
The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE
STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

SECRETARY OF EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
REV. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

Vol. XVIII. Nos. 1 & 2. Jan.-June, 1938. 3s.

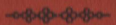


PUBLISHED FOR
THE ANGLICAN & EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOcn.
BY
THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.,

At THE FAITH HOUSE, 7, Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

1s. 6d. per copy, 6s. a year post free.

U.S.A. and Canada 50c., \$2.00 a year post free.



HIS BEATITUDE THE SERB PATRIARCH
Frontispiece

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE	...	...	1
THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH. HIS HOLINESS DR. GAVRILO	...	...	9
LECTURE ON THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO THE ANGLO-HELLENIC LEAGUE AT ATHENS ON FEBRUARY 19TH, 1938. BY THE BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK	...	...	13
PROFESSOR ALIVISATOS AT OXFORD (<i>with Photograph</i>)	...	...	27
PATRISTICS AND MODERN THEOLOGY. BY THE REVD. PROFESSOR GEORGE FLOROVSKY	...	...	30
LATIN POLAND AND ITS ORTHODOX MINORITY	...	...	34
THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN STATES OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN. BY W. A. GARSTIN	...	...	40
ARCHBISHOP DAVIDSON AND THE EASTERN CHURCH. BY IVAN R. YOUNG	...	...	50
A RUSSIAN RULER AND A SAINT : VLADIMIR MONOMAKH. BY E. N. C. SERGEANT	...	...	62

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

<i>Ὁρθόδοξα</i> . Constantinople.	<i>Biserica Ortodoxa Romana</i> . Bucarest.
<i>Χριστιανικὸν Φῶς</i> . Athens.	<i>Missionarul</i> . Bucarest.
<i>Orientalia Christiana</i> . Rome.	<i>The Living Church</i> . Milwaukee, U.S.A.
<i>Ἡράκλειος</i> . Alexandria.	<i>The Islamic Review</i> . Woking.
<i>Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φῶς</i> . Alexandria.	<i>L'Europa Orientale</i> . Rome.
<i>Νεὴ Σιών</i> . Jerusalem.	<i>The Antidote</i> . New York.
<i>Ζωή</i> . Ὀδὸς Ἰπποκράτους 179, Athens.	<i>The Harvard Theological Review</i> . Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
<i>Tserhovnia Vedomosti</i> . Karłowicz.	<i>Irenikon</i> . Belgium.
<i>Glaznik</i> . Serbia.	<i>Ekklesia</i> . Athens.
<i>Οἱ Τρεῖς Ἱεραρχοὶ</i> . Ὀδὸς Μενάνδρου 6, Athens.	<i>Apostolos Barnabas</i> . Cyprus.
<i>Naroden Straj</i> . Bulgaria.	<i>Vjestnik</i> . Belgrad.
	<i>Sion (Armenian)</i> . Palestine.

NOTICE.—All communications, enquiries and subscriptions should be sent to
Rev. R. M. French, St. James's Vicarage, West Hampstead, N.W.6



HIS BEATITUDE THE SERB PATRIARCH GAVRILO.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

COMPILED BY CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

NO apology can extenuate the belatedness of this issue of *The Christian East* nor is there anything in it to make the subscriber forget his proper indignation thereat. Accordingly once again we beg for tender mercy and continued support.

THE BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK'S LECTURE IN ATHENS.

In the past thirty years I have been asked by my Orthodox friends of every category and on many occasions to recommend them a simple and succinct exposition of the history and tradition of the Anglican Communion. But my quandary was the same as when Anglicans ask me to recommend them a like exposition of the history and tradition of the Orthodox Communion. I was constrained to answer. Alas, Sirs, there is none.

I need do so no longer: for though probably he had no idea that in composing it, he was doing so, the Bishop of Southwark has supplied exactly what we needed, in the lecture which he delivered in Athens last February and which is printed in this issue of *The Christian East*.

I venture to suggest to the editors of all Orthodox theological and ecclesiastical periodicals that they should follow the example of that excellent magazine *Æcumenical* and publish translations of it.

In my humble judgment, our Orthodox friends will find it sufficient, complete and satisfying. If they do not, I shall despair of them.

