other is accidental. In the mountains another type of hermit life begins, as disciples are attracted about the beginning of the fourth century to the fame of the confessor-pilgrim from Iconium, Chariton, and pursue him from haunt to haunt, leaving three rough hermit-assemblages (*lauras*) at 'Ain Fara, on the Mountain of the Temptation, and at Souka (the Old Laura) east of Tekoa. All these are cliff *lauras*, and do not venture too far out from civilization.

A new stage begins when Euthymius, in 411 A.D., setting out from Fara for the Utter Desert, founds his first monastery in the Wady Mukelik, the deep ravine that breaks through the mountain belt into the Utter Desert, some four miles to our north-east. This is the stage when our monasticism begins to take independent shape under two great leaders, Euthymius (died 473 A.D.) in the mountains, and Gerasimus (died 475 A.D.) in the Jordan Plain. Euthymius is one of those mighty personalities who wield control over the affairs of men just because his desire for solitude makes him independent of them. In his own person he sums up and sets the type for all that Judæan Monasticism is to be. Converting a bedouin tribe, sending out and controlling bishops (he killed with the power of his displeasure one who had taken the wrong side at the Robber Council), leaving his monastery to make the Utter Desert a fortress of the Faith in the troubled times after Chalcedon, then returning to give substance to the restoration of the Orthodoxy he had defended.

On a little plain four miles to our north are the ruins of Khan el Ahmar, the remains of the Coenobium which after his death replaced his Laura. With the establishment of the latter the framework of his system was complete—the Coenobium in Mukelik as a novitiate, the Laura for the tried hermit. The latter was the real centre. And its hermits were no haphazard assemblage. They were bound to their abbot by a bond of obedience sternly enforced. Untimely individual eccentricities of ascetic rigour were repressed. The great strengthening practice of spending Lent (from the Octave of Epiphany to Palm Sunday) in the Utter Desert was introduced, for the stronger hermits, by Euthymius from his home-country. It helped to independence of the cities, and even in necessity of the monasteries themselves. Meanwhile it kept alive before all the hermit ideal, and was (especially under Saba) a great incentive to expansion, as one Lenten hiding-place after another would seem to invite a monastery. We must notice here that it is to Asia Minor more than to Egypt that Judean Monasticism looks for its origins. St. Gregory, the Theologian, and St. Basil are the most constantly quoted fathers, St. Chariton had come from Iconium and St. Euthymius and the three other key-figures were all natives of Asia Minor (himself from Melitene, Gerasimus from Lycia, Saba and Theodosius from Cappadocia).

Gerasimus comes into the field somewhat later than Euthymius, about the time of Chalcedon. He is of a simpler type, and himself needed to be restored to Orthodoxy after Chalcedon by Euthymius in his desert retreat. His system was better suited to the more individualistic character of the Jordan hermits. A group of some seventy of these were knit together in a Laura with a Coenobium for novitiate. But the Coenobium itself was the only centre of the Laura, and to it the hermits came for the Liturgy and something more like a meal than they had during the week, on Saturdays and Sundays. But it was the character of Gerasimus for which he was most remembered. It is seen in the strictness and simplicity of his rule for hermits, with its complete abandonment of the very idea of individual ownership, or anything which might separate the hermit from the natural world about him. His lion (which St. Jerome filched from him in the West in the later Middle Ages) is another example of that concord with Nature which Saba and Cyriac (both of whom also had lion friends) learnt no doubt chiefly from him.

When Timothy the Cat usurped the throne of St. Mark in 457 A.D., Orthodox monks from the Egyptian deserts took refuge in Palestine. Two of them, Martyrius (478-86 A.D.) and Elias (494-518 A.D.), were to become Patriarchs of Jerusalem. In the same year the boy Saba came from Cappadocia. So the next stage comes to its apprenticeship, and learns for nearly two decades from the old masters. In it Saba with his almost shy humility was to

spread the ideal of the stern Euthymius in a vast army of monks up and down the Wilderness, with their spear-point the hermit thrust forward into regions of Utter Desert beyond the reach of ordinary monastic life. Several of his lesser foundations are within sight, on Muntar itself and around its feet. The towers of his Great Laura are beside the Cedron gorge below us. On a hill-top three miles west of it, now once again inhabited by Greek monks after long desolation, the other great figure of this stage, Theodosius, founded a very different type of monastery. Desiring solitude and still sought out by men in his Cave of the Magi there, he went out swinging an unlighted censer down through the Utter Desert, praying that God would show him a place for a monastery. Only when he returned to his hill-top cave did the incense light up, and he knew what was decreed for him. Himself continuing an extreme ascetic, he founded a coenobium full of good works, with workshops more of the Pachomian type, hospitals, a home for worn-out monks, and an asylum for those who in unguarded asceticism had become possessed. On these last his gentleness bestowed special care and love.

Such a coenobium was a necessary counterpart to the hermits, completing the organism of the Judean Wilderness. With Saba and Theodosius the general oversight of the monasteries is handed down from the City to the Wilderness itself, St. Saba being placed at the head of the lauras, and St. Theodosius at the head of the coenobia. With their hostels in Jerusalem, the hostels and gardens at Jericho, the organization of the monasteries is now perfected. They are ready for the great rôle which is falling upon them—it is now that our Wilderness replaces heretical Egypt at the head of Orthodox Monasticism.

The manner in which this was brought about is very significant for the whole subsequent history of Orthodoxy. The first disciples joined St. Saba (in 483 A.D.) just when the Henotikon of Zeno was being proclaimed by Martyrius. That body of Orthodox Monasticism which in the last years of the Henotikon was successfully to defy the might of the Emperor Anastasius for the sake of Chalcedon, was built up in the very years when Chalcedon received no imperial support, and a heavy slur was cast upon it in a document tolerated by the church. One great monk at least, Marcan of Bethlehem, who became bound in a clear bond of unity with our monks, and in fact for a short time before his death in 494 A.D. was their official head, was only brought into the Communion of the Church by the Henotikon. Yet, at least in Palestine, he was honoured as a saint by Orthodox monks long after the Henotikon had been finally rejected. So the Orthodoxy of our monks was no narrow one. The strength of their defence of Chalcedon lay partly in the fact that many of them had been at first in no hurry at all to accept it. It was a balanced Orthodoxy,

entirely on a spiritual basis. Had he escaped to the army, and there raised the standard of the cross, he might have turned the scale against the forces of the Communists. He might have repeated what the Patriarch Hermogen did in the seventeenth century in saving Moscow from the Poles, but had he succeeded, what then? Would he have been allowed, if victorious in 1918, to set up a new dynasty or restore the old? The Western world would have forced on a disordered country something similar to the Provisional Government which had already finished its brief and possible course. It would have given Russia democracy, as it understood it. Had he failed, the Church would have been so entangled with counter-revolution and would have been rightly so discredited, that Christianity in Russia would have been impossible.

We must remember also that Russian culture was based not on Rome but on Constantinople. It is impossible in a phrase to sum up the difference in culture, but the following may be hazarded. With the fall of Rome the way was open for the Bishop of Rome and the Patriarch of the West to take over the political and cultural functions of the government. There was no force which could educate and teach save the Church. In the East the imperial authority still continued and was itself responsible for the maintenance of order and of community life. The Church in the East never was able to escape from under the wing of the Emperor who for his part tended to secure certain religious functions for himself.

As a result of this Eastern thought never passed through the struggle between king and Pope as in the West, and there was no strict parallel to the Protestant Reformation and the Western development of nationalism. In the East there was consistently a different intellectual and spiritual content in the struggles, and the difference appears most sharply when we attempt now to bring together and compare the two systems. It was only after the reign of Peter the Great that we find a definite attempt to fasten on Russian life the theories of the West and the result was the breakdown of the composite mass of the State.

One direct result of all this was the fact that there was no international body able to support Tikhon from the first days of the struggle, for Western Christianity was too indifferent or indolent to demand the respecting of the Church from the beginning. The Archbishop of Canterbury issued an appeal for the protection of Tikhon and other members of the Church, but there was no material force available to be used for the Church. More than that, many of the Western leaders as Bishop Blake of the Methodist Church in the United States and some of the Baptist groups, saw in the collapse of the Orthodox Church an opportunity that might never come again. In certain quarters the Roman

Catholic Church was not sorry to see Russia's failure to liberate Constantinople and bring back the glory of the past. As a matter of fact, therefore, the Church of Russia was left alone to face a storm, the scope of which no one could foresee. The Patriarch, newly elected to office, with the new Synod and new conditions, was left alone to battle with the movement which was entirely new and hostile.

The Russian bishops who were in favour of uniting the cause of the Church to the old order or the cause of democracy joined with the White Armies and later gathered under the Metropolitan Antony at Karlovci in Yugo-Slavia. We are not here concerned with the actions of this group. It is possible that they were right. Perhaps the Metropolitan Platon in New York and Bishop Evlogie in Paris were right in desiring a more liberal Russia. They did not and could not affect the situation in Moscow, unless to add further complications and give the impression that the Church was counter-revolutionary. In the last decade we must draw a sharp line between the two groups. Russian literature has developed in the emigration and at home. Russian religion has developed in the emigration and at home. Russian social problems have developed in the emigration and at home. The differences between the two groups are growing more and more and as yet no effective reconciliation is in sight.

Furthermore the Church at home was surrounded by hosts of enemies. There were the Old Believers of various groups and classes which believed that the official Church had gone too far in the seventeenth century in supporting Western ways. They had fought the subjugation of Church to State in the name of Russian mediaevalism and they had their own supporters among the peasantry and in intellectual circles, and especially among some of the older merchant families. There were also the groups of fanatics and mystics, of whom Rasputin was a striking example, which represented an attempt to find an incarnate Christ at the present day. There was a large Baptist movement in some sections and a considerable number of free Christians who tried to organize their life on the Gospel principles without regard to State or Church.

Thus the Orthodox Church was faced with the necessity of reforming itself, of rousing an unwieldy organization after two centuries of inertia, and at the same time of defending itself both against religious bodies of a different character and also against an aggressive atheistic communism which in its intensity and its vigour had all the earmarks of a religion. Since the death of Lenin it has even become possible to speak of a cult or religion of Lenin, strange as such a conception seems to us, but we must never forget the rôle of Mohammed in the Arab world and we must avoid the idea that we have solved anything by the use of invective or epithets.

II

The new government lost no time in declaring religion out of bounds. There is little profit or edification in describing the horrors of the persecution which ensued, of the methods of torture and of punishment that were invoked. Suffice it to say, that the Russian hierarchy died in large numbers as martyrs and no man of equal importance or prominence appeared as did the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Paris in the French Revolution to lay down the symbols of his office and declare that the power which he had been exercising was falsely taken from the people. Neither did Christianity in Russia try to maintain itself by denying its own past and there is not the gulf to-day that separated the French pre-Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary hierarchy. That is one thing of which the Russian Church can be proud.

In theory it is very simple to separate religion and government. In practice the problem is more complex, as a few writers have hinted in connection with disestablishment in England. Here in America, we have what we call the separation of Church and State, but we accept as the basis of life what passes in the popular mind for Christian ethics. It involves monogamy with some theory of unlimited divorce, and a conventional regard for an unliteral interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount with other contradictions, but it does acknowledge with indifferent agnosticism the value of the spiritual. We are still living on the residue of a Christian philosophy and yet there are many complicated questions which we avoid settling.

The Soviet Government in theory merely denied religion and all of its by-products. It denied practically all rights to the clergy and treated them as pariahs. The teaching of Christianity on sexual morals meant no more than the opinion of St. Paul on the return of Christ. On the basis of the hypothesis that Karl Marx and Lenin had compiled a new and better system they threw ruthlessly into the melting pot all the theories of life and the spiritual nature of man, and attacked logically and coldly the task of building up a new system of life.

This in itself forced the Church to answer one very unpleasant question—how much of what passes for Christian ethics is Christian? How much is based on primitive paganism? How far can the Church go in adapting itself to a new system of life? In so far as the new system declared that religion was the opium of the people and disregarded spiritual values, there could be no compromise and the Orthodox Church never wavered in its position. There are many points, however, that were not so clear and confusion had to reign.

We can then discover three points of view: the atheistic view of the government, the attitude of the peasantry who were attached to the ritual forms of the old order, even if they denounced the

abuses of the clergy, and the attitude of those persons who sought to combine the new order and the old. Some of these were actuated with the idea that the new system was permanent, though it might be modified. Others felt that it was their duty merely to bend their head until the storm passed and the old civilization appeared once more with the downfall of the Soviets.

We must also add that the Orthodox Church, unlike the Churches of the West, knows the meaning of subjugation to a non-Christian ruler. It was only a few years ago that the bishops of the Balkans were chosen by the Moslem overlords, and there is not yet possible a free election of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Russia, too, remembers the days of the Mongol Empire, when many of the leaders of the nation, secular and ecclesiastical, saw themselves forced to bow to the non-Christian khans. Some, as St. Alexander Nevsky, submitted to save their people; others as Michael of Chernigov refused to submit and paid the penalty for their refusal. Thus there was good precedent for the two attitudes which the Church could assume and it can be shown that both active and passive resistance was clearly within the bounds of the Orthodox psychology.

In the beginning the Soviet leaders did not realize the hold which the Church had upon the people and did not see the extent of change which would be necessary to root out the code and the philosophy against which they were fighting. They supposed that the mere closing of the churches and the execution of some of the clergy would be enough to prevent any further manifestations of the religious spirit, and they endeavoured by a campaign of open disrespect for religion to rouse the peasantry to join them. They did rouse them, but not as they expected, and a steady revival of interest in the Church followed, especially among many of the intellectuals who had previously scorned it. The persecution definitely failed in its first stages.

Taught by experience that the cruder methods of persecution were not effective, the Soviet leaders sought elsewhere. They had endeavoured to publish crude and blasphemous periodicals in support of atheism. They had tried to discredit the Church in the minds of the ignorant by opening the coffins of the saints and showing that in many cases the bodies had decayed. (Russian popular religion believed that the bodies of the saints were preserved intact, and in the seventeenth century the bishops of the Church had used this belief in their struggles with the Old Believers). Nothing helped and there was still an active religious interest.

They turned next to the process of internal disintegration. Every one agrees that the Orthodox Church needs an internal reformation. Hardly one of the national Orthodox Churches has failed to express its appreciation of this fact. If the Church of England is interested

in improving a prayer book which has only been in use two hundred and fifty years, we can see how the ritual of the Eastern Churches, that took shape sixteen hundred years ago, needs a considerable amount of revision to fit it for effective work to-day. Let us face the problem clearly. It is not a case of dogmatic reform. The questions involve the shortening of the service, the recognition of modern customs, the methods of choosing bishops, etc. Not one serious point of the Faith is in dispute. The problem is the effective method of handling this without falling into Latinism or Protestantism. It is a serious but not an insoluble problem, if only the Church could consider it coolly and calmly.

(To be concluded.)

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE EASTERN CHURCH IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

By W. C. EMHARDT, Ph.D., T. BURGESS, D.D.,
R. F. LAU, D.D., Officers of the Foreign-Born
American Division.

Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. 6/6.

THE joint authors explain that this book is not intended for scholars and experts but for "the man in the street." An excellent description is given of the faith, worship, history and missionary activities of the Christian Churches of the East, and an account of the policy and methods of approach adopted by the American Episcopal Church. The Episcopal Church has been given an exceptional opportunity of getting to know and co-operating with these ancient Churches as most of them are represented in America.

The writers suggest that most Americans are likely to think that the most that can be hoped for as regards re-union is a sort of Pan-Protestantism, opposed by the Roman Catholic Church, forgetting all about the Eastern Orthodox Church, which is neither Protestant nor Roman, and considers Romanism and Protestantism different aspects of the same original heresy.

We are reminded that although Christianity is a universal religion its origin is Oriental. The authors remark, "Some people seem to think that real Christianity was discovered in the sixteenth century by some German, or some Swiss, or an Englishman!"

The Eastern Orthodox Church is really the "Mother of all Churches." While conscious of many shortcomings, it has never felt the necessity of claiming, (as other Churches claim) to have

"returned to primitive Christianity" because it is not aware of ever having deviated from it. They never were Roman and have never become Protestant and are essentially what they were in the first stages of Christianity's existence. In comparing the Orthodox Church with the Roman Catholic, our authorities are tempted to indulge in some rather cheap scoring off the latter. The Roman Church cannot claim the title of Mother of all Churches, on the contrary, she has proved herself to be, at least in some parts of the world, "a step-mother who has ruled her children not wisely but too well." The Eastern Church has not hesitated to define dogma when scripture makes definition possible. "Rome, on the other hand, seems to be characterized by a flair for definitions and quantitative measurements. A theological calculus might be developed from the history of merits, indulgences, quarantines and other things. The exact effect on God which is produced by one hundred 'Our Fathers' would seem to have been appraised." Neither can Protestantism claim the title of "Mother of all Churches," as at least in some of its manifestations "it bears a rather strong resemblance to a painted-to-order ancestor!"

After some description of the Orthodox doctrinal position, its Churches and its worship, we are given a useful summary of the historical contact of Orthodoxy with the American Church.

In 1828 the Episcopal Church appointed its first foreign missionaries for the help and encouragement of the Churches of the Near East and founded the Hill School for Girls at Athens. In 1836 the congregation at Old St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, guaranteed the expenses of a three-year mission under the Board of Missions, not to win converts but to study the life and history of the people and to express their sympathy by co-operation. At the same time agents came from the Church of England to express the same message.

In 1842 the Episcopal Church established its first foreign Episcopate and sent one bishop to China and another to Constantinople.

The Eastern Churches in America are then considered in detail. The facts and statistics here given form a valuable part of this book. There are two million members of these of various nationalities, Russians, Greeks, Syrians, Roumanians, Serbians, Albanians and Bulgarians. There are also other Eastern Christians, the Uniats under Rome, mostly Ruthenians; and Armenians and Members of the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches. The Russian Orthodox Church has a million communicants and three hundred parishes scattered throughout the United States, Alaska, Canada, and the Aleutian Islands.

The Greek Church has from three hundred thousand to half a million members.

The Assyrians are few in number, ten thousand would be a large estimate.

The Uniats, mostly Ruthenians, form a most difficult problem. They came to a country where the Roman Catholics know only the Latin rite and the celibate priesthood. After being repulsed by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of America, their priests for several years continued their work, but their people gradually placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church thinking that their natural allegiance lay in that direction. To meet them for a time the Papacy overruled the decision of the American Bishops and sent a bishop to them. The climax in the affairs of the Russian Church made it undesirable for them to try and approach the Russian Archbishop. Finally, they approached the Episcopal Church, but its policy has always been not to offer inducements for people to leave another Communion and join their own. Eventually the Roman Catholic Church appointed two other Bishops for these Uniats. But these people are leaving in groups and establishing their own congregations, some of which are under Bishops whose orders are questionable or at least irregular.

The ecclesiastical approach to the Eastern Churches in America has gone through the following well-defined stages. First of all, joint services which awakened interest; secondly, conferences which resulted in a more perfect understanding; and, lastly, co-operation.

As regards co-operation, Episcopal Churches are lent to visiting priests of the Eastern Churches in all parts of the country. Often Eastern Clergy put their people in the care of priests of the Episcopal Church until they return, as there are not enough priests of their own to minister to all their people. The policy of the Episcopal Church is to keep them loyal to their own faith and not to make Episcopalians out of them. At Ellis Island, at the request of the Bishops of the Eastern Church, the representatives of the Episcopal Church have made themselves responsible for the care of immigrants of the Eastern Church.

Another way by which Americans have been drawn nearer to the Eastern Churches is through the visits of distinguished foreign Prelates. In 1919 Platon, the first Russian Archbishop of America, then Metropolitan of Odessa and Kherson; Archbishop Nikolai from Serbia; and Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, later Patriarch of Constantinople, and now Patriarch of Alexandria.

The effect of the revolution on the Russian Orthodox Church in America is then considered. During the war it had been cut off from its annual subsidy from Russia, and after the imprisonment of the Patriarch Tikhon, the well-known Sobor, which was convened without his canonical consent consecrated John Kedrovsky as Archbishop for America. His career did not seem to have marked him out for spiritual leadership. In addition, he is a married man, and, therefore, in accordance with the practice of the Orthodox Church, cannot become a bishop. The matter was taken to the

Courts. The Lower Court gave a decision favourable to the Metropolitan Platon, which was appealed from. In April, 1926, the Higher Courts of New York reversed the decision of the Lower Court. This only covers New York and is not accepted by any other State. The Cathedral was then taken over by Kedrovsky, and Platon was removed, to the great sorrow of all Russians and of his many American friends. So far as the writers know, only one church of the three hundred parishes have in any way supported the Bolshevik Archbishop.

The National Council of the Episcopal Church in 1928 passed a resolution that it regretted the decision of the Courts of Appeal of the State of New York, and, expressing their sympathy, suggested that in the event of an effort to remove any parishes in the several dioceses from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Platon, advice should be sought from the presiding Bishop.

The Russians themselves organized, with the help of a former layman of the Episcopal Church, the Russian Church Assistance Fund. Trinity Parish, of New York, invited the Russians to use St. Augustine's Chapel for their services, dividing it into two parts. The larger is used as the Russian Cathedral, and the smaller, with the original chancel, contains the Episcopal Church, where the small congregation still worships. The Corporation of Trinity Parish voted 30,000 dollars for this purpose and a further 2,500 dollars a year for the residence of the Metropolitan, and are renting the church to the Russians for one dollar a year.

The activities of the Episcopal Church with regard to Missions in the East are then described. American charity organizations in the early days had done nothing to stabilize the religious conditions of the Near East. They thought that the old churches should be guided and re-directed on lines that belong to the Protestant tradition. In time these churches, while thanking their friends for coming to their aid, said they could not follow where they were trying to lead. Then came the establishment of the so-called Protestant Missions in the Near-East.

As these were unable to make converts from the Moslems, they tried to win converts from the Eastern Churches. Large sums of money were spent, and after eighty or ninety years there are split congregations. These Eastern Protestants number only a few thousands and feel that they are a class by themselves, "individually sought out by the Providence of God or by the canniness of the American nation," and, therefore, are inclined to be of an inferior type.

Since the Great War, Missions have been regarded in an entirely different light. The great religious leaders have at last decided that the vital religious force is not to be found in the Protestant Mission, but in the ancient Apostolic Churches.

In 1921 the Episcopal National Council passed a resolution that

the term Missions denoted not only the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen, or church extension in their own land, but co-operation with weaker sister churches, especially those of the Near East.

The book concludes by comparing the several branches of the Catholic Church in their endeavour to save souls, with the fishermen described in the parable of the miraculous draught of fishes. "St. Peter has been accepted as the disciple of Western Christianity. It is the Petrine principle that has moulded our Western life, both Protestant and Catholic. He is prompt, impetuous, successful, and to a degree effective—but not quite. He needs the aid of his partners of other temperaments. The quieter, calmer, yet more resourceful efforts of his partners, who with equal justice have been accepted as the exemplars of the East, are needed. The product of the contemplative life as seen in St. James and St. John must be linked with the fiery zeal of St. Peter, if the immediate task is to be accomplished. So it is in our efforts to effect the best for mankind. For some ten centuries we have followed the method of St. Peter, yet neither the world's perfection nor mankind's redemption has become an established fact. Has the time not come when we should question the efficiency of our chosen method and heed the experience of those of other training and bespeak their aid? Then, doubtless, by our united efforts we may draw our net safely to land and place it at the Master's feet."

The book has some good illustrations, which include the new Serbian Orthodox Church at Libertyville, Illinois, the Russian Cathedral, Sitka, Alaska, erected in 1850; the Greek Bishops; and the new Russian Cathedral in New York, this being the nave of the Episcopal Church made over by Trinity Parish to the Russians in their time of need.

C. F. L. ST. G.

THE CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA.

By DR. H. M. HYATT.

Luzac and Co. 8/6.

In our own day few travellers visit Abyssinia, yet just before and during the Victorian era, many missionaries and explorers found their way thither, who have given us a record of their labours in not a few books. The bibliography of Abyssinia is very large, but the books, in our own language, which deal with the Abyssinian Church are few. The present work is not a history of Christianity in Abyssinia, but deals with the life and institutions of the Abyssinian Church. It is well done by one who has not lived in the country, and the writer has given us an interesting and accurate account from his wide reading.

Abyssinia is a vast country with an area of about 350,000 square miles, situated in the middle of East Africa, with a population of about ten millions, people of various races. It is ruled by the Negus, whose full title is "The Lion of the tribe of Judah, King of Ethiopia." He claims descent from King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba; in Ethiopic legend this lady's name is Makeda.

The name Abyssinia is derived from Arabic *habash*, mixture, confusion; it was Latinized by the Portuguese into Abassia and hence the present name. The people call themselves "Ityopyavan," i.e., Ethiopians. Ethiopia and Abyssinia are practically convertible terms. The inhabitants of this vast country consist of three races: (1) The aborigenes (Shangala) who are African negroes; these people are for the most part animists. (2) The Hamitic or Cushite tribes who entered Abyssinia at a remote period of which there is no record. They are allied to the ancient Egyptians and use a language of that family. In religion they are Polytheists. (3) The Abyssinians proper; these are Semites who invaded the country before the Christian era, probably from Arabia. They are the dominant race to-day and make the kingdom and the Church. Their language is Semitic, and what civilization Abyssinia possesses is due to this Semitic wave.

There are three principal languages of the country: Amharic, which is spoken in the south and centre; Tigrana, the language in the region of the old Aksumitic kingdom; and Tigre, spoken by the half-nomadic tribes to the north. Of these languages Amharic is the most important, being the speech of the court, the army and commerce. It is closely allied to Arabic, and the old form of this is Ge'ez, the classical language of their ancient literature and still used in all the services of the Church. It has cumbersome syllabic letters and is now (though not formerly) written from left to right.

Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia by Frumentius and Edesius. They reached the country by misadventure and were taken captives. King Ela-Alada being pleased with their demeanour made Edesius his cup-bearer and Frumentius his Chancellor. On the death of the king they became regents during the minority of his two infant sons. Later Frumentius travelled to Alexandria and discussed with Athanasius the possibility of converting the country. Athanasius was interested in the project and consecrated Frumentius first bishop of Abyssinia in A.D. 340. On his return to Aksum, Frumentius converted large numbers to the Faith. In this he was assisted by monks from Egypt who preached the Gospel to many tribes in both Abyssinia and Upper Egypt. In the 5th and 6th centuries monasticism was introduced by Coptic monks and many monasteries founded. Then it was that Christianity became the national religion.

From the beginning of the 7th to the end of the 15th century, practically nothing is known of the Abyssinian Church.

The writer tells us that "the historical basis of the legend of Prester John was Abyssinian." The legend has a long story, but the majority of accounts which have come down to us place Prester John in Central Asia. Its first source seems to be clearly the Nestorian Khan of Tenduch. It could, however, easily arise in Abyssinia, where the tradition prevails that, in the absence of the bishop, the king performed episcopal functions.

In the 16th century comes an important incident. The Portuguese came to Africa and made a treaty with the king, at the same time sending zealous missionaries to work there. Eventually a Uniat Church was formed in connection with the Holy See. This did not last for more than a century. It was not popular and a reaction came with a new king (Fasiladas, 1632—1667) who drove out the Jesuits and restored the dependence of his Church on the Coptic Patriarch. It was to these Portuguese missionaries, notably Alvarez and Bermudez, that we owe most of our knowledge of his church customs.

The Abyssinian Church has always been subject to the Coptic Patriarch. It was not autonomous but a quasi-province of the Coptic Church of Egypt, a relationship which has existed from the days of Frumentius with the exception of the period of the Portuguese influence. The chief ecclesiastic is called Abuna Salama, "Father of Peace," who is appointed and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch in Cairo. The Abuna is never a native of Abyssinia but always chosen from one of the Coptic monasteries. He is the Metropolitan and though appointed by the Coptic Patriarch is not otherwise under his immediate jurisdiction. He ordains priests and deacons, but is not permitted to consecrate his suffragans for fear he might appoint his successor.

There is a full account of the Liturgy, called the Keddase; it may be read in Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*. The service is a translation of the Coptic rite with local variations. The Pro-Anaphora is unchanging and is ascribed to Basil of Antioch, but it appears to be a version of the Alexandrine St. Mark. There is a number of alternative Anaphoras, but the Anaphora of the "Twelve Apostles" is regarded as the standard form; the others are used on special days. During the Enarxis a long litany is said, taken from the "Testament of our Lord," which is an Ethiopic peculiarity and not found in the Coptic rite. The words of Institution are followed by the Epiklesis and the Lord's Prayer. There is a distinctive feature about the words of Institution. The words are: "Take eat, this bread is my body, which is broken for you for forgiveness of sins," instead of "This is my body."

The Abyssinian Church is Monophysite. But it has some

further peculiarities of its own which have distracted the Church for many years. Three schools of thought exist who have discussed, in the past, the nature of the hypostatic union and the birth of Christ. The normal Monophysite view now prevails.

A remarkable characteristic of the Abyssinian Church is its Judaism. Circumcision is practised, but that may be because it is common throughout the East and is still observed by many African tribes; they attach to it no religious importance. They keep Saturday holy as well as Sunday, and on both days celebrate the Liturgy and rest from servile work. They abstain from unclean meats, like the Nestorians, eating only of that which chews the cud and divides the hoof. But because of these things it must not be assumed that the Church of Abyssinia is not quite Christian. It is true to say that they are a backward race and have remnants of pagan superstition in their beliefs, but they have upheld the name of Christ in the midst of Moslem and pagan surroundings for many centuries. The Church of Abyssinia has long suffered from isolation and lack of education, and when these drawbacks are removed we may hope to see her taking a place in Christendom worthy of her Athanasian descent and no longer shy of Chalcedonian doctrine.

F.N.H.

Εγκολπιον Εκκλογασομένου.

(THE CHURCHGOER'S MANUAL.)

THIS useful little book is a good example of the many excellent manuals which the Orthodox Church provides for her children to assist them in their worship. The preface contains some admirable instructions on prayer—public and private—on the Liturgy as the centre of the Church's worship, and on Eucharistic doctrine. These are followed by a form of morning prayer for private use and by the office of Orthros (Matins) and the Liturgy. A note preceding the latter describes in the following words how the devout Christian should behave on entering the church. "Standing before the beautiful Gates, in front of the Holy Table, before the Throne of the Divine Majesty, he makes thrice the sign of the precious Cross, bowing his head three times. . . . adoring the pure Body and the precious Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ which are upon it in the holy Tabernacle. Next he venerates the holy Icons upon the Iconostasion. . . ." The Liturgy is provided with helpful explanatory notes. A calendar of the immovable Feasts of the year is next given with the proper hymns, prayers and

epistles and gospels. Then come selections from the Triodion and the Pentecostarion. Amongst the former is included the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified. The Great Entrance with the Pre-sanctified Holy Gifts is thus described in the rubric:—"Here, amidst deep silence, all falling to the ground and saying to themselves, 'Through the prayers of the Holy Fathers, O Lord have mercy upon us,' they (*i.e.*, the priest and deacon) come out through the North Door, the deacon carrying the candle and censer and the priest bearing the Holy Gifts upon his head and enter the sanctuary through the Beautiful Gates. After which we rise and make three prostrations." Having completed the cycle of the Church's year, the last part of the manual is devoted to various offices and prayers.

First we have the shorter form of Compline which the compiler designates as the evening prayer for adults—special prayers are given for children—and the two Offices of Our Lady, namely the Acatist Hymn and the two supplicatory Canons to the Mother of God. These are followed by prayers and thanksgivings for Holy Communion, prayers for use during the Liturgy, for various occasions and for the canonical Hours of the day. In addition some simple advice is given on the subject of Confession, under the heading of "Fifteen directions and counsels to be remembered on going to confession." From these we venture to transcribe the following:—

(1) Seek a confessor in whom you have perfect confidence that you may open the depths of your soul to him and conceal nothing whatsoever.

(3) Take care not to put off your confession on one pretext or another, for you do not know what may happen to-morrow.

(8) Say first of all that sin of which you are most ashamed.

(9) Do not try to justify yourself by throwing blame on others as Adam did on Eve and Eve on the serpent, but take all the blame on yourself.

(12) Receive the penance which the Confessor will give you obediently and humbly and fulfil it.

(15) Take care to confess frequently and to the same confessor. If you cannot go to confession frequently, at least you should go four times a year during the four fasts appointed by the Church. He who does not confess frequently or four times a year or at least once at Easter cuts himself off from union with the Holy Church and may God be merciful to him and bring him to repentance that he be not cut off entirely from the kingdom of Heaven.

The book bears the sanction of the Archbishop and Holy Synod of Athens and is dedicated by the compiler to the Great Archimandrite of the Greek Cathedral in London.

M.G.D.

JACOB'S LADDER.

Concerning Angels. By FATHER SERGIUS BULGAKOV. Paris, 1928. (*Russian.*)

All over the world books of a mystical character are being published in all languages. It is as though a restless desire to peep beyond the veil were disturbing the modern man's mind. Much too many writers and publishers, however, seek to find comfort or at any rate mental satisfaction in metaphysical, occult, theosophical mysticism; this was predicted by Vladimir Solovyov in his *Three Conversations* as early as the end of the XIX. century. The last book by Father Sergius Bulgakov, a well-known Russian theological writer, strikes one as all the more exceptional and refreshing. It radiates the light of truly Christian mysticism and of religious joy that springs from it. It is concerned with the conception of angels as contained in the Bible and in Patristic writings and reflects the wealth of the author's own spiritual experience. The world of angels is as real to him as it was to St. John Chrysostom who seems, in his sermons, to be listening to the tremor of angels' wings—and indeed as it was to most early Christian teachers. Father Sergius Bulgakov constantly reminds his readers that the reality of angels is actual but not material; there is an impassable gulf between visionaries of the type of Swedenborg and the Orthodox understanding of the angelic world. The chapter on "The nature of angels," begins as follows: "The whole angelic world is in immediate contact with mankind through guardian angels and it is in and through them that its essentially co-human character becomes evident. Even if angels be divided into different hierarchies, and the higher of them take no part in serving the human world directly, yet owing to their spiritual unity and the unity of the common task before them, the whole choir of angels may be said to participate in preserving our world and to be its collective guardian."

Throughout the book particular stress is laid upon the idea, worked out with great spiritual ardour, that angels play an important and intimate part in the life of individuals and of mankind as a whole. Father S. Bulgakov thinks that the Pagan, pre-Christian mind, was intuitively aware of the world being full of invisible powers, invisible beings. "Platonic ideas are in truth angels of the Word. Plato understood the necessity of basing things upon ideas, the earthly world upon the heavenly. By doing this he translated into the language of philosophy the truth revealed to Paganism—that all is full of gods. Through its elemental power of spiritual vision Paganism knew the heavenly basis of the cosmos, but in its blindness it identified angelic hosts

with gods or rather it identified gods or 'the sons of God' (Job I, 6, 2, 1) with God Himself. The true and Christian meaning of Platonism can only be seen in the light of angelology."

Readers who are unacquainted with theology but whose mind has been stirred by religious questionings or by great sorrow will be particularly struck by the chapter about guardian angels. It glows with tender and comforting faith in the inexhaustible and loving help that angels give us. The book begins, indeed, by telling us of "Our heavenly Friend": "God who is Love has created man for love. The human heart wants to love and longs to be loved. Deprived of love and of loving, it suffers." Every man has bestowed upon him at birth the divine gift of love which finds the most complete realization through his heavenly Friend—his guardian angel. "Every human being has its roots in the heavenly world and discovers in it its counterpart, its friend; it sees itself reflected in that friend, and in loving him, it loves itself without any self-love. To ask whether every man has a guardian angel is like asking whether every man is human, has a human soul and contains the idea of human personality."

Guardian angels are not only the first rung of Jacob's ladder, not only the living bond between the two worlds—the human and the angelic—and unwearying perpetual mediators between God and us: they are also our friends. "A guardian angel loves the soul entrusted to him and that love is for him a personal love. Not only our salvation but his own life is in that love; as is the case with all love, it is vital and essential for him as well as for us."

In addition to two chapters on guardian angels there are chapters entitled "Angels in the life of the world," "The nature of angels," "Angelic life," "Theophany and angelophany," "Incorporeality of Angels," "The World of Angels and Incarnation."

It would be a good thing if this little book—it is not more than 30,000 words—could be published in English. It is written with masterly brevity and is permeated with joyous faith and a very real sense of perpetual contact with angels and, through them, with Him whom they serve and by whom they are sent. "The world is overshadowed by angels' wings. Holy angels constantly ascend and descend between heaven and earth. . . . Angels standing before the throne of God have a life in common with us, united to us by bonds of love."

It is just as though on a dark night, when earthly lights burn dimly, a window were suddenly opened into a vast sunlit expanse of another world, where friends full of wisdom and love await us.

A.W.



The most recent portrait of the late Ecumenical Patriarch
HIS ALL-HOLINESS BASIL III.

(Reproduced, by the courtesy of the Metropolitan of Thyatira,
from a photograph presented to him by the late Patriarch.)

Frontispiece.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

AS we go to press we learn with deep regret of the death of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Basil III. His All-Holiness had been ill for a fortnight, but almost to the last good hopes of his recovery were entertained. Indeed, Greek newspapers expressing such hopeful news were received in London after the telegram announcing his death.

Basil III. was called to the Ecumenical Throne at a time of great difficulty and perplexity which called for the exercise of all his great wisdom, tact and administrative skill.

He was born in Constantinople in 1851. After studying theology and philosophy at Athens he became a Professor at the historic Theological School of Halki. A great student, renowned as a Canonist and liturgical scholar, he was intimately acquainted with the great libraries of Athos, the Vatican, Florence, Munich and Leipzig, from which he brought to light a number of hitherto unpublished writings.

For long a valued contributor to *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, the official organ of the Patriarchate of Constantinople he became its editor on his return from Europe in 1884. Five years later he was elected Metropolitan of Anchialos, and in 1896 he became a member of the Holy Synod of Constantinople. As the representative of the latter body he visited Russia for the Coronation of the Emperor Nicholas II. He was further entrusted by the Patriarch Joachim III. with the delicate mission to Cyprus to settle the vexed metropolitical question in that island. Later he was translated to the see of Nicæa, and on the expulsion of the Patriarch Constantine VI., in 1925, he became Ecumenical Patriarch. The four years of Basil III.'s occupancy of the Throne of St. Chrysostom have been marked by his putting into effect the recognition by Constantinople of the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church of Poland, and by the difficult negotiations with the Orthodox of Albania. Although his elevation to the Patriarchate was greeted by the Turkish Press with suspicion and dislike, his All-Holiness has succeeded in maintaining peaceful relations with the Turkish Government during his reign. R.I.P.

* * * * *

We print below a letter which the Metropolitan Germanos addressed to the Editor of *The Church Times*. The letter is unanswerable: and no less dignified than cogent. We print it with a deep sense of

humiliation as Anglican Churchmen that it should ever have been necessary for His Grace to write such a letter. The Metropolitan Germanos has long been an honoured and loved guest in this country as the official representative of the Chief Bishop of that Communion which was so crudely and ignorantly attacked in *The English Churchman*. We assure His Grace that the importance of the handful of people who would support that attack is not to be measured by the noise they make in an occasional outburst of this kind. The Metropolitan's letter is as follows:—

" Sir,

On the occasion of the cancellation of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to Jerusalem both *The Church Times* and the other ecclesiastical papers discussed the reasons which necessitated this postponement. But whereas these papers were content to publish the material information without unnecessary comments, *The English Churchman* profited by the occasion to make insulting references to the Eastern Orthodox Church. May I hope that you will grant the representative of the Orthodox Church in this country room in your columns to reply to, and refute, these references?

(1) *The English Churchman* cannot be unaware that this Fraternization which was due to take place in Jerusalem between the Primate of England and the heads of the 'corrupted Eastern Churches' was preceded by another Fraternization four years ago in Westminster Abbey, when the Patriarchs of the East—of Alexandria and Jerusalem—accepted an official invitation from the Anglican Church and took part in the celebration of the sixteenth anniversary of the First Œcumenical Synod of Niceæ. All know that that Fraternization in no way contributed to the concealment of the fundamental differences of doctrine between the two churches. The Declaration of the Orthodox at the Conference of Lausanne, which the Editor of *The English Churchman* must have read, and the declaration of the undersigned at the Cheltenham Congress are sufficient to show that the Orthodox, at any rate, are not so far influenced by external courtesies as to conceal their inner religious convictions. How then would this new Fraternization have led to such a concealment? That is what, to us at least, is not clear.

(2) If the Orthodox Churches were delighted by the prospect of the visit of the Primate of the Anglican Church, it was not because, being in 'a degraded state,' they thought they would be elevated from this condition by this visit. Their delight is explained if we take into account first, the friendly relations existing, for a considerable number of years, between the leaders of the two Churches, and secondly, the desire of the Orthodox

to return the kindnesses which their leaders met with not long ago on their visit to England. It is only if we take as the measure of respect due to a Church the unfortunate external conditions in which it finds itself—or found itself a little while ago—and which have not allowed of the full development of its vital religious powers (which, through God's grace, have never been extinguished), that the Editor of *The English Churchman* could be justified in calling the Orthodox Churches degraded. But it is only an extremely superficial mind, which, disregarding the inner nature and power of a Church, would deduce its nature from its external condition.

(3) The Editor of *The English Churchman* expresses his delight at the cancellation of this visit inasmuch 'as he looks with indignation upon all Anglo-Catholic attempts to compromise our reformed Church by an unholy alliance with erroneous and corrupt systems.' It is to be noted first of all that whenever, in recent years, discussions have taken place between the representatives of the Orthodox Church and those of the Anglican Church, such discussions were not carried on with members of the Anglo-Catholic party, but with committees appointed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the name of the Anglican Church, or by the Lambeth Conference itself, as for instance, the Committee which discussed questions of teaching with the delegates of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in the course of the last Lambeth Conference. Consequently, if there was a question of any compromise whatsoever, such compromise was not on the part of the Anglo-Catholics, but of the whole Anglican Church. But that the Orthodox are the first to reject any kind of compromise is clearly shown by the Lausanne Declaration to which we referred above. Certainly, any alliance between a sound and apostolic teaching and a heretical and corrupt system is unholy. But we would ask 'where is the error and the corruption?' Is it in the Church which has preserved intact and unaltered the apostolic tradition, or in the Church which, at any rate in that section represented by *The English Churchman*, has allowed innovations and has strayed from 'the path of truth.' I confess that it would indeed be an unholy alliance if the Orthodox Church agreed to any alliance with such members of the Anglican Church who are the enemies of any Catholic Church.

(4) The joy of the Editor in question will, however, turn to sorrow when he learns that, in spite of the postponement of his visit to Jerusalem, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury visited Athens, and received an official welcome from the Head of the Church of Greece and the Holy Synod in the Cathedral Church, where prayers were said on behalf of the Re-union of the two churches. To add to the Editor's grief, the Archbishop of Athens in his address characterized 'the visit as an altogether exceptional

event, which, without doubt, will mark an important stage in the history of the relations between the two Churches,' while the Archbishop of Canterbury, in spite of the unofficial nature of his visit, in referring to the coming Conference of Lambeth, added that 'he will be glad if, at that Conference, the questions relating to the *rapprochement* of the two Churches are more deeply studied,' and 'that he confidently looks forward to the *rapprochement* of the two Churches, for the benefit of both.' In view of these declarations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, the insulting remarks which the Editor of *The English Churchman* makes about the Orthodox Church, far from affecting the Orthodox Church and influencing the existing relations between the two Churches, will make all right-thinking members of both Churches more eager to work together to eliminate the points which divide them and to pave the way for a closer understanding between them."

The opportunity may be taken to emphasize an important point upon which the Metropolitan dwells in the foregoing letter. Attempts are frequently made to treat the Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement* as a party affair within the Church of England. We are grateful to His Grace for stressing the fact that this is not true. And we on our side speaking for the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, say again as we have said before, that that Association makes its appeal to Anglican Churchmen as such, and not merely to any particular section of them.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate has often been accused of self-interested reluctance to grant autonomy to the daughter churches as they reached maturity around him. And when difficulties arise in the adjustment of the terms of such autonomy, as in the recent case of Albania, the world hears all about it. But should a case of self-sacrifice for the common good take place quietly and amicably without any friction, it attracts far less attention. Certain districts of Macedonia were surrendered by Turkey to Greece at a later date than others. No corresponding ecclesiastical arrangement was made at the time, and the bishops in these districts were left under the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch. The latter has now transferred them to the jurisdiction of Athens, an action of which none can doubt the wisdom and practical usefulness, though the Œcumenical Patriarchate is thereby shorn of still more of its former dignity and splendour so far as numbers are concerned. Thus the Synod of the Church of Greece, which has recently assembled, was

composed for the first time of all the Bishops in the territory of the Greek Republic.

We hear with deep regret of the severe illness of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Our readers are well aware of the burden of care and responsibility which the aged Patriarch has had to shoulder in the difficult years during the latter part of a long and arduous ministry. And there are many who often recall with affection and gratitude his kindly hospitality to those on pilgrimage to the Sacred Sites of which he is the guardian.

The prayers of many English Churchmen will have been with the venerable Patriarch Dmitri of Yugoslavia, whose state of health has caused his friends much anxiety for some time. He has had to undergo a severe operation, and although he is said to be making a good recovery, it is necessarily a slow process. The Patriarch is well over eighty years of age, and has guided the Serbian Church through all the momentous changes which have befallen Serbia in recent years. When he became Archbishop of Belgrade, the country was still the little kingdom of "Old Serbia," of which most English people realized hardly more than the existence.

When the Secretary of A. & E.C.A. was visiting Oxford some weeks ago, he made what was to him at any rate a new and very interesting discovery. At St. Barnabas Church there is a seventeenth century Russian Chalice and two Prothesis Dishes which have been in use at the church since its foundation, the two Dishes serving as Patens, though not originally intended for such (the Orthodox Paten always has a foot). We reproduce in this issue a photograph of these very beautiful silver gilt vessels, but unhappily we have been unable to trace how they came to St. Barnabas, Oxford, all the way from Vologda, which lies some 350 miles east of Leningrad, and has hitherto entered our experience only as a very tedious railway junction! The first Vicar of St. Barnabas, the Rev. M. H. Noel, informs us that the vessels were presented to the church by its founder, Mr. Thomas Combe, in 1869, but how they came into the latter's possession is not known. Fr. Noel had a replica of the Chalice made, so that there might be a Chalice for each "Paten." We are indebted to Mons. Tereshchenko for the following translations of the very difficult inscriptions. Round the foot of the Chalice:—"In the year 7166" (*i.e.*, from the Creation = 1658 A.D.) "on April 11th this Chalice was constructed for the patrimony of the Prilutsky Monastery, for the Church of the Resurrection of Christ and for Nicholas the Wonder-

worker at Valukh" (*the Monastery and Church are in or near Vologda*). On the bowl of the Chalice :—"Receive the Body of Christ, taste the Immortal Fountain. Alleluia." On the Chalice there is also a group of three medallions and another medallion standing alone. With them are the Names of Our Lord, the Theotokos, St. John the Baptist, symbols of the Passion, etc.

Both the Dishes bear the same inscription as the foot of the Chalice, running round the under side of the rim. On the upper surface of the rim one has : "To thy Cross we bow, O Lord, and we glorify thy Holy Resurrection"; and the other, "All my hope I place in Thee, O Mother of God, preserve me in thy . . . (? protection)." The latter Dish bears an image of Our Lady in the centre, and the former has the Cross.

(See the photograph facing p. 102).

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Another photograph in this issue illustrates the back and the front of an embroidered and jewelled Armenian Mitre which is in private possession also in this country. The number of people at hand who can read an Armenian inscription made up of contractions which run on apparently without any break or stop is as may be supposed strictly limited. It was Dr. Tourian, the Armenian Bishop of Manchester, who very courteously supplied us with the following translation : "In Remembrance of Palu, from those settled in Constantinople, this Mitre to the Door of the Most Loving-Kind Holy Virgin. 1199." Dr. Tourian adds the note, "This is a gift from the Paluans settled in Constantinople to the Monastery of the Most Loving-Kind Holy Virgin in Palu. There were three monasteries in Palu, near Kharput, of which this was the most important. The Paluans were famous for their skill in masonry, and especially in constructing the domes that are such a prominent feature of Byzantine architecture. So famous were they that for many years the Sultans had these Paluan masons summoned to Constantinople, to work on the building of their palaces, and so it came about that they settled in Constantinople.

The date 1199 is the Armenian date; we must therefore add 551 years, which brings the date to 1750 of our present era."

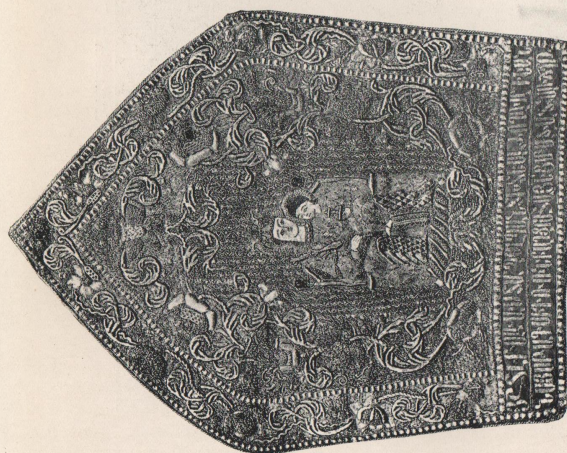
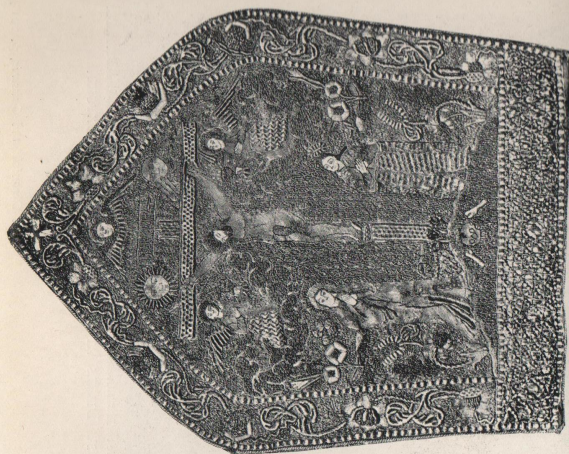
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The Armenian Archbishop Thorgom of Alexandria, who for the past seven years, present or absent, has been the most genial of hosts to the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimages, paid a short visit to London in September. The Archbishop has accepted the Armenian Supreme Catholicos' mandate of provisional jurisdiction of all Armenian Communities in Western Europe. A notable personage by his



RUSSIAN XVIIth CENTURY CHALICE AND PROTHESIS DISHES AT ST. BARNABAS CHURCH, OXFORD.

(See Chronicle and Cause, p. 101.)



EMBROIDERED AND JEWELLED ARMENIAN MITRE OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

scholarship and vision, the Archbishop, who will reside in Paris, will be very welcome on the periodical visits which he anticipates paying to London.

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A pastoral letter addressed to his diocese by Beisaron Bishop of Hotin (in Roumania) claims the attention of a much wider circle. He points out that the exigencies of national and political experience have in the past restrained the free expression of the corporate life of Orthodox. He urges that now the various churches which make up the Orthodox Communion should grow more accustomed to the idea of Orthodoxy as one whole, and learn to act as such. The Bishop suspects the Conferences of Stockholm and Lausanne of Pan Protestantism, but he is well alive to the need for Re-union, and thinks that Orthodoxy should welcome advances from both Catholics and Anglicans." The appeal has been warmly taken up by many Orthodox periodicals, such as *Pantainos*, *Ecclesia* and *Orthodoxia*, which print it in full, with approving comments.