Its singular and supreme virtue is that while it was written by a very able, competent and alert scholar and theologian with the definite purpose of interpreting the Church of England to his Greek audience, it represents the central, main stream of his tradition of the Anglican Communion.

THE BUCAREST AGREEMENT.

No credence whatever is to be attached to a statement which appears to have acquired considerable surreptitious currency in a section of Anglicans that the agreements reached at Bucarest in May, 1935, by the official Anglican Delegation by the Bishop of Lincoln and a Commission appointed by the Rumanian Holy Synod has been refused ratification by the Rumanian Holy Synod. That statement is a baseless fabrication and belongs to the category of those thoughts of which the wish is father. Nor is it true that any criterion of the agreements worth serious notice has existed among the Rumanian Orthodox. The Bucarest Conference caused no small flutter at the time in certain propagandist circles which eye askance the brotherly relations of the Orthodox and Anglican Communions. But the campaign directed in the Roman Catholic Rumanian Press against the agreement fell flat. Its only echo in the Orthodox Rumanian Press was in *Glasul Monahi lor*—a Voice of the Member—an insignificant and ultra-conservative periodical which is now defunct.

As to the Rumanian Holy Synod and the Agreement, I have it on the most competent authority that the Holy Synod welcomed and ratified the Agreement in March, 1936. With the sole, inevitable and natural proviso that it could not become definitive until it had been ratified by the authorities of the Anglican Communion.

Since then the Convocations of Canterbury (in 1937) and York (1936) have endorsed the Agreement as a "legitimate interpretation" of the Faith of the Church according to the Anglican tradition; and the Archbishop of Canterbury has formally notified the Rumanian Patriarch of their having done so.

Otherwise since 1936 the Rumanian Holy Synod has not even had the Agreement on its agenda, since 1936.

When will our mischief-makers cease to imagine vain things?

BISHOP JOHN GREIG, R.I.P.

We owe a tribute to the memory of Bishop John Greig whose death at the age of 73 took place last May.

Before his consecration in 1921 to the see of Gibraltar, for which it was open knowledge that he was chosen by Archbishop Davidson for other qualifications, he had had no special knowledge of Eastern Christendom and after his translation in 1926 to be the first Bishop of Guildford his absorption in the organisation of his newly constituted diocese precluded his maintaining first hand contact with its problems and personalities.

In that respect he was unlike his great predecessor, Bishop W. E. Collins whose knowledge of the Eastern Churches remains unrivalled and who by his life-long labour more than any man laid the foundation of the present brotherly relations between the Orthodox and Anglican Communion, or his successor, Dr. Nugent Flocks, who was a notable figure in our movement before he went to Gibraltar and who, both in the seven faithful years of his occupancy of that see and since he went to Lincoln in 1933, has rendered it incalculable service; or the present Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. Harold Buxton, who, before his appointment, had served a practical apprenticeship of 20 years in the Near East, both as the organiser of the Retrogard, Armenian and Greek refugees and as Chaplain in Cyprus and Archdeacon in Syria. When all that is said, it remains that Bishop Greig proved a most admirable Anglican ambassador to the Orthodox Churches of the Balkans. His fine and commanding presence, perfect dignity and courtesy and withal his charm of bonhomie and of quiet manner, impressed and captured the Orthodox hierarchy at Constantinople, Athens, Bucarest, Belgrade and Sofia. Whenever he went to the Balkans he formed friendships and was *persona gratissima*. He never made a *faux pas*. As he came to know the Orthodox better, he grew increasingly interested in Orthodoxy and enthusiastic about our Movement. If he avoided theological discussions and eschewed the actual planning of the mutual approach of the two Communions, he did so consciously and worked to prepare the way for others. For his kindness to myself, I have reason to be grateful. I had had the fortune to know him with some closeness as far back as 1900 when he had been a master of the College of St. Saviour, Southwark. On becoming Bishop of Gibraltar, he was good enough to take me into his confidence to allow me to tender advice and suggestions to him and to facilitate my visits to the Balkans in four successive years. In truth, he never spared himself trouble and never refused a request which I made him.

In his person the Orthodox were presented with a great gentleman, a large hearted Christian and a devout Churchman who won their admiration and affection for the Anglican Communion.

R.I.P.