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The 6th Conference of the Russian Student Christian Movement in France was held at Clermont-en-Argonne, July 15th-21st, and was attended by about 83 young men and women. Besides these there were present several professors, N. A. Berdyaev, V. V. Zyenkovsky, G. P. Fedotov, B. V. Vishaslavtsev, G. Florovsky, three Orthodox priests, Frs. Gillet, Kalashnikov and Tchvetverikov, and three English representatives of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, the Rev. L. Patterson, D.D., Rev. L. E. Dashwood, and Mr. G. F. Graham, a theological student of King's College, London. The general programme of the Conference comprised the daily celebration of the Liturgy at 7.30 a.m. and Evensong at 6.30 p.m., and lectures in the morning by the above-named professors, as well as shorter discussions. The Metropolitan Evlogie paid a short visit to the Conference, and gave an address after Evensong on Tuesday, July 16th, and Fr. N. Behr also came over from London. On July 18th (St. Sergius' Day), a meeting of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius was held, and prayers were said in the Chapel, ending with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Slavonic. The more serious business of the Conference was enlivened by games, bathing, and other forms of recreation, and a most friendly and cordial spirit prevailed throughout the whole week, so that everybody enjoyed themselves thoroughly.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND HER HISTORY.

By PROFESSOR FEDOTOV.

MY present task is to try to indicate some fundamental facts in the historic life of Orthodoxy, facts the understanding of which is especially difficult for members of other Communions and facts which can give a clue to the correct understanding of the present hour of our Orthodox Church life.

From the very beginning it is necessary to point out that Orthodoxy is not a national nor a local form of Christianity, but as the true Church of Christ it is the Catholic and universal Christianity. Orthodoxy must not be identified with the Greek nor with the Russian Church, nor even with the Christian East in general. Orthodoxy includes also Western Christianity before the great division; it honours among its saints Pope Gregory the Great and Benedict of Nursia; it includes Orthodox Japan, and separate, although not numerous, communities among nearly all nations of the world. These young shoots have not yet brought forth their fruits and flowers. Until the Orthodox Church covers the whole world with her branches, according to the Lord's parable of the mustard-seed, we are unable to estimate all her earthly historical possibilities. In a certain aspect, as the foundation of truth, she remains unchanged from the day of Pentecost. But in the historical process, in her unveiling, she remains as something which is still being realized and never can be realized to its full extent. The Russian nation was one of the last which embraced Orthodoxy. But no one will deny that it has greatly contributed to the Church by its religious genius. Who will venture to forecast what contribution an Orthodox China or an Orthodox India could make to the Church?

In this paper we shall speak, of course, about Orthodoxy in its Eastern, Greek Catholic form. Limiting thus the scope of our subject, we can justly ask the question: how was the limitless fullness of the Catholic Church realized by the Orthodox East? What was preserved by it as the living tradition of Christian life? It is not easy to answer these questions. It is difficult for the majority of us Orthodox to distinguish the national and the modern elements in our Church life from the eternal and Ecumenical. We Russians unfortunately know too little about the modern Christian East to venture a comparison. You foreigners for whom it is easier perhaps to discern the national aspect of Orthodoxy, will hardly be able to estimate the significance of our present experience against the background of our historical past. The religious history of Byzantium has not yet been written. We possess only its scheme. Therefore the statements about Orthodoxy, made both by you and by ourselves,

often contain many commonplaces, half-truths, or even misstatements, repeated from generation to generation. When speaking about the Orthodox Church people almost always forget her growth, her unveiling process, her individualization in the forms of historical cultures and nations. No doubt Orthodoxy is the most traditional form of Christianity. It perceives its main mission in the safeguarding of tradition. Even historians alien from Orthodoxy have to recognize with astonishment the fact that the Church forms—liturgical, mystical and theological created by early Byzantium are still flourishing with us in the twentieth century. The sixth to ninth centuries practically completed the creation of the style of Orthodoxy (as Eastern Christianity) and the following millennium was unable to destroy it. The East—Byzantium and Russia—did not know the middle ages in the western sense of this word. Our Church did not know the centuries of scholasticism, and the patristic period lasted with her even into the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century a Russian ascetic writer, who was summing up in his numerous works the moral teachings of the Philocalia—the classic of monastic Byzantium—was not conscious of the perspective of history. For himself, as well as for his pious readers, he was the authentic expounder of the patristic tradition, standing himself on the soil of the Fathers, beyond time, beyond history. For the modern West Theophanus the Recluse is an impossible phenomenon. In the East millions of Orthodox people would reject as a temptation the very idea of changes in Church life.

And yet changes are creeping in. The style of our ikons, the language of our theological books, in some aspects even the achievements of our saints are changing. And these changes are of a double character. On one side they are the manifestation of decline (conservative Orthodoxy is the last to deny the decay of modern times) on the other side they are the result of growth, of enrichment, of unveiling. Very often growth and decline are going on side by side simultaneously in different spheres of life or even in the same sphere, thus making our appraisal extremely difficult.

I intend to-day to dwell on three fundamental sides of Church life which are nowadays in a state of growth, of revival, and partially of crisis. These sides are—theology, the social message, and spiritual life.

Let us start with theology. In contrast with the eternal immutability of dogmas—although dogmas too are formulated by the Church at successive times—theological thought is always living and developing. The source of the development is not only the necessity of finding ever new arguments for the defence of one and the same Truth (apologetics) but also the perception of new and new sides of this manifold Truth.

Byzantium was not only a land of deep faith and beauty—as such

it is now revealed to the world—but also a land of profound thought. Till the eleventh and twelfth centuries Byzantium undoubtedly excelled the West in all provinces of culture. After the heroic exploits of Western scholastics, the apparent victory in this competition was gained by the West, if we take as a criterion the quantity and the logical complexity of production. However, Byzantium was not yet dead and in the course of the last two centuries of its existence it created a powerful theological school which is not yet sufficiently explored and which overshadows for us Orthodox the schools of Aquinas and Bonaventura. This school is distinguished by its mystical character and its connection with liturgical and spiritual ascetic life. It is carrying on and specifying the ancient platonic ideas of Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor, developing in connection with the new mystical school of ascetics on Mount Athos. Gregory Palama and Nicholas Cubisilos are its main representatives. When the Greek refugees came to Italy after the Turkish invasion, they brought along with them into this land of Renaissance, not only Homer but also Plato—this being a proof of the abiding ancient tradition in the East.

The Turkish invasion sharply interrupted the scientific life as well as the whole civilization of Byzantium. Under the Turkish yoke the Greek Church did not grow poor in holiness, but in cultural and social energy. From that time the Christian life of the East assumes in many aspects a character of decline which astounds not only a Western, but also a Russian observer. This catastrophe of Byzantium (in which we cannot fail to see a divine meaning) has its parallel in the crisis of the Roman Empire which happened a thousand years before. The Eastern Church, too, had her exodus before barbarians, painful because of the break with ancient tradition. In fact these barbarians entered the enclosure of the Greek Church several centuries before the collapse of the Greek Empire; in Russia in particular, four and a half centuries before. This fact, the half-thousand years of training by Orthodox Greece, bred in ancient Russia a deep traditionalism and made impossible the middle ages, *i.e.*, the creation of a new style of Christian culture. On the other hand Russia, as well as Slavonic nations in general, were unable to take on their shoulders the scientific theological inheritance of Byzantium. Hence the deep and fatal hiatus in the onward movement of Eastern theological thought, which remained undistorted but in a state of suspense for several centuries. Old Russia was by no means a country deprived of culture. Her art, religious art—revealed to the world in our days—shows that Russia was able to master the Byzantine inheritance, not as an apprentice, but as a creative artist. But theology was entirely alien to Russian thought till the seventeenth century, if by the term theology we understand religious speculation and not moral practical literature. This amazing inconsistency of

the riches of holiness and of liturgical and artistic achievement with the complete lack of theological development represents one of the greatest puzzles of ancient Russian life.

This childish speechlessness of Russia co-existing with the senile silence of Greece gives a clue to the understanding of the destinies of the new Russian theology. This theology revived in the South-West, in Kiev, *i.e.*, on Roman Catholic Polish ground, under pressure of the necessity of defending the faith against aggressive Romanism. But fighting against Rome, Orthodoxy was forced to take from Rome its weapons. At this moment—in the seventeenth century—the late scholastic methods together with the Latin language are penetrating into the Church of Little Russia, and are spreading all over Great Russia, together with Latin Theological schools and the South Russian Bishops. The Latin Theological School existed in Russia till the twenties of the nineteenth century, and its influence has not been overcome at the present time. This does not mean that this influence implanted certain Roman—and thus unorthodox—teachings. Some dangerous tendencies of this sort were soon liquidated in the North. But the system and method of the Latin School of Theology remained, which tried to define Orthodoxy as a middle way between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, by defeating both sides with their own weapons. This procedure escaped the necessity of going deeper into Greek theological tradition (especially its later form) and communicated to theological style a reasonably discursive character shading off into rationalism. At the same time as Russia, Greece also experienced in a considerable degree the influence of Roman Catholic and Protestant Theology, without losing, however, its main Orthodox current. During these last centuries the true spirit of Orthodoxy dwelt more in personal ascetic training and liturgy than in Orthodox thought. The connection with patristic tradition was not interrupted for a single moment in the region of ascetic experience. The Greek classics of asceticism never ceased to be diligently read in Russia. It was these—the moralist mystics—the teachers of spiritual life—who were conceived by the Orthodox conscience as the “Holy Fathers of the Church”; her theologians (*doctores*) seem to stand more in the background.

This second westernized period of Russian Theology is now nearing its end. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Russian theological thought, richly equipped by the achievements of western science, more and more turns to the real sources of its tradition—to the mystical thought of Greece. After many ventures the torn threads are again joined together. Modern Russian Theology continues the work at the point where Byzantium stopped. This return to first sources, to the true self-consciousness of the Christian East, in many regards means a reaction from the immediate past. To the pupils of the old school authentic antiquity often seems to be

modernism, in as much as this neo-Byzantine mystical movement likes to work with the terms of western, pre-eminently German, philosophy. Naturally this tremendous creative work of reviving Eastern theology is carried on by human beings who are, as is always the case, not absolutely free from subjectiveness. Not everything in their teachings is incontestable; it is even permitted to say that much is disputable. Orthodox thought, through this crisis, which is in its nature of a reactionary character, enters upon a period of tempestuous growth, which will undoubtedly be followed by a period of revision, summing up and making definite conclusions. A foreigner who cast a glance at us during this time, would see a conflict of different spiritual movements, which would certainly contradict his conception of the immobility of the East. If he is seeking in this immobility a salvation from his own spiritual restlessness, he will certainly be disappointed. However, it is necessary to believe, and we actually do believe, that it is not a revolution which is going on, but a process of growth and a revival of the great past.

The second question to which I would call your attention as most apt to call forth misunderstandings, is the question of social service. There exists an opinion, even among many Russian Orthodox, that our church avoids this service as being of a too superficial and worldly character, and chooses the "better part," that of contemplation. Undoubtedly the Eastern Church, as well as the Roman Catholic Church, in following the words of Christ, gives preference to the contemplative attitude of Mary, and not to the activity of Martha. Yet the right appreciation of the Orthodox Martha is handicapped by a wrong historical approach. In this respect it is the greatest mistake to judge the Orthodox Church by present conditions. There is no doubt about the weakening of the outward energy of the Greek, and even of the Russian Orthodox Church. The social inactivity of our Church (the "paralysis" of which Dostoevsky spoke) has existed since the reforms of Peter the Great, when the State deprived the Church of nearly all her social functions. In Greece this state of things dates back to the Turkish conquest. Looking back into the past we see in Russia as well as in Greece a very intense social activity. For early mediæval Europe Byzantium could serve as an unattainable example in the work of social assistance carried on by the Church. Hospitals, homes for wanderers, common meals for the poor, were in operation at that time. John Chrysostom in Constantinople, and John the Merciful in Alexandria, and still in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Greek monks, ceaselessly developed this activity, to which we find testimony in the Byzantine monastic rules of the period. John Chrysostom the Apostle of social service, was always highly venerated in Greece as well as in Russia, as one of the greatest Fathers and Teachers of the Church. We see the same appreciation of social Church activity expressed

also in ancient Russia. Our ancient preachers refer most frequently to almsgiving and no monastery refused that help which was regarded as a special form of service rendered to the world. Even the hermit-mystics do not turn away from such action. St. Sergius on his deathbed reminds his brethren—"Be not forgetful to entertain strangers."

Only in more recent times the Russian Church, deprived of the leadership of national life, abandoned the world and withdrew into cells and shrines. The nineteenth century however, shows in this respect, as well as in theology, the symptoms of revival. Beginning with the Slavophil movement of the forties, a distinct and uninterrupted current of church life of a social character can be traced. There is much talk about renewed activity in parish life, of increase in the influence of the Church upon the world, of the inner mission of the Church. This current can be conditionally called the Orthodox-Evangelistic current. It arises in its religious origin from the experience of the Church as the living body of Christ. Although this current has been somewhat compromised since the revolution by the application of its ideas in the Bolshevik "renewed" Church, it continues to exist. And although persecutions and poverty do not favour the development of social activity in the narrow sense of the word, we realize, however, that the very necessity of winning back the masses of the people who have abandoned religion demands of the missionary-preachers new methods of work for the church. We hear about many priests of the Patriarchal Church who unite self-sacrificing service of the Altar with work for the social organization of the parish, and especially with work among young people. In the recent past this social movement in the Russian Church was partly connected with Liberalism (Slavophil liberalism) as the reverse side of the social activity of the Church was her emancipation from the State. This brings before us the question of the connection of Orthodoxy with the national and political life of mankind.

It is evident to everybody nowadays that Orthodoxy sanctions and gives its blessing to the national body, and that in its consciousness the Universal Church is built on the free union of national (local) churches. This Orthodox view of the structure of the Church was not disclosed all of a sudden. In the Byzantine Empire the limits of the Universal and of the national Greek Churches were nearly coincident. The Byzantine Church was not inclined to recognize the autonomy of small national churches; this accounts for the lasting quarrel between the mother Greek Church, and the daughters—the Slavonic Churches. Perhaps it was in ancient feudal Russia that there arose for the first time the idea of a religious predestination of every nation—an idea which was for a long while obscured by another idea—that of Moscow being the third Rome, the heir of Byzantium with its universalistic traditions. Only in the nineteenth

century, after the liberation of Orthodox nationalities from the Turkish yoke, the Orthodox Church finds a definite shape as a system of free (autokephalous) national churches. In this system we see, not the influence of accidental historical circumstances, but the expression of the very idea of the Church; the community as the correlation of unity and freedom.

The visible representative of the unity of the Orthodox world was for many centuries the Emperor. The Byzantine emperor was not only the emperor of Greece, but also, in the mind of the East, the monarch (Basileus) of the world, the only supreme leader of the Christian world. With regard to the Church the successors of Constantine, who all bore the titles of "Saint" and "Equal to the Apostles," enjoyed not only great administrative power but also a dogmatic-leading authority. It might have seemed to almost everybody that he was essentially necessary to the religious unity of the Orthodox world by occupying in the East a place corresponding to that of the Pope in the West. There were also numerous attempts to give a dogmatic basis to the theory of the Imperial theocracy. There can be no doubt that the idea of an Orthodox Kingdom has penetrated deeply into the religious mind of the East, as well as into the canonical and liturgical life of the Church. The disappearance of the Emperor could not but leave deep wounds in the body of the Church. However, this wound was not wrought in 1917. In fact the year 1453, the date of the fall of Byzantium, represents the beginning of the new order of things. The Russian Tsars, in spite of the idea of inheritance from the Byzantine Empire, did not claim to the same extent dogmatic and didactic power within the Church, as had the Emperors of Byzantium. Outside Russia they did not represent any power whatever, and were only the foreign protectors and benevolent supporters of Orthodox Churches in the East.

It should not be forgotten that in ancient feudal Russia, previous to the fifteenth century, the Orthodox Church had no other head than the Metropolitan who was dependent upon the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Russian nation of this period did not know anything about the power of the Emperor in regard to its Church, and obeyed only the Bishops, who exercised at the time a much greater influence on the national life than they ever did in the subsequent Tsarist period. We may point out in this connection that there existed in the territory of Great Novgorod (that is in half Great Russia) a system which can be described, conditionally, as theocracy based on democratic power. After Peter's reforms, the idea of the sacred kingdom was amalgamated with the western idea of absolutism, the Church being included in the system of general bureaucratic administration. The interference of the State in the affairs of the Church, as has been the case in modern times, was considered by

many church authorities a violation of the freedom of the Church. Therefore, many members of the Orthodox Church welcomed the new state of affairs arising in Russia in 1917, the liberation of the Church, although this liberation was but a short (and anxious) prologue to the period of persecution which still continues. But there were also some others who could not accept the loss of the Emperor from the Church body, and this divergence of opinion was one of the sources of the dissensions which still trouble the Russian Church. On the basis of all available information and of personal testimonies, it can now be stated definitely, that in Russia herself the Church as represented by the deceased Patriarch, his lawful successors, and the majority of Church authorities, have abandoned the idea of an integral connection between the Orthodox religion and any form of administrative power. It should and must be admitted that the Orthodox Church knows nothing of the dogma of the Tsar, that is of the indispensable supremacy (leadership) of the Tsar over the Church, and can establish the most various relations with the body politic. At present the Church is entering upon an epoch of creative research which causes, perhaps, some distress, but which does not trouble the depths of Church life. Of the ancient, centuries old, beliefs, two at any rate remain as unshaken principles; the blessing of the Church upon the national life of the people, and the refusal of the Church to wield the "Second sword" (this in contrast to the Papal theocracy) the sword of direct political force. Therein lay the meaning of the Orthodox Empire. The highest meaning of it is evidently the protection of holiness as the summit of spiritual life, aloofness from the world and its doings, and prayer and ascent to God. Living holiness keeps and upholds the Orthodox Church. In the present Bolshevik Russia, as well as in the former Tsarist Russia, there live the ever burning lights of prayer and renunciation known to God alone. In the very structure and type of our present spiritual life we see a wonderful continuity of tradition coming down to us from the very first beginnings of hermit life in the East. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Church did not experience any break in the direction of its holiness corresponding with changing cultures. The historian can only note certain modifications upon close examination. Thus the first religious schools of the East, in Egypt, and Syria, were characterized by nearly superhuman achievements in asceticism and mortification of the flesh. Monastic Palestine and especially Greece softened and rendered more humane this ideal, linking it with social activity in monastic communities. It was in this form that the monastic ideal penetrated into ancient Russia and has been maintained there until now in its chief characteristic features. Our ancient saints, in spite of the severity of their life, did not cut themselves off from the world, and devoted time to

prayer and time to works of love. As characteristically Russian features among them their humble resignation should be noted, their love of poverty, their avoidance of power. It would be wrong to characterize the entire Orthodox, and especially Russian, holiness, as mystical, but one can speak of a particular mystical current within it.

Our church language does not know the word "mystical" and does not define the special idea it implies. In speaking of "spiritual life" the Orthodox means both the ascetic and the mystical life in all their inseparability. In fact Orthodoxy, apparently, is unaware of a special mystical way such as is understood by the Roman Catholic Church. It adopts a severe attitude towards manifestations of the emotional elements in mysticism, does not encourage the longing for visions, for spiritual "softness." It sees in these manifestations spiritual temptations. Its ascetics never try to reach an ecstatic state, but aim at liberation from passions by a slow and steady reconstruction of the psychic nature by its absorption into the spiritual nature. In this process mysticism, that is, contact with God, represents simply the conclusion of the ascetic purification. There existed however in the East a special mystical school which elaborated a system of psycho-physical exercises leading to a beatifying contemplation of God. From Byzantium this teaching penetrated into Russia, but not before the fourteenth century, and found adepts among the followers of St. Sergius of Radonezh, whose spiritual life has remained unknown to the world, but whom, on the evidence of particular spiritual gifts, one is entitled to regard as the first Russian mystic. This school flourished in the North, in what were called the "Trans-Volga" forests, for over a century, and has been interpreted in the writings of St. Nil Sorski. In the first half of the sixteenth century this school was completely destroyed by persecutions which it suffered not for its mystical character, but for its protest against the Church's possession of landed property and against the capital punishment of heretics. In Moscow the victory was won by the severe ascetic and ritualistic tendency which exhausted the Russian Church spiritually, and offers an explanation of the double catastrophe of the seventeenth century; the conservative schism of the old-believers and the easy victory of the western influence represented by the Kiev school of theologians and the imperial power of Peter the Great. However, it is during the Empire period that the forgotten mystical traditions reappear. At first scarcely noticeable, these traditions arise outside the official hierarchy, in great forests where they create centres of new spiritual life, shining later all over Russia, as for instance the hermitages of Optino and of Sarov. In St. Seraphim of Sarov we venerate the true mystic and the greatest saint of Russia.

During and after the revolution, the revival of the Church manifested itself, first of all, in the regeneration of the spiritual, that

is, of the mystical life. And this is perhaps the most important event in Russian present-day life. It is connected with the above-mentioned renewed activity of mystical theology. At the present time there may be some reasons in fact for looking upon Russian Orthodoxy as the mystical Mary.

I do not say much of the liturgical life of Orthodoxy. It is right to see in the Liturgy one of the fundamental supports of Orthodox life and in pointing out some other sides of this life I only wish to counteract the one-sided impression one sometimes meets that there is nothing else but the Liturgy in the East. The liturgical life of Orthodoxy (not the Liturgy itself) also experiences the same regeneration as theology and as spiritual life, both of which are rooted in the Liturgy as their basis. Less evident, perhaps, now is the connection between the liturgical and the social life of the Church—a connection clearly manifested in the past. It cannot be denied that this irregularity, expressed in the attitude of various spiritual tendencies of present-day Orthodoxy towards the liturgical side of life, is the reason of a certain tension between these tendencies. Two fundamental tendencies or currents can be distinguished relatively clearly; the mystical-liturgical and the social-ethical currents, both true to the Church, and, as I endeavoured to show, both traditional. In the history of the present division in the Russian Church, this tension, together with the political crisis, forms a certain background. But beyond the superficiality of these divisions can clearly be distinguished the immobility of Church tradition. This has been particularly clearly manifested in the revolutionary schism of the "Renewed Church" ("Living Church"). The radical representatives of this current have not dared to attack any single dogma of the Church, and have limited their activity to the destruction of the canonical regulations. But they were obliged to give up even these reforms under the pressure of the religious consciousness of the people. No programme of reformation has been established during the Russian revolution. The regeneration of the Church which we witness at present, as was said by one of our contemporary theologians has the character not of a reformation but of a "Fulfilment" of the Church. The Orthodox Church remains a living and green tree, growing on the hard rock of apostolic tradition. "The tree on the rock"—this is the paradoxical symbol of Orthodoxy.

THE WILDERNESS OF JERUSALEM.

By D. J. CHITTY.

(Continued from page 80.)

For nearly a century after the accession of Justin our desert blooms as the monastic heart of an imperial Orthodoxy. The leaders of the old strong times, Saba and Theodosius, survive a few years to see their triumph. But as that organization which had gained strength in resistance to Empire takes its place, as Orthodoxy demands of it, in an Empire which accepts and patronizes it, new dangers arise. Would not the political game of the Royal City pollute even the pure air of the Desert? Saba was not blinded by the glamour. We see him in his last year, in Constantinople, with the circus-girl of the Ravenna mosaics bending before him for a blessing, and receiving a bare blessing, and no hope for her barrenness. He desired no more of the brood of Theodora.

And when he was gone was his place sure? Besides, organization was already perfect enough for lesser men to carry it on. It was the pure Spiritual Life which now needed safeguarding. So the true leadership passes from the Archimandrites who are officially at the head, to the great survivors of the older time away in the Utter Desert. It is the simple hermits, John the Hesychast and Cyriac the Anchorite, upon whom falls the mantle of Saba and Theodosius. And after them a more or less nameless crowd of monks carry on their spirit. The fortress of the monks has already been built. The work of this century is to furnish it and equip it against the long siege to come. On the whole remarkably free, in Palestine, from external controversies, the monks are better able to concentrate on their unchanging function, the science of perfection. One controversy upset the earlier years, but it was internal to the monks in its origins, and its doctrinal nature is significant of the predominant interest. Here the old hermits are seen resisting, under the name of Origenism, the sickly poisons of theosophy. More markedly than in the Monophysite troubles, it is the dangers of the Spiritual Life that are being combated.

It was a strange history. About 513 A.D., four monks were admitted inadvertently to the New Laura near Tekoa, but were soon turned out by the leaders of the old tradition. There is some ground for the suspicion that among them was the author of that strange secret work that lies behind the writings of the Pseudo-Denys—the Syriac *Book of Hierotheos*, whose cosmic speculations reveal to us very clearly the nature and magnitude of the danger. Twenty years later they are back firmly ensconced in the New

Laura, with the support of the representative of the monks at Constantinople—no less a person than the theologian Leontius of Byzantium. For another twenty years, sometimes by force, sometimes by court intrigue, sometimes by blackmailing the Patriarch, the theorists, in spite of an edict of Justinian in 543 A.D. against their heretical teachings, appear triumphant over the monks of the old tradition. We have the picture of Leontius leading the monks down from Tekoa to attack Mar Saba, when a thick mist thwarted them and left them stranded near Bethlehem: or again, the streets of Jerusalem running with blood, as the Sabaites were attacked at their hostelry in the Tower of David, and defended by the Bessic monks from the Jordan Valley. But even Mar Saba was captured for a time by intrigue, and the old monks with John the Hesychast at their head were driven to take refuge again in the Utter Desert. At last the Fifth Council in 553 A.D. brings them triumph.

John the Hesychast had fled from the business of his Asia Minor bishopric, to come incognito to Mar Saba as a simple monk in 492 A.D. What was his consternation when Saba, all unwitting, proposed to take this bishop up to the Patriarch Sallust as a suitable person to be ordained Priest! He lived on, partly in the Utter Desert, partly as a walled-in solitary at Mar Saba, until his death about 558 A.D. His old episcopal powers of leadership were needed in the crisis of the Origenist struggle.

But the absoluteness of Cyriac is the fullest type of our Desert. As a boy of eighteen, about 467 A.D., a reader in the Church of Corinth and nephew of its Bishop, he had heard the words in the Gospel, "Whosoever will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." Quietly he slipped out of Church and down to Cenchræe without telling anyone, and embarked on a boat to Palestine to become a monk. For some sixty years he was in the monasteries, first at the Coenobium of St. Gerasimus, then after his death at Khan el Ahmar, then for forty years at the Laura of Souka. At the age of seventy-seven, when most men begin to think of dying, he went on with a disciple to spend the greater part of the last thirty years of his life as a hermit in the Utter Desert between Tekoa and Engedi, at the junction of two vast waterless ravines in a region which even to the monks seemed utterly pathless and inaccessible. Even here his industry fitted the holes in the rocks, in the absence of cisterns, to collect enough water to last himself and a garden plot through the drought of summer.

This sixth century was the first great literary age of Judean Monasticism. Its peace encouraged a retrospective view, and the desire to put on record the prowess of old time before the last clear memories of it had faded away. So in the years after the Fifth Council, before the two great survivors were dead, their disciple

Cyril of Scythopolis put together what he had gathered from their lips and from others up and down the Desert, of the great ones, Euthymius and Saba, whom they had known. In his accounts of the events and miracles which followed their death, and in his lives of those others whom he himself knew, he gives us a store of details of contemporary history, and a unique first-hand picture of the life and outlook and environment of the Desert monasteries of his time. Here is no highly educated person, but a simple Palestinian monk with a great love for his desert, reflecting perfectly, as only a monk can, the heart of the simple people of his country with all their traditions and "superstitions" and deep faith. What if some of his miracles admit of less miraculous explanations? They saw miracle in all life: was their view less true than ours? At least it had lasting power. If the same spirit and the same view are the mark of the Desert monk of our day also, it is not that he belongs to a past age, but that both he and Cyril belong to all time. And it is largely thanks to them that the Eastern Church has never lost the orthodoxy of a religion of common people. The hermit and the Holy Places are at the simple heart of the Church, and where they set the tone Orthodoxy cannot be lost.

The same love of the Holy Places shines out now as ever. The romance of the family of St. Xenophon shows us Calvary as the meeting-place of brothers. Moschus has a store of tales in which the Holy Sepulchre is seen supernaturally protected from the entry of those who had not found the true Orthodoxy. And in the life of St. Mary of Egypt its white purity will not admit impurity unrepented of.

The example had been set for Cyril by funeral orations for Theodosius or Theognius: and he himself was quickly followed by many others, biographers or romancers, in whom the commemoration of saints is made the vehicle of spiritual instruction. At the same time apophthegms of the Fathers continue to be collected. And system is being given to the ascetic theology of the monks. Down in Sinai, St. John of the Ladder is producing that great and bony work which still forms the Lenten reading of every Orthodox monk. And in Palestine there are the Abba Dorotheus and others.

For half a century after the Fifth Council, history is largely silent. It was a time of quiet flourishing, in which in the ordinary course of events the desert was becoming still more densely peopled with the monks; and a crowd of monasteries, hitherto unknown, meet us in the pages of John Moschus, answering to that multitude of ruins up and down the wilderness for which we have no sure identification to-day. This John Moschus was the Palladius of the Judean Desert, and his anthology is indeed the kind of book most suited to such a time of peace.

But the name of John Moschus brings to our mind another greater name, that of his younger friend Sophronius.

Sophronius had been a monk at the monastery of St. Theodosius. The poet and the most literary writer of this period of the Judean Church, he aims in his lives at the summing up in perfect form of all his Desert had stood for. And if any would cast a doubt on the historical accuracy of, say, the Life of St. Mary of Egypt, this would trouble us little. For no work has succeeded so well in handing down to other ages and other lands the true spirit of our Desert's history.

And it was such a summing up that was supremely necessary at this time. For St. Sophronius stands out for us as the link between two worlds.

One biography, that of St. George of Choziba, gives us the hermit's picture of that transition. We see the saint in the flourishing time of the Desert, in the security of Empire, when hermits were spreading through every valley, and the Desert was full of angels and blossoming as the rose. Then of a sudden comes the crash of the Persian Invasion (614 A.D.).

The terror which went before it set the monks in flight and the Bedouin in readiness for plunder. A week before the sack of Jerusalem the Bedouin attacked Mar Saba and massacred the remnant of its monks. In one of its offshoots was a hermit, John, living with his disciple. The latter begged his master to tell him what was to become of the troubles. The old man feigned ignorance, but when his disciple pressed him he related a vision that God had sent him five days before. He had found himself upon Calvary, and all the people and clergy were crying the Kyrie Eleison. "And gazing I see Our Lord Jesus Christ nailed to the Cross and the All-Holy Mother of God, the Mistress of the World, beseeching for the people. And He was rejecting the people, saying, 'I will not hear them, for they have defiled my sanctuary.' And after crying the Kyrie Eleison with tears and groanings, we went into the church of Holy Constantine (the Martyrium), crying there too the Kyrie Eleison. And I too entered in with the clergy in the sanctuary; and when I went to worship in the place where was found the precious wood of the Life-giving Cross, I saw mud coming out into the church. And there were there two reverend old men standing by, and I said to them, 'Do you not fear God, that we are not even able to pray because of the mud? Whence is the evil odour lying here?' And they said, 'From the iniquities of the clerics of this place.' And I said to them, 'And are you not able to cleanse it, so that we may be permitted to pray?' And they said, 'Believe, brother, what is here shall in no wise be cleansed save through fire.' So far the vision." And the old man saying this wept and said to his disciple, "And I say this to thee, child,

that the sentence has gone forth that I should be beheaded; and I greatly besought God that I might be pardoned and He revealed to me that altogether it is to happen; and He alone knows that I never shed blood upon the earth." And as they were speaking behold the barbarians came upon them; and the disciple fled in panic, but they took the old man and slew him and went away at a run; and the disciple coming and seeing his old man dead, wept bitterly, and took him and buried him with the Fathers.

The Persians came and went, and with them went the True Cross and the Patriarch into captivity. As they went across Jordan and away to Damascus the monks of Chozibaa heard voices of the Mother of God and all the Saints escorting the True Cross into exile. Gradually the monks crept back from their hiding-places, and some of the monasteries became inhabited again. But not as of old. The monks were huddled together now in a few great monasteries, and the cells and the lesser monasteries were deserted, except when Lent brought back a memory of the past. For the old security was gone, and the land was full of terror. The Desert had once been full of saints and angels. Now every valley was filled with wild beasts and evil spirits.

But we must not leave our story on this note. The work of the monks goes on. Already in the midst of the disaster, the account of the massacre at Mar Saba forms but the introduction to one of the standard ascetic compilations, the Pandect of the Monk Antiochus. In a few years Modestus is restoring the Holy Places, and Sophronius making Jerusalem once more the fortress of Orthodoxy against the Monothelite compromise of Heraclius. He is gathering together the remnants of old times, arranging the Typikon of St. Saba and the service books of Jerusalem. For, though the True Cross returns, Heraclius' triumph is but a passing phase, and Sophronius must crown his life by arranging the terms of submission to Omar. So he sets the type for a new tragic era; and our Desert goes forward to a time of perhaps even greater if more sombre glory.

[To be continued.]

RELIGION AND THE SOVIETS.

(Concluded.)

III

The re-establishment of the Patriarchate in 1917, after it has been suppressed for nearly two centuries, encouraged hopes that some of the needed changes could be introduced and the Church adapted to the new order. The storm of Bolshevism made the problem of existence paramount, but it could not deny the other problem. Some of the most zealous advocates of change sought to profit by the

confusion. In this some of the leaders were sincere; others were mere opportunists. Still others—and in this they were not unlike the religious reformers in England in the sixteenth century—were unbelieving adventurers interested in acquiring for themselves material rewards and the material property of the Church. All these classes had their chance in the days of the persecutions.

The Soviet authorities realized how much the cause of religion could be hurt in these disputes. They soon began to smile upon them and the group of men who accepted the Soviet Government formed what was known as the Living Church. It found support in responsible quarters and very soon it had received permission to take over most of the important urban churches. Its faith is very familiar in religious history. Attacks on the hierarchy, the saints, the general usages—a mere Russian variety of the extremists of the sixteenth century, starting from an Orthodox instead of a Latin creed. It will be noted that this Church did not deny the episcopate, although it abrogated at once all the rules concerning the choice of bishops.

This first step was followed by increasing disintegration in the ranks of the Living Church as well as the Orthodox, as each new reformer endeavoured to add his own particular brand of reform and each new reform secured a sympathetic hearing from the Soviet authorities. They could feel perfectly sure that it was only a question of time when complete destruction of the Orthodox Church would be effected and when these quarrelling cults would themselves vanish.

Up to this point the Church had made no effective resistance. The Patriarch Tikhon was in prison or under close surveillance in his home. The bishops and clergy were being exiled or executed with disturbing regularity. It seemed that any move would culminate in the complete destruction of the Church. Charges of counter-revolution were always available when desired against members of all religious bodies, since teaching religion to children was a counter-revolutionary act, and many normal processes of the religious life were subject to the same interpretation.

At the same time there was a dangerous growth of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in various quarters. Some of the less resolute characters, desirous of continuing their religious affiliations but seeking to find a comparative haven of safety, began to drop away or to seek a more or less halting support outside of the Church.

We still do not know the truth about the general course of development, and we can say reverently that Divine Providence is about the most satisfactory answer that can be given. The processes at work seem so unworthy of the goal, and so thoroughly illogical is the entire course of history, that any statement must approach the ridiculous.

The Church had almost broken down into an era of Congregationalism. Many of the priests took up the reforms because they had to. They were dependent on their parishioners and on their own labours for their support. Some of the monasteries had endeavoured to turn themselves into labour communes. In some cases they succeeded and merely had to give up the right to receive gifts from the faithful. In others the government checked the attempt by forcing them to enroll other labourers who had no religious interest.

The peasants, devoted with a stolid tenacity to the old order, refused to accept the new ritual acts. As in the seventeenth century they had often forced the priests to use the old books through this negative attitude, so now they refused to accept the sacraments, if they were not performed in the old way. The movement lacked a definite leader. It had no policy, no coherence, no programme, no goal. It effected its purpose, though it had none. Many of the hesitating priests began to use the old forms in order to build up their parishes and in many cases to increase their own income. But a reformed church with old services was a contradiction in terms. Almost automatically it began to drift toward the old Church. The more sincere and intelligent men who had been swept into the new movements came to see that they had made a mistake and by the same disorderly process by which they had left the Church, they drifted back, for we must not forget that the overwhelming majority of the clergy in the new movements had orders from the old Church.

IV

At the same time the world was startled to hear that the Patriarch had submitted to the government. When the first news of this was issued in 1923 it was commonly supposed that it was a piece of Soviet propaganda and was repudiated by the Russian Church among the emigration. Some who believed it assumed that the Patriarch had been broken and was doing it to save his own life. There can be no doubt that this submission of the Patriarch to the atheistic government hurt the old man badly. It meant in a way that the Church had lost hope for the re-establishment of a Christian government in Russia. It was the same as the voluntary submission to the Mongol or the Turkish yoke on the part of other Christians.

Nevertheless the result was astounding. The Patriarch became more isolated from the emigration, but he destroyed the opposition Church. He had not wavered a particle from the path which he had mapped out. His submission meant not that the Church had committed itself to the doctrine of atheism but that non-Russian Christianity had failed its brothers. Peace was the great goal of humanity and what did the Patriarch and the martyr Church of

Russia mean to a prosperous Church that was eager for world peace? Nothing. By 1923 the Patriarch saw clearly that not one branch of the Christian Church would encourage a single shot in behalf of what they all preferred to call Christian civilization. Thus abandoned by all he took the only step possible. He asked the Church to accept persecution as its normal basis for existence.

Almost instantaneously the Living Church broke. Priest after priest, bishop after bishop, parish after parish made its submission. Men who but a few months before were calling for the execution of the Patriarch were kneeling to ask his blessing. Only the leaders of the Living Church and the other movements, those men who knew that for them there would have to be a complete surrender of their titles and perquisites, held out and continued to struggle. Before the submission of the Patriarch he had only one church in Moscow. After, he received back most of the important ones. In vain the leaders of the Living Church tried to renew charges of counter-revolution. The Patriarch Tikhon died in the spring of 1925, a real Confessor, if not a martyr for the Faith.

With the death of Tikhon a new series of struggles ensued. Tikhon had left by will the appointment of Peter, Metropolitan of Krutits, as Patriarchal *locum tenens*, and he appointed in his place the Metropolitan Sergy. Many of the bishops who had submitted to Tikhon refused to accept this arrangement and organized a Council of their own which was loyal to Tikhon and not to his successors. There ensued another period of turmoil but already of a different character. It was a struggle between two parties in the Orthodox Church. Neither boasted of being counter-revolutionary and both professed loyalty to the old Church. This period ended in the final recognition of the Metropolitan Sergy in 1928 and the preparation of a Concordat with the Soviet Government.

At the present time it seems clear that the struggle that the Church has been making has been definitely won. The time seems to be past when schisms and reforms and parties will be able to destroy the Church and nullify its work. On the other hand this does not mean most assuredly that the persecution has stopped. It does not mean that the arrests, imprisonments and executions of leaders of the Church on false or unjust charges have necessarily come to an end. In fact the reverse is probably true. There are still many of the best men in prison. The clergy are still suffering under all the restrictions that have been laid upon them. The laws which forbid religious instruction to children are still in force. There is still a strong and active government-supported campaign against religion and especially against the Orthodox Church. The general machinery of the Church is still ineffective. The bishops who compose the Synod are still liable to arrest. They still cannot act and move freely as befits their own judgment.

The Church does not have the membership that it had before. Christianity, in the words of the late Fr. Figgis, has come to mean more than a formal wedding and a magnificent funeral. People who do not want religion do not need to find excuses for not having it and unbelief is as fashionable as indifferent belief used to be.

In a word the last ten years have definitely shown that the Church has gone back to the catacombs. It has been stripped of those accessories which it acquired in the days of Constantine the Great. It has been turned into a religious institution with its own system of organization. The Roman Emperors could not prevent the organization of the Christians in one form or another. There was always some loophole of the law under which the Christians could carry on an underground and semi-legal existence. This is as true to-day as it was then. The Church has found ways of holding property; and satisfying the letter of the law, it has found new ways of controlling and disciplining its membership; it has found new ways of adapting itself to the problem of existence. The chief weapon of the Government is to-day as then actual physical violence to the leaders of the Church, to such of its members as it can seize, and, as then, such methods may carry with them their own undoing.

There was a time when it seemed that part of the Church might secede, might split into fractions. There was a time when it seemed as if Christianity was doomed. The prevention of that was the work of the Patriarch Tikhon who successfully led the Church from the government into persecution by refusing to take part in the political struggles. The Orthodox Church is still the Christian Church of Russia and the process of adaptation will go on without a breach of continuity—that can be said to-day with certainty.

In wishing to carry on warfare after the flesh, we forget that not the form of the Soviet governmental system *per se* is terrible, but the desolating antichristian spirit of materialism. The forms of the Soviet system are gradually changing; they will undoubtedly change more; of course, this system can suddenly disappear and be replaced by any other. The Church cannot in this be concerned in the reorganization of foreign commerce, the return of the right of private property and such questions, for its chief aim and care is the guarding of the national soul. It is important and necessary for it to unite Russia spiritually and to free it spiritually in Christ, and not to establish a democratic republic, a constitutional or an absolute monarchy.

This passage from *Put* sums up the situation. Western Christianity and Western civilization refused definitely to secure for the Russian Church and Russia a system based on Christian ideals. The Russian Church at frightful cost has reconstituted itself on a spiritual basis to care for the religious needs of the Russian people. It cannot consider the political and external sides of their life, and with this limitation and with the realization that it is subject to unlimited persecution from the forces of atheism and irreligion and perhaps of new religions, we can feel confident that the Church in its policy has rounded the corner and that the future existence of Christianity in Russia is assured.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IKON-PAINTING.

By C. F. L. ST. GEORGE.

THIS short article does not profess to be the result of deep historical study. It is written up from notes made at various times in the course of a reading on the subject that I have made as wide as possible, and represents the interest of the amateur rather than the technical researches of the expert.

It is extremely difficult to give a full history of the Russian ikon, as the subject is still obscure; its literature is very inaccessible, and collections of Russian ikons are rare outside Russia.

It was not till 1905, or so, that, under the guidance of the Russian archaeologists of the school of Kondakov, the process began of cleaning old ikons from later layers of varnish and paint which revealed their unsuspected beauty and colour, and virtually a new art discovered. Sir Martin Conway, in *The Art Treasures of Soviet Russia*, published in 1925, tells us that this work has been carried on and developed on an unprecedented scale since the Russian Revolution. Until this work has been completed, it will be impossible to say the last word on the Russian ikon.

Kondakov tells us that among representational arts, the ikon took the first place in Russian life. Apart from the early Novgorod wall-paintings, we may call the ikon the chief expression of religious thought and popular feeling even in the fourteenth century. Later, when wall-painting became subordinate to ikon-painting, the ikon became the one and only symbol of faith.

It is most important to recognize the æsthetic limitations and spiritual purpose of the ikon.

Prayer was a recognized part of the ikon-painter's training, and his work was regarded as a religious exercise as well as an artistic one. The ikon-painter was not concerned with depicting depth of space or interested in problems of perspective, but in decorating a surface by the disposition of mass, colour, and line. Ikons aim at giving a likeness, not only of the external appearance of the represented persons, but also of their spiritual character.

Every painting of a religious subject is not an ikon, but only such as expresses the feeling of the Church as a whole. It is not merely the individual creation of a particular artist, but an evidence of the vision of the entire Church.

The true home of the ikon was the Christian East.

It originated in the custom of placing a panel portrait of a martyr or confessor on his tomb or shrine. Such portraits attracted in time a part of the honour due to their memory. We find the ikon as an adjunct to worship as early as the time of St. John Chrysostom or St. Gregory of Nyssa.

This ancient stage of the ikon's history is connected with the

custom of the ancient Egyptians of slipping a similar panel portrait under the mummy bands over the face of the mummy. Among other features that can be attributed to these Egyptian portraits are the dark colouring to be found in certain types of Russian ikons, and that ikons of the Virgin and Saints always face the worshipper.

The Byzantine ikon, which took its rise in the fifth or sixth centuries, was the model copied by the Russian ikon-painters. But it must be remembered that the Byzantine ikon was brought to a sudden stop by the growth in the eighth century of the ikonoclastic movement, which so thoroughly exterminated Byzantine art that we can do no more than guess about it, and search out traces of the originals in the productions of later times. None of the pre-ikonoclastic ikons enter, therefore, into the history of Russian ikon-painting. Kondakov asserts that there is no single example of Byzantine ikon-painting older than the ninth century, and that Russians would see and copy no ikons until the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Byzantine ikon went through the following stages of development, which had their influence on Russian ikon-painting.

The Greek, or purely Byzantine style of ikon-painting, gave way to the Greco-Oriental, this to the Greco-Italian, and finally to the Neo-Greek style.

The purely Byzantine style was remarkable for its bright colouring, the so-called folk-colours, bright red (vermilion) and light green predominating.

Kondakov asserts that the Russian ikon, from first to last, drew its inspiration from Greco-Oriental models, these models coming at first from Egypt and Syria and later from Asia Minor, which had from early times adopted the Greco-Oriental style. The models from Egypt and Syria were remarkable from the beginning by their deep, rich, warm and, at the same time, most artistic colouring. The ikons, which are known in Russia as *Korsun*, are marked by similar colouring, namely, dark chocolate or brown, upon a buff ground. These came to Russia from Chersonesus, Taurica, Caffa, and Trebizond in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were copies of Greco-Oriental ikons.

We now come to the Greco-Italian style.

Kondakov has a theory that at the end of the fourteenth century an Italo-Cretan school arose under Italian influence. This was known in its earlier period as Greco-Italian. It derived, of course, from the Greco-Oriental schools, and its ikons had the same characteristics, except that there was in addition a special softness of touch, and a new expressiveness in the faces of sacred persons.

But with regard to Italian influence on Russian ikon-paintings there are differences of opinion.

Dr. E. H. Minns, translator of Kondakov's *The Russian Ikon*,

quotes the following from a letter to him from Mr. Dalton: "There was a criss-cross of inextricable currents, a stirring of the waters all over the place. . . . I rather hold with those who think the Italian influence more superficial and partial, the East-Christian tradition being firmly established below. . . . A curious thing about the Italian influence is, that the Greeks apparently took no notice whatever of Giotto and his suite, but in the full fourteenth century, and even in the fifteenth, stuck to the thirteenth century Italian details—when they stuck to any. This, I suppose, was the Italian art that their own people had helped to form on Italian soil."

Muratov, leader of another school of critics, reminds us that independently of Italian influence there had been a renaissance of Byzantine art in the fourteenth century.

Kondakov would have us believe that the Byzantine tradition of ikon-painting in passing to Russia had fallen from the level of an art to that of a mere handicraft, now and then stimulated into life by pre-Renaissance paintings imported from Italy. The contention that Russian ikon-painting was a creative development of the Byzantine tradition has greatly been strengthened by the discovery that numbers of Russian and Greek masterpieces can now be given dates previous to the beginning of Italian pre-Renaissance painting; this discovery having been brought about by clearing away successive repaintings and laying bare the original works of art. It must be remembered that the repainting of ikons very often changed not only details and colouring, but the general design so completely as to present an entirely different picture to later generations.

In the case of the famous Vladimir ikon of the Virgin at Moscow, Kondakov, disregarding its traditional age and judging from the ikonography alone, assigned it to the fourteenth century. But since the late layers of paint and varnish have been cleared away, it has now been established that it is the original Greek painting brought by Andrew Bogolyubsky with him to Vladimir about 1140. This is an interesting discovery, as it proves that the "Our Lady's Tenderness" (*Umilenie*) type of ikon, in which the Holy Child is represented clinging to His Mother, who appears to shelter him from the sufferings which He is to endure, sometimes symbolized by the instruments of the Passion, was already in Greece before 1140, and cannot be due to Italian influence.

We now come to the history of the development of ikon-painting in Russia, the use of ikons having been introduced there with Christianity by Vladimir on his marriage with Anna, daughter of the Emperor of Byzantium, at the end of the tenth century.

A very good summary is given by Muratov, author of "Les Icones Russes." He divides it into three periods: the Byzantine period (1000-1250), corresponding to the Kiev and Novgorod age in Russian civilization; the Novgorod period (1250-1500), in which a

Russian character was given to the art; and finally the Moscow period (1500-1700), which could be called "The Age of the Tsars."

The Kiev period of Russian civilization has left us no ikons.

With the decline of Kiev in the twelfth century and the transference of power to Suzdal, two schools of ikon-painting became evident, one with its centre at Suzdal and Vladimir, and the other at Novgorod.

The Novgorod and Suzdal schools have left us examples of ikon-painting. Kondakov tells us that although the Novgorod school is more fully represented as far as the number of its ikons, it comes second to that of Suzdal, which stood highest in artistic skill from the earliest times of ikon-painting. The Suzdal school was ultimately based upon the wall-paintings of the many churches built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It supplied Moscow and, since the sixteenth century, even Novgorod and Pskov with ikons. Much was due to the princes of the Suzdal region, who were richer and better educated than the churchwardens of Novgorod, and, as Kondakov quotes from the Chronicle, "brought together craftsmen from all lands."

It was not until the fifteenth century that, in the leading schools of Novgorod and Suzdal, a Russian character was given to the ikon. The most famous ikon-painter of this period was Andrew Rublev. This artist brought life to the Byzantine type without losing its characteristic strength, and also created new types which informed religious art with a new spiritual significance.

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 as regards colour, dark tones gave way to light ones.

We next come to the period of the Moscow School. It made its own the best traditions of the school of Rublev and of the Suzdal School. In the sixteenth century the ikon-painting shops of Pskov and Novgorod were transferred to Moscow, so the best traditions of these schools were assimilated too. 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.

Some critics declare that the next school of ikon-painting, the Stroganov, includes all Moscow ikons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This school was remarkable for its lavish use of gold, also for an over-elaborate calligraphic and miniature style, which Dr. Minns and Sir Martin Conway are inclined to ascribe to Eastern (Persian or Indian) influence. The Stroganovs, who kept their own workshops for ikon-painting, were commercial magnates of North and East Russia, and great builders and decorators of churches.

In the middle of the seventeenth century decadence began to set

in. The close of the seventeenth century is regarded as ending the history of ikon-painting. It was during this period that the traditional type of ikon, with its characteristic strength, gave way to the Fryaz, or semi-European style, an unsatisfactory compromise which can best be described as being more like ordinary painting. The chief reason for adopting this new method of ikon-painting was its greater quickness of execution. To copy the old ikon types required great patience and skill, while the new method only required the general modelling of the body, face, etc. It was also during this period that the regrettable practice became popular of covering the ikon with a plate of metal, called a *riza* or vestment, showing the folds of garments, etc., in slight relief, and leaving only the face and hands uncovered. This became universal in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The eighteenth century was a period of complete oblivion as regards ikon-painting. During the nineteenth century interest revived; encouraged only by the obstinate survival of such a forgotten art among the people, in the home-practised (*kustarny*) crafts of settlements devoted to skilled trades.