In passing, I may chronicle an incident which illustrates Bishop Greig's habit of knowing and doing the right thing. An Overseas Anglican Bishop who was touring the Near East in a semi-official character, on visiting Constantinople in 1921 had been received at the Œcumenical Patriarchate as the representative of his Great Nation as to every distinction possible. On expressing admiration at the carved ivory and ebony *patentsa*—sc. the walking staff—

which the Topoteretis was using, he had been given it to carry in the procession from the Patriarchal House to the Cathedral of St. George. As it happened that *patentsa* was of Century XVII an heirloom of no small artistic value. To the dismay of the Topoteretis and the assembled hierarchy of the Patriarchate, on taking farewell of them, the Bishop thanked them for their generosity in giving him such a gift and regardless of the remonstrance of the Anglican priest who was acting as his cicerone, carried it away with him. On hearing of this blunder, Bishop Greig was at pains to have a *patentsa* made of oak from a rafter of Westminster Abbey and with a handpiece of silver gilt set with British precious stones. On his next visit to the Thamar, he presented it to the Topoteretis, saying with a twinkle in his eye but in studied tones of formality that he had brought it to replace the *patentsa* which in his eagerness for all things Orthodox his brother had borne away and that he begged that "the account might be reckoned balanced."

THE REV. PROFESSOR FRANK GAVIN, R.I.P.

Bishop Greig was of my own generation. Though we who were his friends and admirers, could have willed otherwise, we know that the gathering, if premature, infirmity which caused him to resign the see of Guildford had closed the chapter of his active work. His shroud and sword had been hung up and when his passing came, our regret at parting with him was relieved by the knowledge that his lingering was over.

Our feelings were very different when we learnt of the death of Frank Gavin at his home in New York on Sunday, March 20th last.

Though ripe in experience of established authority in our Movement and with varied and substantial achievement behind him, he had barely entered middle life and appeared to have many years of effective service and leadership ahead of him not only in our own Movement but in the General Reunion Movement.

My personal knowledge of him dates back to 1919 or 1920 when he was doing what nobody before him had done and happily, though they are all too few, some are doing now. After he had finished his University course—he had a rare gift for languages as well as no small gift for Theology and had specialised in Hebrew and Syriac—he had gone to Athens in order as a research student in the Theological Faculty of its University, to obtain a scientific knowledge of modern Greek Orthodox Theology and

a first hand acquaintance with the life of the Greek Orthodox Church. I was aware of him not only through an introduction given him by Dr. Chauncey Emhardt but on account of some of his work on the Syriac version of the Canon of the Antiochene Liturgy. He had already made himself famous in the modern Greek, my redoubtable friend Professor Christos Androutsos under whom he was sitting, was enthusiastic about his promise and ability.

His *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Theological Thought*, which represents the fruit of his studies at Athens, is a remarkable evidence of their thoroughness and of his powers. The very modesty of its title degrades its value. Frank Gavin was too great a Theologian and too sound a man. He had no knowledge of Slav Orthodox Theology and though he could have written fluently about Greek Orthodox Theology—and indeed even last year was talking of making some contribution in that realm—he had not made a definite study of it. So he gave us a text-book which, though treated in its scope and furrow, he was altogether competent to compile and which is wholly reliable and withal a human document. So far as I know, there is nothing of its sort in any language dealing either with any period since the patristic of Greek Orthodox Theology or with any period of Slav Theology. The last time that I saw Dr. Androutsos, he remarked that if translated into modern Greek, it would become a text-book and supply a *lacuna* in Orthodox Theological Academies.

To find spots on a lily which might be painted is permissible in an out and out admirer. With the one reservation—and Frank Gavin admitted its reasonableness that perhaps it over represents the kinship of modern Greek Orthodox Theology with Latin Theology in method, in general and in the matter of the Eucharist and Transubstantiate in particular, it can be placed in the hands of those who wish to study Orthodoxy with absolute confidence—and I know no other book in any language of which that can be said. From what Gavin told me, he intended to rewrite some of it in order to modify its tinge of Latinism which was the consequence of youthful Catholic exuberance; and it is possible that he may have left material for that purpose.

It was reprinted, however, last year by S.O.C.K. from the "cloches" and therefore without alteration.

It is given to few if any men, to be engaged in making history and at the same time to produce first-class contributions to scholarship. Frank Gavin was too big and thorough a man to let loose anything of this second-class.