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

The Russian Revolution of 1918 put an end to the art, as ikon-painting is now forbidden by the Soviet Government in Russia.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

THE 65th Anniversary of the Association will be held on Wednesday, 16th October, 1929. The Divine Liturgy will be sung at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, at 11 o'clock. In the afternoon, at 5.30, the Rt. Honble. Sir Samuel Hoare, will preside over a meeting at Denison House (Vauxhall Bridge Road, close to Victoria Station). Sir Bernard Pares, K.B.E., will speak on "The Church in Russia To-day," and Mons. N. Klepinin, who belongs to the Russian Academy in Paris, will give an account of the important work of that Institution for the supply of Russian Clergy. This Meeting will be preceded as usual by the Annual Business Meeting at five o'clock. A supply of inexpensive ikons recently received from Finland will be on sale.

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There can be little doubt that for the next few years the most pressing and probably the most discussed question in ecclesiastical affairs will be "Reunion." Paper and ink and spoken words will be lavishly expended. We are, therefore, all the more glad to be able to announce that a London centre for the devotional side of the work of the Association has at last been found. Prebendary Russell, the

Rector of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, has appointed the General Secretary as Priest in Charge, with the understanding that the Church (in addition to its normal activities) will be used for that purpose. Prayers for the Reunion of Christendom, the Office of the Association, Prayers for the Russian Church, and other Intercessions for our work, are said at St. Clement's *daily* (except Saturdays) at 12.10, and again (to meet the needs of varying luncheon hours) at 1.10.

A Low Mass with hymns, with intention for Reunion and the work of A. and E.C.A. is said on Tuesdays at 12.30.

From time to time, as announced, Lectures and Addresses will be given after the midday Prayers.

St. Clement's is centrally situated at the junction of Clement's Lane and King William Street and close to Cannon Street, Monument, and Bank Stations.

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The Revd. Fr. Behr spoke at a Meeting in the Library at Highfield Park on June 17th, when a large number of members and friends of A. and E.C.A. were entertained to tea by Mrs. Moss. Fr. Behr's paper on the spiritual life and outlook of the Russian people, and their view of the Bolshevik persecution, was listened to with great attention. Later in the day he accompanied the General Secretary to St. Barnabas Parish Party and spoke to the people, contrasting that free and happy gathering of parishioners during their Patronal Festival with the crippled and oppressed condition of Church life in Russia.

* * * *

The Archdeacon of Canterbury presided at a Meeting at Lower Hardres Rectory on July 31st, which was attended by the Rural Dean, the Warden of St. Augustine's College, and in spite of pouring rain, quite a good number of others. Fr. Behr again accompanied the General Secretary, and both of them spoke at the meeting. Afterwards all adjourned to the Rectory, where tea was very hospitably provided by Mrs. Middleton; and later still the warden of St. Augustine's took Fr. Behr to see the recent excavations near the College, and the remains of seventh century Saxon Christianity. We are glad to say that at this Meeting the Archdeacon of Canterbury and several others joined the Association.

* * * *

The Russian Bishop Tykhon of Berlin, and the Bishop of Masasi have become Hon. Vice-Presidents of the Association. The Reverend Fr. Puller, S.S.J.E., that veteran worker in the field of Anglo-Orthodox friendship, who, we regret to say can no longer attend meetings of the Committee, has accepted the same office, and so has Dr. Pullan. Serbian friends especially will have heard with deep regret of Dr. Pullan's ill-health and will join with his many English friends in wishing him a speedy and complete recovery.



IKON PRESENTED BY THE PATRIARCH AND SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE
TO ARCHBISHOP LORD DAVIDSON.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

OUR frontispiece is the reproduction of an Ikon presented last summer by the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople to Archbishop Lord Davidson, who has kindly allowed the Ikon to be photographed especially for publication in *The Christian East*. It is a graceful and significant gesture which thus pays tribute to the long, consistent and fruitful labours of Archbishop Davidson for the furtherance of Re-union between the Anglican and Orthodox Communions. The presentation was made by the Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira, who at the same time handed to the Archbishop the following letter from the Œcumenical Patriarch:

"Most venerable Archbishop, formerly of Canterbury, our most beloved brother in Christ, our Lord, Mgr. Randall, grace be to you and peace from God the Father and Our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is our desire, on the occasion of your venerable Grace's retirement from active ministry, to give some token of the deep honour and love which our Church feels, and will always continue to feel, towards Your Grace's person, for all that Your Grace, in the course of a long and honoured ministry, has done for the strengthening of the relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, relations which, by the blessing of God, have, in the days of Your Grace, been so far advanced; and also for Your highly-treasured good-will towards Orthodoxy, and in appreciation of the interest in our Church evinced by Your Grace.

Therefore we, together with our Holy Synod, have decided to send with this letter to Your Grace a small remembrance and token of our honour and love, an Ikon of our Saviour Christ, which we pray Your Grace kindly to accept.

May this holy Ikon (which is a copy made by the Josafaïos brotherhood of hagiographers on the Holy Mountain, from the original in the Church of the Protatos, the work of the famous Renaissance painter of Byzantine Art in the Holy Mountain, Manuel Panselenos) be a tangible sign, for all time, of the great esteem in which our Church and we ourselves hold your sacred Grace, and, in general of the honour with which we regard the Anglican Church.

May our Lord bountifully bestow His Grace upon Your Grace's head and vouchsafe to you many years of health and happiness."

Eirenic Letter from the new Œcumenical Patriarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury :—

Most reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, our beloved brother in Christ our God, Cosmo Gordon Lang, Grace be to you and peace from God the Father and Our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is with great pleasure that we follow the example of our Predecessor and adhere to the custom, which, by the grace of Christ, was recently introduced and now prevails, of reciprocally communicating any changes taking place in the higher administration of either Church.

Therefore, we are moved, by this present to announce to your revered Grace and the Venerable Anglican Church our elevation, by God's Will and favour, to the most Holy Patriarchal and Œcumenical Throne of Constantinople, following the decease of our Venerable Predecessor, the most Holy Patriarch Basil III, and we take this opportunity to send to your Grace cordial greetings in Christ.

In expressing the great honour in which we hold the bonds of brotherly relations, which promote the work of love and general re-union of the Christian Churches and all Christians, and which, in so far as regards our own Churches, have already by the Divine Grace, passed beyond mere external cordiality, we gladly give you our assurance that these bonds of relationship and *rapprochement* with the venerable Anglican Church, in the love of Christ and on behalf of His work, will, during our tenure of this Holy See also be diligently fostered and cherished, and that, for our part, at least, nothing will be left undone that may make them closer and stronger.

Therefore, in the firm conviction that the venerable Anglican Church and your revered Grace are of the same view and disposition, we pray that our Lord and Saviour, who established one Holy Church and desired that all who believe in Him "may be one," may bless and prosper our mutual endeavour.

Furthermore, we beg to inform your Grace that, following on a decision taken in common with our Holy Synod, we have renewed the authority given to our beloved and Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyatira and Exarch of Western and Northern Europe, Mgr. Germanos (who has worked so zealously and successfully and to our mutual satisfaction for the strengthening of these relations between our Churches) who will therefore continue as the Permanent Representative of ourselves and our Church in all relations with your Grace and the Anglican Church, and we pray that, in the future as in the past, he may be afforded your Grace's love and confidence.

Finally, we beseech our Lord that He may shower down the blessings of His Grace upon the venerable Anglican Church, which now, as always, cherishes the love of Christ, and with divine zeal, labours

for His work, as also upon your beloved Grace, both in your high and holy Ministry and in all other things.

We remain, in love and great honour,
Your Venerable Grace's
Beloved Brother in Christ,
PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

October, 1929.

* * * *

The Archbishop replied as follows :—

To His All Holiness, the Lord Photios, Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Our Venerable and Beloved Brother in Christ, Grace to you and Peace through God the Father and Our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is with great thankfulness that we have received the formal announcement of your elevation to the august and most Holy Throne of Constantinople, and we hasten to assure your All Holiness that we and many faithful people in the Church over which we have been called to preside will be remembering you at this time in our thoughts and prayers, desiring that you may be upheld in your high office by the Divine Grace, and strengthened therein by the Holy Spirit for the great tasks which lie before you.

We observe with great satisfaction the warm sympathy of your All Holiness towards the Anglican Church and with all that binds the Church of England and the Holy Orthodox Churches ever more closely, and we sincerely hope that during the time of your patriarchate and our primacy those ties may be strengthened and drawn yet closer still.

We are also delighted to learn that your All Holiness with your Holy Synod has renewed the credentials of our beloved and most reverend Metropolitan of Thyatira, Archbishop Germanos, whom we hold in such high esteem as Representative of yourself and of your Church in all relations with the Church of England.

Finally, at this beginning of another year, let us commend your All Holiness and all the Holy Orthodox Churches of God to the Divine Favour, and we pray that, through all the vicissitudes of these difficult and anxious times, the Divine Guidance may make clear your path, to the Glory of God and to the fulfilment of His Holy Will.

We remain, Your All Holiness, in love and great honour,
Your beloved brother in Christ,
(Signed) COSMO CANTUAR.

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The Greek ecclesiastical Press gave impressive accounts of the funeral of the late Œcumenical Patriarch, which took place in the presence of a vast concourse of people who from earliest dawn thronged the precincts of the Patriarchal Church and the neighbour-

ing streets. The priests of the Russian, Serbian and English parishes attended, and took part in the stately service at the Patriarchal Church before the body was carried to Baloukli for interment next to the tomb of Joachim III. Orthodoxy thus describes the procession: "First came the Patriarchal ushers, followed by two deacons, one bearing a vial of wine and the other a salver with rusks. These were followed by two lines of hexapteriga, after which came six archimandrites. The hexapteriga of the Patriarchal Church followed, and the Patriarchal choirs singing the processional funeral hymn. Next came the clergy of the Patriarchate, and after them the Metropolitans of Silivria, Myra, and Laodicea, with the Patriarch's deacons on both sides of them, carrying censers and the two-branched and three-branched candlesticks. Finally came all the Metropolitans, bishops, the Great Protosyncellus, the Chief Secretary and the Great Archimandrite."

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The Œcumenical Throne was spared a long widowhood, and on October 7th a unanimous decision elected the Metropolitan of Derkos to succeed Basil III. He took the name of Photios and so becomes Photios II. The new Œcumenical Patriarch is comparatively young—he is fifty-five years of age, and a man of intellectual and spiritual powers well qualified to carry on the best traditions of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. At his enthronement he was thus addressed in the Great Proclamation: "The Sacred Body of Most Holy Metropolitans having elected Your All-Holiness Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Œcumenical Patriarch, summon You, in conjunction with the holy clergy and with the acclamations of the whole body of the Orthodox faithful, to ascend this most Holy Apostolic and Œcumenical Throne. Ascend therefore most Holy Lord, its steps and adorn it to old age, as your predecessors adorned it, Andrew the First-called, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Photios the Renowned, Michael Cerularius, Gennadius Scholarius, Samuel the Byzantine, and the remainder of the august company who by happy lot reigned gloriously as Patriarchs, and guide both clergy and laity who are entrusted to You from on high into the paths of salvation and the pastures of evangelical grace." And when he was given the Pastoral Staff, these words were said: "Receive this Staff which typifies the rod of Moses, that as he divided the Red Sea and brought Israel of old safely to the Promised Land, so You, leaning thereupon may lead the new Israel safe and unharmed into the eternal Land of Promise. Be strong and of good courage, for that You must give account to our God and Chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ." The Patriarch replied "I give thanks and I pray that I may fulfil the expectations of the Church."

It is no secret that the new Patriarch is keenly interested in the Re-union movement, and cordially disposed towards the Anglican Communion.

Last October the clergy of the Metropolitan See of Thyatira met in Conference under the Presidency of the Archbishop Germanos in Paris. The Conference lasted four full days, and opened with a Pontifical Liturgy in which four priests took part. At each session a paper was read and discussion followed, after which the President summed up and indicated points to which the committee should direct its attention. This committee (*ad hoc*) then met and formulated its conclusions in the shape of simple proposals. There were five such papers: (1), "The catechetical work of the priest abroad" (The Protopriest C. Callinicos of Manchester); (2), "Preaching; its time, place, subject-matter and language" (The Archimandrite T. Paraskeuaides of Leipzig); (3), "Confession and the Eucharist, and the Fast preceding it, from a practical point of view" (The Archimandrite J. Andreades of Munich); (4), "The Service of the Divine Liturgy; the Celebrant. The Service of Mattins with or without a Reader" (The Archimandrite A. Paradeises of Paris); (5), "The social activity of the Greek priest abroad" (The Great Archimandrite M. Constantinides of London). The last day was occupied in hearing and discussing the reports of the several committees, and the whole Conference closed with the doxology and prayers of thanksgiving.

* * * *

Some of the finest examples of Russian ikonography have been on view in London, and no doubt many of our readers have been to South Kensington to see them. It was a splendid collection, which showed the Russian ikon not only at its best, but also at the different stages of its historical development. We imagine that few visitors to the exhibition were disappointed, though they may have experienced there a curious blending of enthusiasm and grief, of reverence and indignation. For the collection was lent by the Soviet Government. Why? We know what the Soviet Government thinks of the Faith which created the ikons and inspired their painters. Is it possible that while Bolshevism regards Christianity as an evil in itself, yet thinks one of its characteristic products is so good as to be worth touring Europe with? As for the ikons themselves, if in a sense the glory is departed in that they are now stripped of their adornment of precious metal and stones, yet in a better sense the glory is recovered, for many of them have been most skilfully cleaned and now reveal their first beauty as the painters left them. The catalogue represents most of the ikons as having been brought from such and such a Museum. It would be interesting to know how long they have been in these Museums and where they were before!

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The Sixth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage is announced to leave London on April 29th, 1930, and the itinerary will include Egypt, Athens and Constantinople, as well as the Holy Land, which is of course its main objective. An excellent "Pilgrim's Manual" (2s. 6d.) has been

edited by the Rev. G. N. Whittingham. The contents are mainly devotional, but practical information, historical notes, and so on, are added by various contributors. Many pilgrims in spirit as well as pilgrims in fact will find this admirable little book of great value.

THE SPIRIT OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY.

By the REV. D. J. CHITTY.

(A Paper read before the Egyptian Fellowship of Unity. Cairo, November 8th, 1929.)

BOTH in Russian and in Syriac, "Orthodoxy" (*ὀρθὴ δόξα*) is translated not "right opinion," but "right glory"—right worship. The sense given is incomplete, but significant. For it means that here the criterion is not the head but the heart. But the heart is not thought of as the seat of the emotions. It is the seat of intellectual vision; the head can work out our understanding, but only the heart can open to us material for understanding. For too long in the West the proud head of man has tried to do without the heart, or to treat it as merely the seat of the emotions, a useful but dangerous servant. And inevitably the proud head of man has lost its organic link with Reality and tried to replace it with Logic. The work of Orthodoxy is to bring our minds down from the lofty throne of the head, into the humility of the heart, where Reality is to be found.

The humility of the heart—for the heart is in abasement before the vastness of God: at the same time the Historic Facts of Christ are seen with intense realism in the intimacy of the Holy Spirit by which the heart finds in these facts its own royal freedom.

In Orthodoxy, Doctrine and Worship and Life are one.

In the West this is forgotten. The continued use of the Latin language divorced doctrine from worship in such a way that doctrine became a system of philosophy, and worship a system of emotional expression, both superimposed upon life.

At the same time the fact that the priest alone commonly understood the Liturgy made him the final authority in its interpretation.

But the ideal of the Orthodox Church has always been that the Liturgy should be in the language of the people. As a result, their Liturgies being the great vehicles of doctrine, the people learn their doctrine as they offer it in worship. So the understanding is kept in its right dependence on the heart, and the worship is saved from emotionalism. Both are held to a reality, which is known to be beyond understanding and above worship, but intimately present to both. The fulness of our religion is no

theory, but is known in prayer; and nothing can break such knowledge.

Humility and awe have kept the Liturgy so balanced in the face of Reality that no moment, however holy, comes forward out of its proper proportion to blur the whole. The worshipper may not notice it all while he is in Church, but he departs and this unobtrusive thing goes on working its way into all his life. The Liturgy becomes his ineffaceable background.

And, again, because the Liturgy belongs to the people, the Liturgy itself is the final authority, and the peasant can on occasion appeal to it against priest or scholar, and be justified. Seen on a larger scale this means that neither Pope nor Patriarch, nor in itself even an Ecumenical Council, have the final authority. Only the actual consent of the people of the Church confirms their decisions and proves them to be indeed the infallible voice of the Church.

Again, in the West the individual authority of priest, bishop, pope, encouraged a wrong kind of individualism which on the whole only became more developed in the Reformation when every man became his own Pope. Religion had become something superimposed. Men tried to find the way out each in his own heart. But the danger here is lest he should forget that the reality he knows in his own heart is the same reality that reveals itself to him in the world around him. The heart must not be an escape from that world, only a fuller, closer entry into it. The nearer you are to God, the nearer you are to your neighbour. And God cannot be any man's monopoly. To the Orthodox, Church Life and the Life of the Soul are seen to be really identical. It is possible for some saints to live a full Church Life in real isolation, without even the services of the Church, and with only one simple prayer constantly repeated. But before this can be attained we need to be very sure of our Church Life.

The Orthodox Church, which is the Church *par excellence* of Liturgical worship, is also the Church *par excellence* of the Hermits.

We are afraid lest theology should obscure the simplicity of Christ's intimacy with us. Some men try to do without theology. The Orthodox also understand this fear. But their answer as a Church is to throw all the fulness of their theological thought into their worship. Its very bulk suggests the awful fulness of God and makes us afraid to dwell on any single point too long, lest it should upset the balance and simplicity of our approach to and worship of God. I have an idea that many western ways of meditation are rather alien to the Orthodox spirit.

The Church is something intensely real and present and yet something above us. For Orthodoxy is always based not on any thought of a legal minimum to be required (Latin ideas on works

of supererogation are contrary to the Orthodox spirit), but as a maximum, an ideal which will always be above us, but which remains our necessary aim. The individual cannot attain to it, but he is anchored to it in the Church. The Orthodox speaks of himself as a member of the Orthodox Church, but cannot think of himself as individually an Orthodox or a Catholic, in isolation from thought of the whole Church. Only the Church is truly called Orthodox or Catholic. He is in the Church by the power of the spirit holding him, the bonds of love. So it is that in the Liturgy, the creed is introduced with the words, "Let us love one another, that we may confess . . ."—for apart from the Life of the Church no individual can make a true confession of Faith; even if he uses the same words, their meaning cannot be complete except in the Life of the Church. Only this life does mean that each member partakes of the intimacy of the Spirit. It is surely incredible that for an Orthodox the question should arise, as it does for the Latins, whether the mystical way of Union with God is for all Christians, or is only possible for some. Of course, it must be for all.

Again the fact that Orthodoxy is elicited, not imposed, means surely that even had Adam not fallen, the Incarnation was the only inevitable fulfilment of creation. Here again a Latin problem would not arise for the Orthodox. This cosmic nature of Orthodoxy, which comes not to snatch us away from creation, but to save and glorify all creation, leads us on to the thought of Orthodoxy as a religion which must attach great importance to its historical nature. Christ took human nature, not that human nature might be absorbed or lost in God, but that it might really find its fulness in Him. This means that the body, the material world, etc., can never be matters of indifference to the Orthodox. This is why the historic and visible Unity of the Church can never be a secondary matter to the Orthodox Church. For her, if at any period there had ceased to be one Body retaining the fulness of the faith and the visible Unity of the Church, then at that period the Incarnation of the one Christ would have ceased to be a present fact. For the Church is the Risen Body of Christ still present and incarnate. But of that I must speak more later.

The Orthodox Church is the Church of the Holy Places. This is no superstitious attachment, but the same attention to history. To neglect them would be rather like neglecting the Bible. She is at home in all the world and yet inevitably she does come back to the Holy Places as we all come back to the homes of our childhood, with a special love. And somehow if we lost that special love, we should lose with it our power for loving any other place in all the world. The Orthodox Church is alone really at home in the Holy Places, and perhaps this is a symbol. It is odd how to-day with the development of Asia, we are beginning

to see Jerusalem as really the Centre of the World, the one meeting-place of East and West. And is it not likely that the Church which has never been westernized, the Church of the land in which Our Lord lived, would be the one most fitted to show how Christianity is to acclimatize itself to India, China or Japan?

Behind this, further, there is the fact that Orthodox understanding of the Incarnation is such as to necessitate a deeper attention to the Old Testament than has become common in the West. And we might remember here how one of the traits of Orthodoxy is its power to search out and wait for the spark of truth in most unexpected people. Here, at least, Christ has not ceased to live with the publicans and sinners. Dostoevsky's novels are a lesson for us in this.

Every element in man's character is of value for God, and no method must be accepted which would prevent their free conversion. God took our nature upon Him, not in order to lecture us or to impose a law, but to share all the fulness of our troubles and temptations in order that He might save and glorify them all, not by force but by their free awakening to His Light.

This utterness of the Incarnation is accepted uncompromisingly by the spirit of Orthodoxy. It is often misunderstood, and here are some of the deepest contrasts between Orthodoxy and the West. It is the fact of which I have already spoken when I was speaking of Orthodoxy as fundamentally a religion of the people—salvation is not handed down to us from above, but shared with us on our own level by the King of All. The Hierarchy depends upon the reality of the whole Church, and the Laity is itself a sort of priestly order. This is why Orthodoxy accepts, in order to make Christian, the simple beliefs of country folk. It has no need to be afraid of "superstition" since that also can be converted; and only an un-Christlike presumption of the head—the educated people—could abolish it. It accepts the folk-lore of religion as of positive value among people who have no need to make the western distinction between mystical and scientific reality. And here also we must realize once more how "education" in our sense is not seen as a primary necessity even for the clergy. It is too apt to make of the clergy a higher class. And in their religion no education could be as full or as well balanced as that provided in their worship. The peasant priest or monk who remains a peasant is a fulfilment of Christ's principle of Incarnation. He is one of the greatest assets of an Eastern Church.

As a counterpart to this, it is noticeable how many of the most important theologians of the Orthodox Church are laymen.

Another result of this readiness of Orthodoxy to wait—to elicit and never to force—is the absence of sentimentality. Each man in being Orthodox must be true to himself. Orthodox people will draw this distinction—that while Latinism fits all men into an

imposed system, Orthodoxy demands character, individuality, in every man. This is in some ways the source of its greatest difficulties; but it is near to the greatest of its possessions. A man cannot be Orthodox save by a positive liberating act of his own free will—there is no easy resignation, but a resignation by way of an unending wrestling with God. An imposed religion depends too much upon the power of emotions directed from without. Orthodoxy has its emotions stirred only from within. This is why we have noted in it the combination of fearlessness of emotions with an intense cold-bloodedness. And at the same time it gives a tremendous masculinity to Orthodoxy. We remember that the starkness of the hermit ideal belongs in some degree to all Orthodox people.

The principle of the Incarnation explains also the Orthodox attitude towards State and Nation, which has been grossly misunderstood in western Europe. Orthodoxy cannot think that the Church should be indifferent to political matters. For this would mean that the Incarnation was concerned only with a part of life, not with the whole. On the other hand, she can never take the Latin line of seeking independence of the State by making herself a State, or ruler of States, for this would be for Our Lord to accept in Gethsemane the defence of the twelve legions of angels. The Church accepts Constantine as a Saint because in him was brought into the open a real vision—that of the possibility of a Christian State. She accepts the state in order to save and convert and glorify it, while she is perfectly conscious of the dangers. So she sends out her monks into the desert as a safeguard, in order that if the State fall back in practice into its un-Christian life, she also may be able, if necessary, to fall back imperceptibly but surely into the old martyr condition, which she has learnt in the centuries of Persecution. She must always aim at a Christian Empire, not an Imperial Church. Christ is King before He is Priest, and so the King, layman as he is, and not the Bishop, is in a sense, the highest hierarchy, the highest personal sacrament in the Church. Latins call this Caesaro-Papism, and it is full of dangers, but anything save an acceptance of it in spite of its dangers must be an abandonment of the full ideal of the Incarnation. Only the Church must always retain the martyr background. It must serve the State for the State's sake by submission whether to martyrdom or to honour.

This implies also that the Church must recognize the tremendous Christian value lying behind those dangerous qualities of nationalism and patriotism. The use of the language of the people is one side of this. It means that Orthodoxy believes that universal love is to be found through the full right development of home-love in all men, not by a homeless cosmopolitanism. Jerusalem, which is always the heart, not the head, of the Church, keeps alive the

true historical internationalism without which objective Christianity would be impossible. The example of the Russian Mission in Japan is a tremendous example of the efficacy of this Orthodox ideal. We know how strong is Russian Nationalism. But just because he had learnt the truth of Nationalism in Russia, the Russian Bishop in Japan, when the Russo-Japanese war came, authorized and encouraged prayers in the Japanese-Orthodox Churches for the Japanese Army fighting against Russia. And every Orthodox Russian will speak of this with pride.

But Orthodoxy is not the mere imitation of Christ. It is the acceptance not only of His Cross, but of His Triumph. Christ has risen from the Dead, by death trampling upon death. This is the heart of Orthodox objectivity. Apart from it, Christ would be another and greater Socrates. But in it the work of the Incarnation bears fruit. "He became man in order that man might be deified." The human nature which He took in all its fulness, the death which He underwent is in all its fulness taken up, raised in power, ascended into the very heart of the divine nature. Death is swallowed up in victory. So all that went before, all the suffering, is transformed from a mere moral story into a joyful triumphant present fact. Calvary for all the intensity of Orthodox devotion to the Cross, is on one side in the Church which it shares with the Tomb. We Westerners call that Church the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and wonder why the place of the Dead Body is more central in it than Calvary. Then we learn that to the Orthodox, Greek or Arab, it has always inevitably been the Church of the Resurrection; and the Tomb from which the Fire of the Divine Life goes out to spread through all the world, is seen indeed as on earth the true centre and source of the world's life. Of course, Calvary is on one side where death is swallowed up in Victory.

Even in their thought of the Cross, the Orthodox emphasize rather the agony in the Garden, the pain of Mary, the human nature, standing at the Cross foot praying for the Resurrection, than the triumph of the Crucified.

And it was not only He who rose from the Dead. He raised with Him the Dead of olden times. And he communicates His risen life to us. So the cross that the Saints bear is no copy, but Christ's own Cross, brought to them by Himself in His risen life.

Christ has sent to us His Spirit to take us really literally up into His triumphant Life, even now while we are still living on earth. And by this Gift the whole world for us, the whole of our beings, is transfigured and transformed—so absolutely that the Orthodox must think of this transfigured reality as the absolute reality even here and now. His whole doctrine is taking for granted this transfiguration reality; it is true in the Spirit and can only be believed or understood by those who will accept it on

this level. One of the deepest of Orthodox accusations against Latinism—and the whole West in its following—is that owing to lack of real Christian Faith in the Resurrection, it has tried to drag Christian truth down and back to the old pre-Resurrection level. Hence, western Scholasticism; and here also is the reason why in the Oberammergau Passion Play people feel that something is wrong when they come to the Resurrection. Here also is the difference between eastern and western religious pictures. The western picture even at its most beautiful is moralist, a type of human aspiration; the eastern Ikon even at its crudest is a window through which Heaven looks in upon us.

The whole world is transfigured and we in it. He became Man that we might become God. The West is afraid of saying this. But it is the essence of the matter, the only fulfilment of the Incarnation for the East. The Spirit makes us literally members of Christ. In us the Incarnation is continued and the Resurrection extends its sphere. And He giveth not the Spirit by measure. As in the Incarnation, so in the Gift of the Spirit, He gives without reserve. He entrusts Himself utterly to us, and that is why He is our judge.

If we would understand the staggering absoluteness of the Christian Faith, we do well to remember Our Lord's Baptism in Jordan. It is terribly neglected in the West. To the East it is the greatest revelation of the Trinity. What is happening here? About the person of Jesus is breaking out into man's sight, not a picture of the Trinity, but the very fact of it. That Father's voice proclaiming Him, that pure dove-embodied spirit of the Father's love and hallowing which now descends upon Him is no new thing. Unseen it has been happening all through His life. More than that, present before us is the fact which is before Abraham was, before the world began to be created. Here in a point in time is the pure act which contains and transcends all time, and a man is the focus of its manifestation. All that God is, is revealed in immediate reality upon the man Jesus.

Think on and you find that this is always the Spirit's work. When the Spirit brooded on the face of the waters, when the Spirit spake by the Prophets, when the Spirit overshadowed Mary, always the Son remained the goal of the Spirit's Work. The Spirit's Work in creation is always the framing and hallowing of the Incarnation. And afterwards it continues so. When the Spirit descended upon the Apostles, the Spirit was not merely sent by a Christ remaining aloof. The descent of the Spirit brought Christ again to the Apostles by forming Him in them and making them His body. And upon this Body, as in Jordan, all that God is, is shown forth to man. Here is the astounding fact that just as our Eucharist is a real partaking in the actual Last Supper, so the Baptism of each one of us is the real Baptism of Our Lord in

Jordan, extended to us, and by the revelation through and upon us of all that God is, our very human nature is really made divine.

So always in Christ's life, which we share in the Church, we know the Holy Spirit descending, not from an aloof Christ upon us, but from the Father upon Christ being made incarnate in us. That is why Filioque is really impossible for the Orthodox.

The overshadowing of the Spirit is the very essence of Orthodox Church Life. To the Orthodox as for St. Irenæus, "Where the Spirit is, there is the Church; and where the Church is, there is the Spirit." No act of the Church is possible apart from the Spirit. In the West the mechanical theory of the Sacrament gives implicitly to the hierarchs—priests, bishops, or Pope—the powers which only belong to the Spirit. The Pope defines doctrine. The Bishop ordains a man, and his act is valid apart from the question whether he has the authority of the Church. The Priest consecrates the Eucharist by repeating a form of words mechanically. But to the Orthodox only the Spirit is the criterion of doctrine. "None but the Spirit can know the things of the Church." The priest or bishop in the performing of Sacraments is but the tool of the Spirit, so that he says, not "I baptize . . .," "I absolve . . ."; but, "The servant of Christ, N., is baptized etc." And in the Consecration of the Eucharist the recital of the words of institution is but a proclamation of the right by which we now can celebrate the Eucharist: it is only brought into the fulness of present reality in answer to the invocation praying for the descent of the Holy Spirit on us and on the Gifts, changing them . . .

The word Sacrament is western. The eastern word is simply Mysteries—Secrets—things which we know but don't understand—and that gives the real sense better. The reality of the Blood and Body of Christ in the Eucharist is so intense for the Orthodox that the Latin explanation of "trans-substantiation" must offend him. "We believe," a Russian said to me, "that it is the Flesh of Christ, not the Meat of Christ." It is his Risen Body, not the old "natural," untransfigured Body, that we receive. But the one mystery is not to be thought of apart from the whole Church. The Church is Christ's Body, and the Eucharist is Christ's Body; not in a different manner, but as the heart of this same presence in the Church, as the means by which the Life of the Church is preserved and imparted in her members. The Orthodox approaching the Sacrament prostrates himself. But as he goes away after partaking he bows to none, for the heart of all Church life is at that moment seated in him.

But again it is not forgotten that even in the height of the deification of man the distinction between human and divine is not blurred. At the heart of the Liturgy itself the priest, bending

before the consecrated Body and Blood, confesses to the Father, "we bend not to Flesh and Blood, but to the fearful God."

And as the Eucharist has no meaning apart from its place in the Life of the whole Church, so it is also with all the mysteries of the Church. How can the Secrets of the Church exist where the fulness of the Church is not? So, while, *e.g.*, Apostolic succession is necessary in the Ministry, it is not enough. It must be accompanied by the authority of the Church. So logically the Orthodox position is even far more extreme than the Latin.

But the Spirit of the Church is not bound by human logic, and the Church can recognize outside her visible unity some kind of continued life of the Spirit. So it is that she can if she likes regard the gain of the fulness of Orthodoxy as itself completing what was lacking in Sacraments received outside her Unity. This is what is known as the principle of Economy.

And yet all that I have said has hardly touched upon the deepest and truest Life of the Church. What, after all, is this Life, this Family or Body? It is not just its earthly manifestation, but it is the full content, behind that, of the invisible Church. It is the sharing in one life of Angels, Archangels, Cherubim, and Seraphim, of all the Saints of God, and of the faithful of all time. This human manifestation is indeed at its core. The Virgin, the type of that persistent purity in humanity which God took to himself, is nearer to him than the Cherubim and the Seraphim. And we who are in Christ, are of her flesh, "Christ's Mother is our Mother, ever interceding for us." All these we must remember and venerate, for Christ is in them and they in Him. So to turn to the Saints is not to be distracted from the Christ who told us, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my little ones, ye did it unto me." For heaven and earth are really one in the Church and death forms no barrier to the concourse of our prayers. In the Liturgy and in the Life of the Church on earth the Kingdom of God which Christ brought is indeed present. But always it is present expectantly. The Life of the Church never forgets a present eschatological expectation of the day when the Kingdom of God shall break out in all its fulness.

THE NEW LAW ON RELIGION IN RUSSIA.

By P. B. ANDERSON.

DURING the XIV. Congress of the Soviets in Moscow, April, 1929, the following change in the Constitution of the USSR was proposed by the Government. Article 4 was changed to read:—

"In order to provide the workers freedom of conscience, the church is separate from the state and the school from the church,

while freedom for religious confession and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

The previous reading for Article 4 was as follows:—

"In order to provide the workers actual freedom of conscience the church is separated from the state and the school from the church, *while freedom for religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.*"

Interest centres in two points, what is meant in general by "freedom of conscience" and what interpretation should be given to the words "religious confession" contained in the new reading, from the peculiar point of view of Soviet jurisprudence. Fortunately, there is such interpretation given in a publication of the People's Commissariat of Justice (Gudulianov, *Separation of Church from the State*, third edition, 1926), from which the following section may be quoted:—

"Generally understood, religious freedom theoretically embraces freedom of conscience and freedom of the cult. Full freedom of conscience is considered by bourgeois theoreticians to be secured if every citizen is granted:

Freedom for choice of religion, presuming also freedom to establish new religious teachings.

Freedom for confession, including freedom for conducting religious rites and freedom for preaching.

The exercise of civil and political rights without regard to religious beliefs.

Freedom to have no religion.

"Ecclesiastical freedom similarly consists of three elements:

(a) Freedom to establish new religious societies.

(b) Freedom for church organization and administration.

(c) Complete equality before the law of all existing religious societies which do not pursue objectives in themselves contrary to the law."

"Our jurisprudence provides the fullest measure of freedom of conscience, however, not in an objective but in a subjective sense; that is, the Soviet Government does not hinder any individual citizen from believing in anything whatsoever, or from believing in nothing whatsoever, so long as his actions are not contrary to law and to the interests of other citizens."

According to this interpretation, "religious confession" as provided in the new reading of the Constitution, will permit only rites and preaching, the broader field of "propaganda," such as through printed matter, seemingly being open only to anti-religious. In this quotation one finds also a significant distinction made between conscience and actions; conscience is free but actions must conform to law and to the interests of Communist society.

What is the law as regards religion, as distinguished from Constitutional provisions? Here again a clear answer is available for on April 8th, 1929, a new law of 68 articles was promulgated which gathers up the substance and intent of the numerous laws, decrees, resolutions, instruction and court rulings which have served to guide the religious actions of individuals and ecclesiastical bodies since the revolution. A few quotations from this law will indicate the range of activities in which the religious conscience may express itself.

"Art. 2. Each citizen may be a member of only one religious (cult) union, *i.e.*, society or group."

"Art. 3. Religious societies and groups of believers do not have the rights of legal persons."

"Art. 17. Religious unions are forbidden: (a) to establish mutual aid funds, co-operatives, producing unions, and in general to use the property at their disposal for any other purpose than the satisfying of religious needs; (b) to give material aid to their members; to organize either special meetings for children, youth, women, for prayer, or other purposes, or general meetings, groups, circles, departments, Biblical, literary, handworking, labour, religious study, etc., and also to organize excursions and children's playgrounds, to open libraries or reading rooms, to organize sanatoriums and medical aid."

"Art. 18. Instruction in religion of whatever kind is not permitted in state, public, or private schools and educational institutions. Such instruction is permitted exclusively in special theological courses opened by citizens of the USSR with the special permission of the People's Commissariat of the Interior of the RSFSR."

"Art. 22. Religious assemblies (delegated bodies) and executive organs elected by them do not have the rights of legal persons and, furthermore, may not: (1) establish any kind of central treasury for the collection of voluntary contributions of believers; (2) fix any kind of obligatory collection; (3) possess property for the cult, or receive such by contract, or acquire such by purchase or rent quarters for meetings of prayer (divine service); (4) conclude any sort of contract or agreement."

The question of religious instruction to children under eighteen is dealt with by implication (Art. 17 and Art. 18) rather than explicitly as in earlier legislation. This matter deserves explanation by quoting from the statement of the People's Commissariat of Justice (25th September, 1924, No. 1168/3) summarizing legislation and giving the following ruling in the matter:—

"According to instruction of the People's Commissariat of Justice issued August, 24th, 1918, Art. 33, also circular from the People's Commissariat of Education, 23rd April, 1921, also decree

of the Central Executive Committee, 18th June, 1921, and Art. 121 of the Civil Code, in connection with the separation of school and church, it is forbidden to teach the so-called 'law of God' (catechism) to children under 18 in state or private schools, or in any place in the form of group study with children. However, from Art. 9 of the decree regarding separation of church and state, citizens may teach and be taught religion privately, and also from the resolution of the People's Commissariat of Education, 23rd April, 1921, it is clear that in the RSFSR parents are not prohibited from teaching their children the so-called 'law of God.' Such instruction may be given either by the parents themselves, or by persons invited by them to the house of the parent or teacher, provided such instruction does not take the form of group study, *i.e.*, study with more than three outside children brought into the home."

However, it is not sufficient to quote the Constitution and legislation of the country if one is to understand the objectives of the Soviet Government in altering the Constitution and promulgating the new law. It is necessary to have also the light thrown on the question by the speeches and articles of leading officials and by court decisions rendered since the new law came into effect. Abundant material of this character has been provided in the speeches delivered before the XIV. Congress and in newspaper articles preparing for the conference of the "Godless Society," called to meet in Moscow in June. Thus Lunachersky, People's Commissar of Education, in his speech before the XIV. Congress gave the following exposition:—

"We are strongly criticized for having the slogan 'Non-religious school,' when we should have announced the slogan 'Anti-religious school.' I must call your attention to the fact that Lenin, who from the very beginning insisted upon the separation of the church from the school and upon throwing the ikons out of the schools, at the same time gave us the following statement of the problem; 'since at the present time (1918) you cannot entirely substitute unreligious teachers for teachers religiously-minded, since at present our regime is not yet firm enough, since the religiously-minded peasantry in case of atheist propaganda in the schools would probably not send their children for study, and we thereby would give new strength to the priests—be extremely careful.' They may blame us, and perhaps properly, for being careful too long, since our last circular, the one announcing the un-religious school, has been issued only now when our regime stands firmly established, when we no longer need fear the priests, when the change from religious teachers to our atheistic teachers has become more nearly possible (if not in one year, at least in two or three). We are now in such a favourable position that we may,

and indeed we must, turn and make an attack along this front. All our cultural agencies, from the school to the theatres, from the Academy of Science to the cabin-reading rooms, must be considered by us as working on the front for the repulse of the religious danger and, at the same time, as a means for curing the masses of this evil disease."

There were some who insisted that the Government should immediately close all the churches and force religions out of existence. They felt that the change in the Constitution represented no more than week-kneed tolerance. To such critics a clear statement of the Government's purpose in changing the Constitution and an exposition of its real attitude toward religion was given by Lunacharsky in an article published in the Government organ *Izvestia*, 8th June, 1929, from which the following quotation is taken :—

"Religious tolerance is, of course, an element of liberalism, yet it is proclaimed in our Constitution. This element of liberalism is included by the Communist Party in its political and cultural practice by no means by reason of its being in any way inclined towards peace with any sort of popery, certainly not because of any weakening in our hatred towards religion and our endeavour to destroy it. On the contrary, by our religious tolerance we simply conveniently limit the field of struggle and decline to use a worthless weapon. Our country is still full of a great number of various sorts of believers. To challenge them to a final decisive battle to proclaim them persecuted because of "prohibition of faith" would mean that we become supporters of the priests, because by such means we would immediately cast a significant part of these masses into the arms of the priests. . . .

"Religion is like a nail ; if you hit it on the head you simply drive it deeper, and in the end may fasten it so tightly that you cannot even grasp it with the pincers to draw it out. We need pincers to get hold of religion, not to drive it in, but to pull it out by the roots, and this can be done only by scientific propaganda, moral and artistic education of the masses, in particular the growing generation, by the reconstruction of habits, by the injection of more and more science into all work, and especially that of the peasants. Our Constitution does not speak of lessening the struggle with religion ; it chooses for us the manner in which we can most easily overthrow religion, if only we are able to be energetic to the end. It permits the broadest kind of propaganda of atheism. Our Party and the Soviet Government demand the most intensive development of this propaganda of atheism, including criticism of all religions and of all idealism."

From these quotations it is plain that the Government desires and intends to eliminate religion, but finds it expedient to proceed

tactfully and by educational methods. "The struggle against religion is and must be the work of the masses," says Rykoff, President of the Council of People's Commissars, addressing the XIV. Congress. Continuing, he explains that "the new generation which in great measure has grown up outside the influence of religious poison, does much to spread this movement. We have not entered that stage of anti-religious propaganda when it is truly developing, when its progress is sure."

In addition to this consideration of the Constitution and laws of the country and the attitude of Soviet leaders, it will help to deal also with current court practice in applying the law in actual instances. Since the case of the Yegorevsky Church bell has received the greatest amount of attention in the Soviet press in recent weeks, it may be described as an example. Details from the press are as follows. The bell being broken and long unused, lying by the roadside, the Metal Trust wished to make use of it, and an agent took up the matter with the church warden. When the wagons came to remove it, someone sounded the alarm, and in half an hour several hundred peasants gathered. The cry was raised that the agents had come to take away the church, and in short time the wagon-drivers were beaten and had to run for safety. No one was seriously wounded. A few days later, the excitement having subsided, negotiations were reopened, and, according to the press, some of the same peasants helped to load the bell for its removal by the Metal Trust.

So much for the incident itself. The priest Krivandin, the church warden Yudin, and lay-sister Tkechenkova, and a number of others were arrested, and the case came before the Moscow Provincial Court, sitting in the village of Yegorevsky, about 20th May, 1929. On the eighth day judgment was rendered, declaring that the gathering of the peasants was not casual but prepared as an organized effort to turn the people against the Soviet Government by playing on their ignorance and superstition. Thus the lay-sister was charged with counselling the peasants to hoard their grain because war was imminent. The following sentences were pronounced : the priest and church warden, as principals in the organized effort, to be shot, the lay-sister condemned to eight years imprisonment in strict isolation, eight others condemned to imprisonment for terms varying from three to five years.

One may be startled at the severity of the sentence in this case, but the incident must be viewed in light of a revolutionary ethic as well as revolutionary jurisprudence, and also in light of the present advance along the "religious front" which we have described. The procedure and arguments in the case were in full harmony with the present policy to confine the practice of religion to its narrowest possible limits, to educate the people away from religion, to work on the principle that religion as such is counter-revolutionary, and,

therefore, to punish infractors of the law on religion for political as well as civil offence.

We quote again from Lunacharsky's article (*Izvestia*, 8th June, 1929):—

"For us, politics does not mean the narrow field of struggle for power. For us politics is our socialist constructive work as a whole. Our conception of socialist reconstruction embraces most fully the cultural uplifting of the masses, the uplifting of the masses to a completely socialistic, truly scientific, that is to say, atheistic materialistic culture. . . . The church is not only an enemy in the realm of culture and consequently also in politics; it is unalterably, inevitably and always, whatever it calls itself, a definite political enemy."

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH TO THE FAITH AND ORDER MOVEMENT.

(A Speech delivered by PROF. HAMILCAR S. ALIVISATOS, D.D., at the Maloja meeting of the Continuation Committee.)

I HAVE been asked to say something about the Faith and Order movement in relation to present circumstances in Eastern Orthodox circles; it is desired that I should give a statement of what is being thought and said about our movement in these circles, and further, what ought to be the nature of our work in the immediate future.

I shall answer these questions with pleasure and I think that from what I tell you, you will very easily understand first, why the Orthodox Church has not yet taken any official action on the Lausanne statements and secondly, why action in connection with our movement has in the Orthodox churches not yet advanced beyond the Declaration of the representatives of the Orthodox Church which was laid before the Lausanne Conference.

The Orthodox Church has been among the first to show a very vivid interest in the great movement for the Union of the Churches, for which she constantly prays, repeating in every service a fervent prayer to God, for the good estate of the Holy Churches of God and the Union of them all. This interest is demonstrated in the forming of Committees, as you have already heard from other Orthodox delegates, and in the constant study of the questions involved.

The peculiar situation of the Orthodox Church, however, does not allow of rapid action in such questions. A long history of trials and conflicts has prohibited to some degree the full development of theology and doctrine beyond certain well-known

limits; a fact which has been very curiously commented upon by some, even very wise, theologians in the West.

Further, the Great War has not meant (as in so many other cases) the delivery of the Orthodox Church from her cross. The very first of the Orthodox Churches, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, is still under the oppression of the modernized Turk, an oppression which has even demanded the blood of new martyrs; and the revolution against the moral principles of humanity has subjected to most bitter persecution the greatest part of the Orthodox Church in the Russian territory, which has also paid and still pays very heavily for its adherence to Christian ideals.

But in spite of all that, we are absolutely sure that we can clearly see that we are standing at the beginning of a new period in the history of the Orthodox Church. Interest in the earlier theological development, on the basis of the ancient truths of the Christian Church and interest in the possibility of the Union of the Churches, as well as a very evident religious revival in Orthodox countries similar to that in Germany of which Professor Hermelink told us last evening, form, so to say, the pillars of the entrance to this new period. Of course, neither the one nor the other are things that could be demonstrated in a few days or even years. But the attitude displayed towards those movements is itself quite eloquent. The Orthodox Church has not been indifferent or even unfriendly to the initiative taken from the other side in the movement towards Union. On the contrary, the Orthodox Church was even ready to take the initiative in a similar movement and it is worth while remembering the Encyclical issued by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the other churches of Christ 10 years ago, which dealt with the possibility of forming a league of the Christian Churches which would surely lead in the future to some understanding with a view to Union. Happily the idea has coincided with the beginning of the Faith and Order movement and the Orthodox Church has responded to the call of that movement in the most favourable way. The Orthodox Church has, with other Churches, gladly accepted the invitation and has with real pleasure extended the hand of co-operation to the other Churches, and is trying through these friendly relations to receive and to give first hand information about the standpoint of faith of the several Churches and about the distance which separates them. Of course, we cannot in so short a time arrive at serious results. We must bear in mind that the, comparatively speaking, few theological forces of the Orthodox Church are at the moment systematically occupied in two directions, first in clearing Orthodox Theology from any Catholic or Protestant influence, which may possibly have affected it in earlier times, and secondly, in digesting the existing differences between other Churches. Orthodox theologians try to precise the actual distance which now separates the several Churches, as well as to fix the

maximum elasticity of their own Church, an elasticity which could not extend beyond permitted limits the moment that the doctrine of the real catholic and undivided Church comes into question. If you will keep in mind these reasons you will be able to understand why our movement is certainly followed in Orthodox circles with the greatest interest and why the answers to the Lausanne statements have not reached us yet. Furthermore, we must take into consideration another great, and rather technical, difficulty of the Orthodox Church in responding promptly to these statements, a difficulty, which although technical, is of very great importance. The Orthodox Church although it consists of a number of autocephalous Churches has and feels its own Unity in the most perfect way. Unity in the Orthodox Church is based on liberty, but liberty does not in any case mean relaxation of the existing Unity. The words of Eusebius to the ancient Churches, that whenever all the Churches agree, then and then only they formulate a dogma which is obligatory upon them all, have still, and it is to be hoped will always have, an absolute value for the Orthodox Church; and, therefore, the saying of St. Vincent of Lerins that the true tradition is "*quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*," has still an absolute value also. That is why no Orthodox Church could separately express itself in matters of doctrine, unless all the other Orthodox Churches, after general consideration, demonstrated either through exchange of letters, or by some common Synod, gave an expression of mind which would represent the real, true and authentic position of the whole Orthodox Church. The question, therefore, of what has been thought and said about our movement in Eastern Orthodox circles in relation to present circumstances, is answered by the assurance that the most vivid interest is taken in our movement and that in due time we shall have the official and authentic answer of the Orthodox Church, which could not be expected before all the Orthodox Churches could answer together. Of course, this does not prohibit the Orthodox Church from collaborating in the movement with the other Churches and from following the progress of the work, which no doubt for her also is of great educative value.

But allow me now to give you in a few words a fairly direct answer to the question:—What ought to be the nature of our work in the immediate future? I believe that in giving my own personal point of view I shall give also the predominant ideas of the various Orthodox circles on this point. I should like at this juncture to express the desire for some amendment in the method we have adopted, with a view to the nature of our work in the immediate future.

At my first address at the Preliminary Conference in Geneva in 1920, I emphasized, that in trying to unite the Churches it would be wise to follow the practical method of a repairing tailor rather

than the abstract system of a theological scholar. We have before us the problem of mending the once untorn mantle of Christ and in my opinion it is much better and much more practical to begin by putting together the pieces which fit and then to try to mend the rest of the pieces which do not fit. That is why I think that although we have already achieved an excellent piece of work, we should proceed in a much better and perhaps quicker way, if we tried by some special organization to bring together those bodies which are more or less related and stand near each other. The result of this would probably be a quicker organic union of these related bodies, which would surely facilitate the general Union of the Churches. I know that in many cases such a work is already being undertaken independently of the Faith and Order movement, but I would like to see it accomplished under its auspices and as a part of its activities. Perhaps even the impression produced upon public opinion in favour of our movement, which we must also take into account, would be the deeper for the announcement of an achieved union here and there among such related bodies. The other method, of trying to arouse a consciousness of unity among bodies differing entirely from each other, is not bad and in many cases is very instructive and does offer many unexpected surprises, but the process is certain to take far too long a time. Perhaps the Commission of Theologians we have already decided upon will take into consideration also such a method of work and perhaps it would help to expedite its business. May I be allowed to make a proposition? Hitherto we have very wisely avoided involving the Churches officially in our unfinished work, and we are pleased with the work done by the several groups in discussing the material issued to them. Would it not be of some practical value, if we advanced a step nearer the official Churches and the heart of their thinking, though without yet approaching their highest official circles? Supposing we sent our material prepared for discussion to the various officially organized Theological Schools or Seminaries and asked them to discuss the material and give us their (unofficial if you like) answers? I know that in some cases this would be a rather dangerous thing, but on the other hand in many cases we should make some progress which otherwise we might wait for in vain.

In conclusion, as representing the Orthodox Church in this gathering, I should like to add the expression of my firm belief that if we adhere to the original basis of our work and movement, that is to say, Faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God our Lord and Saviour, and if we are all inspired by Him with the necessary Christian good will to each other we shall surely achieve the results towards which we are all looking, because through His Holy Spirit He will complete that wherein we still fail.

AN IMPRESSION OF VALAMO.

By C. B. Moss

AFTER the night journey from Helsingfors to Viborg, and the slow train through the forests, we arrived early in the afternoon at the little town of Sortavala, the residence of the Orthodox Archbishop of Finland, and embarked on the steamer for the holy island. Lake Ladoga is the largest lake in Europe: the Island of Valamo is thirty miles from Sortavala, and even then nowhere near the middle of the lake. Away to our left was the coast of Finland; the further shore, quite invisible, for it was at least 60 miles away, is in Soviet Russia. Far ahead appeared on the horizon, first the cupola of the Skete, or Cell, of St. Nicolas, and behind it the tower of the great Monastery of SS. Sergius and Germanos. Leaving the Skete on our left, we entered a beautiful creek, on the left side of which was the little pier, and the monks waiting to receive the steamer. The Monastery possesses a large tourists' hostel, in which guests of both sexes are given simple (and very cheap) accommodation. The visitor has a whitewashed room, containing a bed, a washstand, and an ikon, and pays 2s. a night for it.

Valamo is twelve miles long, and it all belongs to the monks. There are Finnish villages (Orthodox, of course), and a small garrison of Finnish soldiers. Just as in Brittany or Bavaria one constantly finds wayside crucifixes, so in Valamo, on the winding roads through the woods, one finds little shrines, with the double cross of the Orthodox Church above, and ikons and lamps inside. The monastery has eleven sketes, two on small islands, the rest on the large island. The Skete of the New Jerusalem, perhaps six miles from the monastery, contains a model of the Holy Sepulchre. At another skete there was, not many years ago, a hermit, in memory of whom the fish in the beautiful pool beside his cell may not be caught. Here we saw the monk in charge, coming in with a large basket full to the brim of wild strawberries.

I cannot describe the splendour of the monastery itself: its sky-blue domes, its two great churches (one for summer and one for winter), the treasures of vestments and church ornaments, the hospital, the refectory. A Swedish lady said to me, "I have seen the Orthodox Church in many parts of the world, but I never understood it till I went to Valamo." Here one sees the Orthodox Church, not an exile in a strange land, nor a minority sharing the land with others, but in full possession. The monastery has been there since before the fourteenth century (some say, since the tenth), and there is no other religion on the island: we are far from the modern world, there is not even a motor in Valamo. We seem to be living in the company of the Russian saints, who are pictured, hundreds of them, on either side of the stairs leading up to the church: climbing in a



THREE SNAPSHOTS TAKEN AT VALAMO.

great possession, headed by St. Vladimir and St. Olga, to the top, where they are received by our Lord and His Mother.

The Orthodox mission in Finland was originally in the diocese of Novgorod: it was afterwards transferred to Petrograd, and towards the end of the nineteenth century the see of Finland was formed: the present Archbishop is the sixth occupant of the see. The Orthodox population is 67,000, of whom 55,000 are Finnish speaking. In about half the parishes the liturgical language is Finnish. Swedish services are held occasionally in some parishes. There is a seminary at Sortavala with 14 students: they learn Greek, Latin, and Church Slavonic, besides Russian and Finnish. Both men and money are scarce: the people are poor, and the Church is troubled by hostile propaganda, not from the Lutheran Church, which is friendly, but from various sects, such as the Adventists, and also from sympathizers with the *regime* across the border.

No new monasteries may be founded, and no one may be professed in those already existing who is not a Finnish citizen. The Orthodox Church is recognized and paid by the State, as well as the Lutheran. Before the War there were 2,000 monks in Valamo: many were killed, and it has been impossible to fill their places; there are now only 300.

I hope that English visitors, and especially English religious, will go to Valamo. There is no place where the Orthodox Church can be seen at greater advantage: and it is easily accessible. The third-class fare to Helsingfors by boat is £5, and Valamo is less than 24 hours farther. Crowds of Swedes, Germans and Americans go there; why not English pilgrims?

THE LITERARY, RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS OF LEO TOLSTOI.

Translated from *Naroden Straj* by Rev. L. PATTERSON, D.D.

THE literary and artistic activity of Tolstoi begins from 1850 to 1856. He wrote *Childhood, boyhood and youth*; *The Invasion*; *The Morning of a Landowner*; and *The Cossacks*. After 1856 he went through his military course in the Caucasus, and reached Petersburg, where he joined the society of writers, Turgenev, Goncharov, Nekrasov, Ostrovsky, Grigorovich, Bielinsky, Drushinin, and others. Up to this time Tolstoi was known as an artist, but from this time forward he began to bring into his works a religious and philosophical element.

The literary tendencies and general conditions in Russia compelled Tolstoi to reflect upon social, historical and religious problems, and to attempt a solution through the medium of his works. During this time he wrote the novels, *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*,

Resurrection, The Kreutzer Sonata, The Fruits of Enlightenment, The Power of Darkness, Father Sergius, etc.

In the second period of his creative activity, he studied thoroughly Buddhism, and all Eastern religions, including Christianity, as he read through the Old and New Testaments. He studied the teachings of Socrates, Epictetus, Pascal, J. J. Rousseau, A. Conte, and Schopenhauer. Of the newer contemporary philosophers, Aug. Stern attracted him with his paradoxical aphorisms.

In all his newer novels and tales, the heroes reflect seriously upon the problems of life and death, on good or evil, on faith in God, on social truth, and seek for their solution.

As a writer-realist, Tolstoi turns away from the subjective-psychological analysis of the old school, and leads his heroes to reflect themselves upon life, to study it objectively. He depicts the relations of different classes, and leaves the reader to draw his own deductions. So he is seriously concerned with the question of marriage and social injustice. He has recourse to the help of religion, science, art, and morals, and through these he seeks to facilitate the determination of the questions of life.

During the month of August the following important event occurred at Yasnaya Polyana. The coachman of the Tolstois found in the neighbouring village pond a dead child. The whole of the Tolstoi family was distressed by this event. Especially one of the daughters of Leo Tolstoi was very much excited, suspecting that this dead child belonged to a well-known widow of bad character. But the widow stubbornly denied the accusation, and swore that she was not guilty of this crime. They began to suspect other women. Leo Tolstoi went out before dinner into the garden to walk about a little, but he returned late with a weary and exhausted appearance. He went to the village to the widow in question. Without persuading her in any way, he heard her attentively, and said: "If this murder is not the work of your hands, then there is no suffering to inflict on you. But if your misfortune has made you do it, then it must be very heavy, so heavy that there could be nothing heavier for you in your life."

"Ah, how heavy it is for me now, as if someone had crushed my heart with a stone!" cried out the widow, with tears, and frankly confessed before Leo Nikolaevich that she herself suffocated her little child and threw it in the pond.

This actual fact was used by Tolstoi as the subject of his beautiful drama, *The Power of Darkness*.

His great historical novel, *War and Peace*, with which the second period of his literary activity was occupied, was written in the course of five years (1864-69). In this the artistic creativeness of Tolstoi reached its height. All critics confess that this novel is not an ordinary literary production, but is a great epic, which comprises Russian historical and social life, from the beginning of the last century, in all its manifestations, from the most important historical

event, such as the defence of Leipzig and the burning of Moscow, to the commonest facts of life. The development of events serves only as a pretext for the discussion of fundamental questions in the sphere of history, politics and philosophy.

According to the character of their activities and convictions, the heroes in this novel might be classified in four categories: In the *first* category come Kuragin and Dolokov, men morally dissolute, in whom all human feeling is wanting. They are ready to debase the human worth of every man, to deprive him of honour, to strip him to his shirt, and even to annihilate him completely.

The *second* category of heroes is represented by the adventurers (careerists), such as Boris Trubetskoy and Berg, who only know how to serve, to learn, and to live. To the *third* category the Rostovs are related. They are men capable of everything, they are easily carried away, and fall for the minute under the influence of their ideal passions, on the way to which stands sacrifice. To the *fourth* category are related the men who have sufficiently developed their rational and moral abilities through reading and reflection. They ask themselves constantly, Why do we live? They look for the aim of life; they try to analyse, to define and explain their environment, and likewise the phenomena of their own inner life. Such are the heroes: Volkonsky (the father, the daughter Maria, and the son Andrei), and Peter Bezykhy. But as soon as they continue to remain in the same abnormal conditions of life, then the aims outlined by them appear inappropriate for their life, because they are artificial. If in some way these theoretically excellent views are applied to life, then instead of good they will bring evil.

In the novel, *Anna Karenina*, the heroine, although aware that the way of the transgressor is hard, in the impulse of her passionate love declares boldly to her husband Karenino that she is no longer his wife, and that she loves Vronsky and belongs wholly to him. To her great sorrow, however, she is deceived by Vronsky, and in the depths of despair she lays her beautiful head under the heavy wheels of a train. The other hero, Levin, is of a thoughtful nature. He confesses that between the twentieth and thirtieth year of his life, instead of overcoming and getting stronger, he lost his Christian faith, in which he had been educated from a child by his orthodox parents. For all this, Levin is a serious man. He puts the question to life, "How will it be explained once for all? Whence has he come, why does he exist, and for what does he strive?" Before these hard questions, he falls frequently into despair and disgust. In moments of crisis and grief, when he cannot find any answer, his conscience is terribly pained, and he is ready even to do away with his life. In the person of his wife, Kitty Levin, at last, he is evidently surprised that there were still people in the world who keep everything unspoiled in their souls, and live happily. And such are most people, if not the whole Russian nation. Why, then, does he not rejoice in his family

happiness, and be satisfied to pass his life with his beloved wife Kitty and his son Dolya? How many there are of his learned friends, who do not trouble themselves with similar questions about life? Levin explains them to himself thus: they are at peace not because they can find an answer to these questions, but because, being intellectually occupied with the discussion of various theories about evolution, the eternity of matter, conservation of energy, etc., they content themselves and do not worry about anything, they do not ask for a definition of their life.

From the year 1879 to the end of his life, L. N. Tolstoi gave up his purely literary occupation, and devoted himself to philosophical considerations. In his work, *What is Art?* he expresses himself sceptically on the questions of aesthetic pleasure and beauty. In the book, *Master and Workman*, Tolstoi reviews the labour question and the problems of labour and capital.

After many years of intellectual labour, he was impelled by the desire to reap the harvest of truth, which he expected to learn from life itself. Tolstoi passionately devoted himself to philosophy and religious mysticism, as he hoped that at last he would find there the required answer to the problems of life. With all his might he began to seek an explanation of the questions, which, as he himself declared, the people have thought out. He sought, but not only did he not find anything, but he was convinced that all those who, like him, seek something in knowledge, find only one "something." To the painful questions: "What will come out of all this, what am I doing to-day; what shall one do to-morrow, and, what will come out of all this life?" for a long time he sought an answer, and at last he came to the conviction that all human knowledge does not give a satisfactory answer to these questions.

From his early years Tolstoi had been engaged in abstract knowledge, later he was attracted by mathematics and the natural sciences. Having studied the natural sciences, he came to the conclusion that "Everything develops itself, differentiates, and conditions itself, is perfected and guided by law. 'Thou' and 'I' are parts of the whole. As you know, as far as you can, the whole, and as you know the laws of its development, you know its place in that whole, and itself." With all these arguments, however, the principle and essential question for Tolstoi, "What am I with my desires?" remained still without answer from the domain of science. He turned to physiology, psychology, biology, sociology, and metaphysics, but he found a striking poverty of thought and evidence. There he found the greatest darkness and pretensions justified by nothing, and unceasing contradictions of one thinker with others. He saw that all knowledge, instead of solving, ignores the questions of life. They say, "To the fact that you are, and why you live, we have no answer, and we are not interested in that. If you want to know the laws of the body, their forms and relations of number and

size, if you seek to know the laws of your own reason—to all this we have no clear and living answers." Accordingly, to the question, "Where am I, and why do I live?" the experimental sciences reply to Tolstoi thus: "In infinitely great space, and infinitely long time, the combinations are infinite. When he starts from these fundamental positions, he interprets the laws of their visible changes, and seeks to solve the question—Why do we live?"

With such theories Tolstoi satisfied himself for a certain time, but the "questions of life" stirred again in his soul, the self-formed theories crumbled to dust. At last he was convinced that, in order to be able to answer the question, "What sort of a thing is the life of the whole, what is it in itself?" one must, before all things, understand what sort of thing is the whole of this humanity, which consists of people like to it, who, likewise, do not comprehend anything. Again, he plunged into the sphere of the abstract sciences, metaphysics and philosophy, and stops at the question, "Why am I and why is the whole world?" From this, says Tolstoi, from which philosophy exists, the torturing question has occupied the mind of man, but his answer is ever the same, though he expresses it in various forms.

"The idea, substance, spirit, and will is called by the philosopher the essence of life, which is found in me and in everything which exists, but why it is and whence it comes, philosophy cannot answer, not even through the intelligence of the most genial thinker, and not only is it not in a position to answer, but it only puts the essential question in a composite form." Tolstoi sought to know "the sense of life," but the knowledge which philosophy gave him and according to which it is seen that he is an atom in infinity, not only did not give him the sense, but destroyed all possibility of knowing and comprehending the mysteries of that sense of life.

According to this principle, Tolstoi, as he was not able to satisfy himself with philosophy and metaphysics, turned to the sphere of religion, and devoted himself to religious mysticism, to which Gogol, Dostoevsky and other Russian writers were attracted.

If we analyse the religious and philosophical views of Leo N. Tolstoi we are convinced that he is not and cannot have been a Christian, because he accepts fully the religious fundamentals of Buddhism. His teaching about non-resistance to evil, and all his ethics, are drawn from the ethical and religious system of Buddhism, which may be expressed in these five commandments: (1) Not to kill any living thing, (2) not to steal, (3) to keep absolute chastity, (4) not to make use of spirituous liquors. Buddha (Sakya-Muni) preached escape from the world and contempt of everything which impels us to think and act in life.

This teaching of Buddhism about escape from life was exactly carried out by Tolstoi himself. Only a few hours before the last moments of his life, he was utterly depressed and exhausted, and

secretly left his house at Yasnaya Polyana and travelled by himself to die far away and alone.

For Tolstoi Jesus Christ was only a great moralist and teacher of mankind, but not the God-man, as the Christian Church teaches. He rejects the Gospel miracles. On that account the excommunication of Tolstoi, which the Russian Holy Synod pronounced, was fully justified.

To what is the great and universal celebrity of L. N. Tolstoi due?

As a novelist and writer, Tolstoi did not create a school, as, for instance, Dostoevsky created with his profound psychological novels. He did not create a philosophical system, such as all original thinkers have created. His teaching, as we have seen, is a revival of the old ethical and religious teaching of pagan Buddhism. For all that, he attracted readers with the youthful blaze of life-kindling questions (social, economic, religious and ethical), with his bold effort to transform life, to become a great reformer.

Rejecting the divine nature of Jesus Christ, he was opposed to the Christian Church, while he attracted to himself the Russian nihilistic intelligentsia. He joined battle with the monarchical *régime* and the capitalistic social order, because these systems, according to him, were the sole barrier to mankind's tasting the joys of life. Fighting for simplicity and sincerity in relations between men, he worked for the protection of people from sordid toil, though actually in social relations he remained to the end of his life a landowner; he upheld the view that the perfection of society must be attained through the education of personality.

The Bolsheviks reject the fundamental principle of the world-view of Tolstoi, and therefore for ten years they forbade the distribution of his works. For all that, in 1928 they celebrated with festivities his centenary, evidently because they have counted him as a forerunner of their activity in social reorganization.

Instead of wasting their time, strength and abilities on Tolstoism, our young writers will be more useful to their people and fatherland if they devote themselves sincerely to studying the fundamental truths of Christian teaching, because in that every worker of thought, feeling, and truth, and likewise every toiling citizen, shall find health and a lasting foundation for building up the future welfare of his people.

PANNYKHIDA: OR OFFICE FOR THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED.

(In response to numerous requests we print below a translation of the Russian Pannykhida. Both the translation and the notes which precede it are by W. J. Birkbeck, and are taken from a booklet of his entitled "Pannykhida," which has been for some time out of print. We thank the English Church Union for permission to reprint these extracts.)

THE Holy Eastern Church in its public services has its daily, its weekly, and its annual commemorations of the dead. The daily commemorations occur principally in the Liturgy and in the *Mesonycticon*, or daily midnight service.* The weekly Commemoration of the dead takes place on Saturdays, all the offices of the day, from Vespers on Friday evening down to Nones on Saturday afternoon, being for the most part dedicated to this object in commemoration of our Lord's burial and descent into hell. In each of the eight sets of Saturday services the Matins contain, in addition to the Canons for the Martyrs and Confessors, a separate Canon for the dead. These were written by Theophanes, Bishop of Nicea in the eighth century. In addition to these, there are several special commemorations of the dead in the course of the year, somewhat analogous to All Souls' Day in the West. The principal of these take place on the Saturdays before Sexagesima and Pentecost.† On these days, instead of the ordinary Saturday Matins being said at an early hour in the morning, a specially Solemn Matins for the dead follows immediately upon Vespers of the evening before, which, if sung in full, lasts all through the night. Hence its name *παννυχίς*, which is the word used in Greece for the "all-night" vigil on the eves of Sundays and of great festivals. In Russia they have translated this word in the latter case, using its exact Slavonic equivalent, *Vsiénoshchnaia*; but they have retained the word *Pannykhida* for Matins of the dead.

The principal daily, weekly, and yearly commemorations of the dead which occur in the ordinary circle of the Eastern Divine office have now been mentioned. But, in addition to these, special Services for the Dead may be held at any time, either in the church or in the churchyard, or in private houses. No one that has seen anything of the Orthodox East can fail to be struck by this beautiful custom. Services are always held on the third, ninth, and fortieth

* I have avoided the word "Nocturns" because, although the *Mesonycticon* has often been compared to the Latin "Nocturns" or Matins, and the Eastern *Orthron* to Lauds, the former does not really present any analogy to any service contained in the Western Breviary. The *Orthron* really includes both the Western Matins and Lauds, while the *Mesonycticon* is a service peculiar to the East, and constructed upon an entirely different model to the Western "Nocturns."

† I must not omit also to mention the two magnificent prayers for the departed said at the third of the three great genuflections which form such a striking and solemn feature of the Vespers of Whitsun Day itself.

days after a death, and also upon anniversaries; but they may also be held at any other time, whenever and wherever the friends and relatives of the departed may desire. In Greece they usually consist of what is known of the *Λιτή* for the dead, a short service which is to be found at the beginning of the ordinary Burial Service in the *Euchologion*, being placed there because it is always said before the removal of the body from the house in which death took place to the church. When it is used on ordinary occasions in church in commemoration of the departed, it is said immediately after the Liturgy, or Vespers or Matins. A small table is placed in the middle of the nave, upon which stand the *κόλυβον* or dish of boiled wheat (or rice and raisins) mixed with honey, with a candle standing in the middle. The corn signifies the resurrection of the dead, whose bodies must be committed to the earth and see corruption, in order hereafter to be raised in incorruption, just as the grain is not quickened except it first be buried in the earth and die; while the honey represents the sweetness of the joys of eternity.

In Russia, in addition to the *Λιτή* (or more usually instead of it) a *Pannykhida* is said. This, as we have already seen, is Matins for the dead, and, in fact, corresponds to the Dirge of the Middle Ages. But when used as an extra devotion, it is considerably shortened.* It is difficult to say exactly how this development, which is peculiar to Russia, took place, but, judging from some of the rubrics which occur in the Slavonic *Octoechos*, where the outline of the Service is given, it would seem that the custom probably originated in the monasteries instituting additional *παννυχίδες* for the departed members of their communities to be sung after Vespers on Friday, and that from the monasteries the custom extended itself to the secular clergy and laity.

When sung in church the table with the *κόλυβον* is used at the *Pannykhida* just as it is at the Greek *Λιτή*; the priest stands before it vested in his chasuble, and holding a lighted candle; the deacon stands by his side with the censer, and censes throughout the Service, asking the blessing of the priest at the beginning of each *Ectene*. During the singing of the *Troparia* upon the *Verse* "Blessed art thou, O Lord," etc. (see below) the priest takes the censer from the deacon, and gives him the lighted candle, and he then censes the *κόλυβον* on all four sides, going round the table on which it stands, the deacon in the meantime moving round it on the opposite side to him with the lighted candle. The priest then proceeds to the sanctuary through the Royal Doors and censes first the altar, then the icons of the saints, and then the congregation, signifying thereby the communion of prayer which exists between the saints

* It would occupy much too much space to trace out the structure of the Service, but even in its shortened form its derivation from Matins will at once be recognized by those who are familiar with the Eastern rite. The end of the Service is, however, taken not from Matins, but from the *Λιτή*.

in heaven, the faithful departed, and the living upon earth in the Church which is the Body of Christ. The priest also censes when he pronounces "the Dismissal" at the end of the Service. If he is officiating without a deacon, he holds the censer all the time. The congregation present all hold lighted tapers throughout the Service.

Coming now to the doctrinal significance of the *Pannykhida*, and comparing it with the offices for the dead which are used in the West, the reader will at once be struck by one feature in which they present a sharp contrast to those, not only of the Reformed, but also of the Latin Communion. I am referring to the numerous petitions which occur in all Eastern offices for the dead to the Holy Mother of God, and to the saints, that they will join their intercessions to those of the Church upon earth on behalf of the departed; whereas in the Latin Matins and Vespers for the Dead nothing of the kind occurs; and even the *Sub-Venite*, which is used at the burial of the dead, obviously refers to the soul at the moment of death and burial. To the Easterns it seems absurd that the Church upon earth should pray for the dead, and at the same time should not ask for the prayers of "the spirits of just men made perfect," who, as members of the one Body of Christ, have just as much interest as we in the destiny of every Christian soul, or that "the incense" should "ascend before the throne of God with the prayers," not "of all saints," but merely with the prayers of those of the saints who happen still to be living here upon earth. I am quite aware that any member of the Latin communion would say that there was no reason whatever why such prayers should not be used. Nevertheless the fact remains that they do not appear in the Western rites. Even the Blessed Virgin is entirely ignored, notwithstanding the fact that the doctrine concerning the second Eve, and the bruising of the serpent's head by the seed of the woman, is assuredly inseparable from the "sure and certain hope" of the Church with regard to the faithful departed.

As a matter of fact, this distinction between the Eastern and Western Offices for the Dead is by no means accidental, but accurately corresponds to the essential difference which exists between the Eastern and Western conception of the nature of the unity of the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic stakes his membership in the Communion of Saints upon the fact of his submission to the occupant of the Primatial See of Christendom; whereas the Eastern feels himself to be spiritually united with the Church upon earth *because* he is united with the whole Body and its Divine Head. He emphatically denies that her Divine Founder cut His Church up into sections, and that when He ascended into heaven He constituted that section of it which He left upon earth into a separate organism, over which (as Leo XIII. not long ago told us) He "was obliged to designate a vicerent" in order to

preserve the essential unity of the Church. Consequently, when the Latin speaks of the Holy Catholic Church, he ordinarily means the Roman Church at the present time, whereas the Eastern keeps much more prominently before his mind the fact that the one Body of Christ consists, as St. Chrysostom (in Ep. ad Ephes. iv. 4) puts it, of "the faithful from all parts of the world, who are, have been, and shall be." And this difference in their habitual way of regarding the Church is exactly reflected in their services for the dead. The Greek and Latin offices represent two entirely different ideas. The Latin service is the voice of the Church upon earth, and represents the new relations which are supposed to have come into existence between herself and her lately departed member. The Eastern Church, on the contrary, speaks in the name of the *whole* Church, living, departed, and yet to be born; and her services represent the fact that, although the temporary conditions of her lately departed member have changed, yet his relations to herself are the same as they were before.

PANNYKHÍDA.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Blessed be our God, always, now and ever, world without end.

Choir. Amen.

(*Great Ektene of the Dead.*)

Deacon. In peace let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy (*and so at the end of each petition*).

Deacon. For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

For the remission of the sins of those of blessed memory who have departed this life, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

For the *servant* of God, N., of everlasting memory, that He may grant *him* rest, tranquility, and a blessed memorial, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That He may forgive *him* every sin, voluntary, or involuntary, which *he* hath committed, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That *he* may appear uncondemned before the dreadful throne of the Lord of glory, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

For them that mourn and are in grief, and look for the comfort of Christ, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That *he* may be set free from every infirmity, and from sorrow and sighing, and that God may cause *him* to dwell in the light of His countenance, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That the Lord our God may assign unto *his soul* a place of light, a place of refreshment, a place of repose, where all the just do dwell, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That *he* may be numbered amongst those that are in the bosom of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That we may be preserved from all tribulation, wrath, and necessity, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Assist, save, pity, and protect us, O God, by Thy grace.

Having prayed for *him*, for God's mercy and the kingdom of heaven and the remission of *his* sins, let us also commend ourselves and one another, and all our life, to Christ our God.

Choir. To Thee, O Lord.

*Priest (aloud).** For Thou art the resurrection and the life, and the repose of Thy *servant*, N., who is fallen asleep, O Christ our God; and unto Thee do we render glory, with Thine eternal Father, and Thine all-holy, and good, and life-giving Spirit, now and ever, world without end.

Choir. Amen.

Deacon. (Tone Eight.) Alleluya!

Choir. Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya.

Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya.

Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya.

(*Troparia. Tone Eight.*)

[O Thou, that out of the depths of wisdom orderest all things in love for man, and appointest unto all that which is profitable; do Thou, O Lord, the one Creator of the world, give rest unto the souls of Thy servants, for in Thee have they set their hope,] that has made us and fashioned us, and art our God.

[Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost : Now and ever, world without end. Amen.]

(*To the Holy Mother of God.*)

In thee we have a wall, and a haven, and an intercessor acceptable to God, Whom thou didst bear,]† O maiden Mother of God, who art the salvation of the faithful.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord : O teach me Thy statutes.

The company of the Saints have found the well of life, and the gate of Paradise : may I likewise find the way through repentance : I am the lost sheep : call me back, O Saviour, and save me.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord : O teach me Thy statutes.

Give rest, O God, to Thy *servant* : and appoint *him* to a place in Paradise : where the company of the Saints, O Lord, and the righteous shall shine forth as lights : give rest to Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep : overlooking all *his* transgressions.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Let us devoutly sing praises unto the threefold light of the one

* This is the termination of the prayer, "O God of spirits and of all flesh," which is said secretly by the priest during the recital of all the *ektenæ*, except the last, in which case it is said aloud in full.

† The passages enclosed in square brackets are, except in monasteries, usually omitted.

Godhead, crying, Holy art Thou, O Father eternal, and co-eternal Son, and Divine Spirit : enlighten us, who serve Thee in faith : and deliver us from the fire everlasting.

Both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

(To the Holy Mother of God.)

Hail, holy Virgin, that didst bear God in the flesh for the salvation of all : and through whom the race of men found salvation : through thee may we find Paradise, O pure and blessed Mother of God.

Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya : Glory be to Thee, O God.

Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya : Glory be to Thee, O God.

Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya : Glory be to Thee, O God.

(Little Ektene of the Dead.)

Deacon. Again and again, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. Again we pray for the repose of N., the *servant* of God, that is fallen asleep, and that *he* may be forgiven every sin, voluntary or involuntary, which *he* hath committed.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. May the Lord God place *his* soul where the just repose.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. The mercy of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the remission of *his* sins, let us ask of Christ our immortal King and God.

Choir. Grant, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Priest. For Thou art the Resurrection and the Life, and the repose of thy *servant* N., who is fallen asleep, O Christ our God ; and unto Thee do we render glory, with Thine eternal Father, and Thy all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now, and ever, world without end.

Choir. Amen.

(Troparia. Tone Six.)

[Give rest, O our Saviour, to Thy *servant* with the just, and cause *him* to dwell within Thy courts, as it is written : overlooking, as Thou art good, *his* transgressions, whether voluntary or involuntary, and all that *he* hath committed in ignorance or with knowledge, O Thou lover of mankind.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.]

And all that *he* hath committed in ignorance or knowledge, O Thou lover of mankind.

[Both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

O Christ our God, Who didst rise upon the world from the Virgin,] and by her didst point out the sons of light, have mercy upon us.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Glory. Both now.

(Ode vi. Tone 8. The Heirmos.)

I will pour out my prayer unto the Lord, and unto Him will I declare my sorrows : for my soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto hell : and, like Jonah, I pray : bring me up, O God, from corruption.

(Little Ektene.)

Deacon. Again and again, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. Again we pray for the repose of N., the *servant* of God, that is fallen asleep, and that *he* may be forgiven every sin, voluntary or involuntary, which *he* hath committed.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. May the Lord God place *his* soul where the just repose.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. The mercy of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the remission of *his* sins, let us ask of Christ, our immortal King and God.

Choir. Grant, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Priest. For Thou art the Resurrection and the Life and the repose of Thy *servant* N., who is fallen asleep, O Christ our God ; and unto Thee do we render glory, with Thine eternal Father, and Thy all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now, and ever, world without end.

Choir. Amen.

(Contakion. Tone 8.)

Give rest to the soul of Thy *servant*, O Christ, with the saints, where there is neither pain, nor sorrow, nor sighing, but life unending.

(Æcos.)

Thou only art immortal that didst create and fashion man : but we mortals are formed of earth, and unto the same earth shall we come : even as Thou didst ordain, that didst fashion me and saidst unto me, Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. Thither

shall all we mortals go, making a lamentation over the grave, even in the song: Alleluya, Alleluya, Alleluya.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Thy *servant* that is fallen asleep.

Glory. Both now.

(*Ode ix. Tone 8. The Heirmos.*)

Heaven was astonished and the ends of the earth marvelled, for that God manifested Himself in the flesh to men, and thy womb contained that which the heavens cannot contain. Wherefore the hosts of angels and men magnify thee, the Mother of God.

Reader. Our Father, Which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil.

Priest. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, both now and ever, world without end.

Choir. Amen.

(*Troparia. Tone 8.*)

With the spirits of just men made perfect* give rest, O Saviour, to the soul of Thy *servant*, keeping it for that blessed life which is from Thee, O Thou lover of mankind.

In Thy resting-place, O Lord, where all Thy saints repose, give rest likewise to the soul of Thy *servant*, in that Thou alone art immortal.†

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Thou art the God that didst descend into hell, and didst loose the bonds of those that were bound; do Thou also Thyself give rest to the soul of Thy *servant*.

Both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

(*To the Holy Mother of God.*)

O Virgin, who alone art pure and undefiled, who without spot didst give birth to God, pray that *his* soul may be saved.

(*Little Ektene.*)

Deacon. Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great goodness, we pray Thee, hear us, and have mercy upon us.

* Slavonic: "just men parted."

† Slavonic: "art a lover of mankind."

Choir. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. Again we pray for the repose of N., the *servant* of God, that *is* fallen asleep, and that *he* may be forgiven every sin, voluntary or involuntary, which *he* hath committed.

Choir. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. May the Lord God place *his* soul where the just repose.

Choir. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy.

Deacon. The mercy of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the remission of *his* sins, let us ask of Christ our immortal King and God.

Choir. Grant, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.

Priest. O God of spirits and of all flesh, Who hast trodden down death and brought to nought the power of the devil, and hast bestowed life upon this world of Thine: do Thou Thyself, O Lord, give rest to the soul of Thy *servant* N., who is fallen asleep, in a place of light, in a place of pasture, in a place of refreshment,* whence pain and sorrow and sighing have fled away. Every sin which *he* hath committed in word or deed or thought; forasmuch as Thou, O God, art good and lovest mankind, do Thou forgive: for there is no man that liveth and sinneth not; for Thou alone art without sin, Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and Thy law† is the truth.

For Thou art the resurrection, the life, and the repose of Thy *servant* N., that *is* fallen asleep, O Christ our God, and to Thee do we render glory, with Thine eternal Father, and Thy all-holy, and good and life-giving Spirit, now, and ever, world without end.

Choir. Amen.

Deacon. Wisdom!

Priest. Most holy Mother of God, save us.

Choir. Thee who art more honourable than the Cherubim, and more glorious, beyond compare, than the Seraphim, who without spot didst bring forth God the Word, Thee, who art truly the Mother of God, we magnify.

Priest. Glory to Thee, O Christ our God, who art our hope; glory to Thee.

Choir. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: both now and ever, world without end. Amen. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Give the blessing.

Priest. May Christ, our true God, who rose from the dead, by the prayers of his most pure Mother, of the holy and glorious

* Slavonic: "of repose."

† Slavonic: "word."

and all laudable praiseworthy Apostles, of our reverend and God-bearing Fathers, and of all saints, cause the soul of His *servant* N., departed from us, to dwell in the tabernacles of the just, to rest in the bosom of Abraham, and to be numbered with the righteous, and may He have mercy upon us, in that He is good, and the lover of men.

Deacon. In a blessed falling asleep, grant everlasting rest, O Lord, to Thy departed *servant* N., and make *him* to be had in everlasting remembrance.

Choir. Everlasting remembrance, everlasting remembrance, everlasting remembrance.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

INTRODUCTION TO ORTHODOX DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

(*V'vedenie v Pravoslavno Dogmatichno Bogoslovie.*)

CHR. GYAOOROV. iv. pp. 357. Sofia, 1926.

The present work, as the author states in his preface, is intended to supply the need of the Orthodox Church for special introductions to dogmatic theology. He does not deny that Macarius, Metropolitan of Moscow, Silvester, Bishop of Kiev, and Fr. N. Malinovsky of Kharkov have written general introductions to Orthodox theology, but he asserts that their works do not bear a sufficiently dogmatic character. As far as we are able to judge, the clear and comprehensive treatment of the subject by Chr. Gyaoorov, lecturer in Dogmatic Theology at the Theological Seminary of Sofia, ought to supply the wants of theological students, at least so far as the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria is concerned. Unfortunately, the general ignorance of Slavonic languages will make this work less accessible to theological scholars of the Anglican Church, just as the apparent unfamiliarity of the writer with Anglican theology prevents him from referring, even in the briefest manner, to more than two or three English books, published, at the latest, about 1902. This, again, is a defect which should be remedied in the near future.

The writer deals in five chapters with the meaning, character, and history of dogmatic theology. At the outset, he gives a clear and full definition of the idea of Christian dogmas. "By Christian dogmas we must understand the theoretical truths of Christianity, as they have been communicated to us in a supernatural manner by Divine revelation, have been expounded and established by the Orthodox Church and have a general and legally binding character for all Orthodox Christians." Divine revelation is objectively represented by the dogmas of the Church, and subjectively appropriated by the faith or knowledge of the individual Christian.

The chief media of Divine revelation are Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition. But, while the indispensability of these primary sources will be recognized by all Christians, there is by no means general agreement as to their character and value. We may all believe in the progressive inspiration of the writers of the Old and New Testaments, and of the teachers of the Christian Church, but there is, at least in the Anglican Church, a reluctance to ascribe infallibility either to Scripture or Tradition. We admit, as fully as Luther did, that there are human as well as divine elements in Holy Scripture, because it would be impossible otherwise to excuse or explain the moral defects and historical errors which are apparent to any serious student of the Bible. While no intelligent scholar would reject tradition *en bloc*, it seems reasonable to argue that early tradition is on the whole more reliable than later, and that, in any case, tradition should be rejected, if it is unsupported, or even contradicted by the testimony of Holy Scripture. In short, we must be able to distinguish between true and false traditions, as Christ appears to have done in the case of the Jewish Church.

Again, the majority of Anglican theologians are unwilling to ascribe infallibility to any bishop or assembly of bishops of the Catholic Church. Infallibility, according to Chr. Gyaoorov, is proved by three facts (1) the divine institution of the Church, (2) the continual presence of Christ in His Church, and (3) the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He attributes an active and a passive sense to infallibility. In the first case, it meant a real and true action of God upon the individual person or assembly of persons, and in the second, the veracity of the inspired records. We should reply that, while we fully believe that Christ founded and the Holy Spirit guides the Church, we are equally convinced that the leaders or members of the Church, as human beings, must be imperfect and fallible. Our 19th article clearly states that the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome have erred in matters of faith, and it would be both arrogant and absurd to assert that the Church of England alone has been right at all stages of her history. Again the 21st article admits that General Councils, as assemblies of men, may and have erred in Divine things, and that their decisions have no authority, unless they can be supported by Holy Scripture. An impartial study of the conduct of the first four General Councils, not to mention the later, should convince us that, more than once, human passions and prejudices have been overruled by Divine Providence. Chr. Gyaoorov rejects, as vigorously as the Anglican Church does, the infallibility of the Bishop of Rome: why, then, should an assembly of bishops be regarded as less fallible? Our firm conviction must be that the Holy Spirit will guide us, in spite of temporary and relative errors, into final and absolute truth.

If we believe in gradual progress towards ultimate truth, we must

postulate some development in Christian doctrine. Chr. Gyaoorov examines in turn the respective theories of J. H. Newman, J. Kaftan, A. Harnack, and Vl. Soloviev. Newman held that the fundamental immutable principles of Christian truths are Holy Scripture and the rules of the faith. Dogmatic ideas, in their strife with other ideas, are strengthened and perfected, without changing the essence of their content; they absorb into themselves cognate elements, just as Aaron's rod swallowed up the rods of the Egyptian magicians. Kaftan affirms that Christianity, according to the will and predetermination of God, is the object of a historical development in the Church. There are three chief stages in the development of the Christian Church, the Eastern Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, and the Evangelical Protestant. The Evangelical concept of the supreme good (Heilsgut) is the highest, because it achieves a union between religion and morality in the life of man in the world. Harnack holds that Church dogmas are strictly formulated religious truths, and, in that sense, the Christians had no dogmas till the beginning of the 4th century. The first dogma, which began to be defined at the beginning of the 4th century, was that of Christ as the premundane and personal Word of God. Lastly, Soloviev affirms that the dogmas of the faith were not fully developed and expounded in Divine revelation. The fundamental truth, and first dogma of Christianity, is the truth of the Divinity of Christ, the idea of Him as God-man and Saviour of mankind. However, Gyaoorov does not admit the theory of dogmatic development in the Church, but lays down three fundamental propositions: (1) With Jesus Christ and His apostles Divine revelation was completed. (2) There can be no limit between dogmas of the faith and revelation, because their content is one and the same. (3) The Church of Christ is endowed with supreme Divine grace to be the infallible preserver and exponent of Divine revelation. There can be no ambiguity, obscurity, or imperfection in her teaching.

In the appropriation of Divine truths the relative merits of faith and knowledge must be considered. Faith is the capacity of penetrating into the unseen spiritual world. In the proper sense of the word, faith is not a special faculty, because its essence is rooted in the three fundamental faculties of the human soul, reason, will and feeling. It depends largely on the standpoint of the individual theologian whether faith is regarded as an exercise of the intellect or an activity of the will: but if we agree with St. Augustine and St. Anselm, we may place faith before, if not above knowledge.

Dogmatic theology may be divided into two parts, (a) teaching about God in Himself, (b) teaching about God in relation to the world. The sources of dogmatic theology are the symbols or creeds, the definitions of the General Councils, and the Catechisms

of the various churches. Three special catechisms of the Orthodox Church are mentioned by Chr. Gyaoorov, the Catechism of Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1640), the Confession of Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1672) and the Catechism of Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow. The importance of dogmatic theology lies, positively, in its exposition of the Christian truths of salvation and eternal life, and negatively in its opposition to extreme mysticism, rationalism and philosophy, such as that of Kant, which would reduce religion to a mere code of ethics. Religion in its teaching about the love of God for man, is the true foundation of morality.

Lastly, the history of dogmatic theology may be divided into three periods, (1) from the beginning up to the Council of Nicea, (2) the time of the General Councils (4th—8th Cent.), (3) from the 8th Century to the present day. The last period includes the history of Catholic, especially scholastic, theology, and Protestant theology since the Reformation. As we have said before, the author does not make any reference to modern works of Anglican theology, except in relation to the Creeds. We have no right to complain of his ignorance of or indifference to the Anglican Church, because most Anglican students are guilty of the same negligence as to the teaching of the Orthodox Church. It is the earnest wish of the reviewer that united conferences and diligent study of each other's works may lead to a better and deeper understanding between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches.

L.P.

THE HEAD CORNER-STONE.

(*Piatra-din-capul-unghiului.*)

Theological Essays of GALA GALACTION, Bucharest, 1926.

These essays of a well-known Roumanian theologian have more than a local or temporary interest. Though they were written in the first place in opposition to the Protestant teaching of Teodor Popescu, formerly priest of the Church of St. Stephen (Cuibuc-Barza), they contain a clear and vigorous exposition of the Orthodox faith. Gala Galaction maintains throughout a strictly conservative attitude towards Christian doctrine, which deserves our respect, even if it does not in every case compel our assent.

The writer declares that the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is the Alpha and Omega of our faith and theology, and appeals to the witness of Prof. Harnack's book, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, on this point. The Resurrection is a miracle which demonstrates another, the descent of the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, and abides with us. By our Lord's Baptismal commission after His Resurrection the priests of the church are made teachers, stewards of the holy mysteries (i.e., the seven sacraments), and pastors of the people committed to their charge.

Gala Galaction's Eucharistic doctrine does not appear to differ from the Roman official teaching in any essential point. He quotes St. John of Damascus and the Epistle of the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church to show that the bread and wine are changed or transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament guaranteed our Lord's promise that He will be with us to the end of the world.

Like all other Orthodox writers, Galaction affirms that the two sources of the doctrine of the Church are Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition. The Protestants have rejected the authority of tradition, and many of them have undermined the authority of Scripture by rationalistic criticism.

The writer complains that Teodor Popescu eliminated the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the Saints from the divine liturgy. He affirms his belief in her intercession as well as her corporal assumption into heaven. The 7th Ecumenical council is quoted as an authority for the veneration and the invocation of the Saints.

A long list of Protestant errors is compared with Orthodox truth, and their teaching is condemned. Most Anglican theologians can plead not guilty of the extreme views expressed by Continental Protestants, but they would admit that the Black Rubric, which the writer reprobates, does not fairly represent the Eucharistic doctrine of the Church of England. Among other Protestant teachings, Gala Galaction denounces the Calvinistic assurance of Salvation, and objects to the Protestant interpretation of justification by faith, which consists not in the complete purification of the individual soul, but only in the forgiveness of sins. We may feel that the writer of these essays has hardly estimated the positive values of Protestantism, but we admire his sincerity and devotion to the Orthodox faith.

L.P.

THE CATECHISM OF THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN.

(*Catehismul crestinului ortodox.*)

By FR. J. MIHALCESCU, Priest of Amza Church, Bucharest, 1927.

This is a short and simple summary of the teaching of the Orthodox Church. The writer holds that the Orthodox Church is the Via Media between Romanism and Protestantism, in the sense that Papists and Protestants have erred in opposite directions, while the Orthodox Church has preserved the truth, pure and undefiled.

The teaching of the Catechism is arranged under the heads of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Love.

The two sources of Divine revelation, set forth in the Creeds, are Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition. The Protestants do not recognize Holy Tradition as a source of faith, while the Papists

regard the Pope as the living tradition. The writer severely condemns both Papists and Protestants for the doctrine of the Double Procession, which, he says, is a great error or heresy, of which we must beware. In the clause on the Church he deals with the seven sacraments. He admits that some Protestants do regard Penance as a Sacrament, but he condemns them for holding Lutheran, Calvinistic or Zwinglian views of the Holy Communion. Again, Protestants admit only a general priesthood, and the pastors are simply ministers chosen by the people. It is evident that the writer is not acquainted with Anglican teaching on these subjects.

Christian hope is expressed in the Lord's Prayer and the nine Beatitudes, while Christian love is shown when we keep the ten commandments. The moral law may be also considered in relation to sin and virtue. The writer discusses briefly the seven capital sins and the four cardinal virtues. By the practice of these virtues, or by following the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience, man may reach the goal of Christian perfection. Apart from certain dogmatic statements, there is much in this little handbook which may be commended to Christians of all communions.

L.P.

GLASNIK (October).

The Editor of Glasnik, Prof. Dr. D. Yakshich, contributes an important article on the subject of Confirmation (*Miopomazanye*), in which he compares the Eastern and Western (or Roman) practices as regards the age, minister, form, and character of Confirmation. In the West children are not confirmed before seven years of age, and wait till their twelfth; confirmation in the East follows immediately after baptism. The Roman Catechism and Canon Law teach that the chrism must be consecrated by a bishop, even if it is administered by a priest according to an apostolic indult: the chrism in the East is blessed by the bishop, but administered by the priest. The Roman formula is, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and strengthen thee with the chrism of salvation," and the forehead only is anointed. The Eastern formula, "The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit," is taken from Holy Scripture (2 Cor. I. 21, 22). Lastly, the Roman Catechism and the 9th Canon of the Council of Trent affirm the indelible character of the sacrament, but the Orthodox Church cannot admit this claim, which is not attested by Holy Scripture or the tradition of the Fathers. This is a useful contribution to Christian doctrine.

L.P.

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA.

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The scholarly contributors to the collection of texts and studies entitled *Orientalia Christiana* are rendering a signal service to historical research and theological scholarship. However much

opinions may differ as to the value of doctrinal controversies or the need for proposals of ecclesiastical re-union, there can be no doubt that exact knowledge of the facts under discussion and accurate texts of the available records are pre-eminently desirable. On these grounds we welcome the publication of the official declaration of the Latins on Purgatory at the Council of Florence in 1438. Prof. Hoffmann, of the Papal Oriental Institute at Rome, has made a fresh study of the available MSS., and has attempted to reconstruct the Latin text of the conciliar documents.

Prof. Hoffmann acknowledges his debt to his predecessor in this field of research, Mgr. L. Petit, who published in *Patrologia Orientalis* XV (1920), a Greek MS. (15th Cent.), found in the Ambrosian Library, of the declaration of the Latins, and by its side the Latin text of Horatius Justinianus, Librarian of the Vatican (1638), who, as Prof. Hoffmann thinks, gave the text written down by Andreas de S. Cruce, the Latin historian of the Council of Florence, and preserved in the Vatican MS. (Lat. 4119). Prof. Hoffmann mentions two copies of this archetype, Corsin. 779 (Accademia dei Lincei, Rome), and Cracov. 104 (Metropolitan-archiv, Cracow), and adds to them Marc. Lat. III. 96, from the Library of San Marco at Venice. He proceeds to point out that the declaration of the Latins is dependent on the works of Thomas Aquinas, e.g., *Tractatus contra errores Græcorum*, and the Fathers, especially St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. John of Damascus in the East, and St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great in the West, and that their arguments are based mainly on the proof-texts, 2 Macc. XII. 46., St. Matt. XII. 32, and I Cor. III. 15. We can only say in passing that the first two passages may be quoted to justify prayers for the departed or to confirm the hope of forgiveness of sins in the future life, but there is very little to suggest a belief in the *ignis purgatorius*. The Pauline passage has been the crux of commentators, but we are not bound to take it as referring to any painful probation in the intermediate state.

Prof. Hoffmann prints the Greek text, given by Mgr. Petit, and the text of Horatius Justinianus, as well as a conjectural Latin text in parallel columns, and then concludes his investigation by reproducing a revised Latin text, based on the above-mentioned MSS., which presents a clear and continuous form of the declaration.

We must not omit to mention two facsimile plates in the Appendix. Prof. Hoffmann reproduces the list of the signatures of the Greek members of the Council of Florence, affixed to the Golden Bull of Union and another document preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence. Our attention is at once arrested by the large and sprawling signature of John Palæologos in Christ our God faithful king and emperor of the Romans, but other signatures are worthy of note, such as Ignatius, Metropolitan

of Turnovo (Bulgaria), Damianus and Constantinus of Moldovalachia, and Avraam, Bishop of Susdal (in Cyrillic characters). This is a clear proof of the representative character of the Orthodox deputation to the Council, and throws into strong relief the almost unanimous rejection of the proposed terms of re-union. The Council of Florence was wrecked on a compromise, and may serve as a warning for future experiments in ecclesiastical diplomacy.

L.P.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

THE Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira has honoured and delighted us by accepting the position of Orthodox President of the Association in succession to the late Metropolitan Agathangel. If anything can add to our satisfaction at this event it is the fact that His Grace of Thyatira has a knowledge of the Anglican Communion such as few Orthodox Prelates possess. His acceptance is no mere gesture of goodwill based on inadequate knowledge. Archbishop Germanos sees clearly the line between practical politics and an illusory ideal, between what can be done albeit with great difficulty and what is inherently out of the question. That he has become one of the official Heads of our Association is at the present juncture as significant as it is welcome.

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While Mons. N. Klepinin was in England during the Autumn he addressed several meetings arranged by the Association as well as those organized by others to forward his primary purpose of raising funds for the Russian Academy in Paris. In particular his visit to Dublin was the occasion of the definite formation of an Irish Branch of the A. and E.C.A. We shall give further details of this important matter in a subsequent issue.

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Among recent A. and E.C.A. meetings was a gathering of some seventy men in the Parish Hall of the Church of the Ascension, Lavender Hill; and a couple of excellent meetings at the Church of the Annunciation, Bryanston Street, have led to the founding of a "Marble Arch Circle," which has its quarterly intercession service for the work of the Association.

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Things are progressing at St. Clement's, near Eastcheap. The Tuesday 12.20 Low Mass with Hymns and intercessions for Re-union and for the Russian Church started in September with a congregation of two! The average attendance is now well into its teens. This is encouraging growth certainly, but with such a special object a small church like St. Clement's ought to be full every Tuesday. During the Patronal Festival Fr. Behr preached at St. Clement's and Mr. St. George gave a Lecture on Ikons. Canon Douglas gave addresses during Advent on "The Way to Re-union," and the Rev. G. N. Whittingham on "Pilgrimage."

An outstanding event in the connexion of St. Clement's with the A. and E.C.A. was the High Mass of Requiem for the late Œcumenical Patriarch on October 29th. The catafalque was surmounted by an Orthodox mitre, cross and ikon, and the choir parts of the service and the Absolutions were sung by two priest cantors. The Church was filled by a congregation of both Orthodox and Anglicans. The Counsellor of the Greek Legation attended and the other Orthodox Legations were represented also. The Bishop of Willesden represented the Bishop of London, the Metropolitan of Thyatira the Archimandrite Meletios, and the Protodeacon of the Russian Church were present.

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We express our sympathy with the Greek community in London on the death of Fr. Moschovakis, in whom they lose a faithful priest who ministered to them for many years. Others also will miss his kindly and venerable presence at the services in St. Sophia's.

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Some months before his death Fr. Moschovakis had retired from active work. His successor, to whom we offer a hearty welcome to London, is the Archimandrite Meletios Torakis. After finishing his career in the Theological School at Halki, the Archimandrite Meletios returned to his native island of Crete, where he became the representative of his bishop, and was engaged in academic work at Canea until he was invited to London.

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Within the last few months the Association has circularized all the Rural Deans in England and Wales asking that the following resolution may be put to their Chapters or Conferences or both :—

" That this Chapter/Conference recognising the Orthodox Church to be truly a part of the Historic Church of Christ possessing, in common with ourselves, Apostolic Order, Jurisdiction, Faith and Sacraments; and realizing the vital importance of the Re-union of the separated parts of the Catholic Church, and the peculiarly favourable opportunities of advance open at this time in the direction of the Eastern-Orthodox Church; expresses its conviction that the furtherance of closer relations between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches, as part of the general work of Re-union, has a claim upon the active support of Churchmen; and furthermore it respectfully expresses the hope that the Archbishops and Bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled in Conference at Lambeth will take such measures as may seem good to them to give the *rapprochement* between ourselves and the Orthodox Church their encouragement and support."

Replies have been received so far from about 120 Rural Deaneries to say that the Resolution has been carried, often unanimously, and we hope that many more yet will come in. The final result will be forwarded to Lambeth in due course. The Resolution is one that might usefully be put to other assemblies also, and that Secretary would be glad to hear particulars of meetings at which it is carried.