Whatever he planned—and he told me of many things which he planned—his *Some Aspects* was his only book of major import-

ance. But it will be very long before it ceases to be a text-book and it must always remain of historical importance.

If Frank Gavin had done nothing but given us *Some Aspects*, he would have served his generation well.

In due course the Rev. E. C. Boggers, of Orange, N.J., who is preparing his biography, will doubtless tell us the tale of the multiplicity of his activities. In the decade after his return to U.S.A. from Greece, I saw him on his occasional holiday visits to England and heard often and increasingly of him as a rising man alike in his academical and general life of the Episcopal Church of America.

After the Lambeth Conference of 1930, it was my good fortune to be closely associated with him as a collaborator. By then he had become the recognized American authority in all matters concerning the historic Churches of the East and the natural successor of Dr. Emhardt as the official agent of the Episcopal Church in its relations with them. He was not present at Lambeth for the Conjoint Orthodox and Anglican Theological Commission which followed up the Anglican-Orthodox agreements of 1930. But he had spent the latter part of the summer in England and some of us had had the benefit of discussing its possibilities with him.

In 1935 he represented the Episcopal Church in the Delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit Bucarest and of which I was Secretary. His reputation as a Theologian who understood the Orthodox position and was in sympathy with it was familiar to the members of the Rumanian Commission with which we confused again and again, when misunderstanding existed he was able to get behind verbal difficulties or preconceptions and to show that the main, historic essential tradition of Anglican Theology is cognate to that of Orthodoxy.

The important agreements embodied in the Bucarest Report and the consequent acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Rumanian Orthodox Church was due to him as much as to anyone. When one is workmate and trougmate with a fellow and comrade in an adventure of the kind and finds him congenial, one gets to know him in a way that one could not through years of ordinary association and intercourse.

Frank Gavin joined the Bishop of Lincoln, who was our leader, Philip Usher, Archdeacon Sharpe and myself on our outward journey at Belgrade and took on his share with us in our convocations with the Serb Patriarch, Bishops Nicolai and Irenay Georgeve and Thasal Kareovci and again with the Bulgar Presiding Bishop Neophyt, the Metropolitan Stepan and Othusat Sofia. We were together the live long day, of course, at Bucarest and travelled home together across Europe. So that, except for two or three

days when he was ill (for even then he was a sick man), we shared a continuous round either of work or pleasure—they fêted us at Balyrad and Sofia and at Bucarest when we were not hard at it in Conference, the Patriarch had arranged a programme for us which took even my breath away—or ceremonies and pleasure. When with the Bishop of Lincoln I parted with Frank Gavin at Tilbury after three vivid weeks of intimacy, his Lordship said, what a happy band of brothers we have been and what do we not owe that dear man.

In fact, with all his other gifts Frank Gavin had the supreme gift of friendship. Wherever you go in the Balkans, as I doubt not in U.S.A., you will find men who not only avow debts—their debt to him for inspiration and intellectual leadership but who loved him because in his kindness he loved them—e.g., the first time that I met Bishop Leontios, his present topoteretis of the Cypriote Archbishopric, he was eloquent about him and his home in New York, and Father Florid Goldau whom the Peumandrin Patriarch detailed to be our chief cicerone in Bucarest had been his devoted pupil at the General Theological Seminary in New York.

At the time of his death, Frank Gavin held the office of Counsellor on Ecclesiastical Relations of the National Council of the American Episcopal Church—an office which, I imagine, corresponds to my own as Hon. General Secretary of the Archbishops' Church of England Council in Foreign Relations. At any rate we were in frequent correspondence and though, as I understood, he would have had much to do in order to create an efficient organ, he was full of plans for the future and especially in preparation for the Lambeth Conference of 1940.

Frank Gavin was—and I imagine inevitably—one of the delegates of the American Episcopal Church last year to the Ecumenical Conferences on Life and Work at Oxford and on Faith and Order at Edinburgh. At times, I found him his old self during this period. But, I am free to confess that while he was an effective factor at the Edinburgh Conference—though supernumerary at Oxford, I might have entered into its Conference thoroughly but did not do so sufficiently to appreciate the play of influences in it—he impressed me as being a sick man who *could* not be or give his best; we had some very pleasant hours together, made many plans for the future and concerted certain actions in regard to the matters in debate at the Conference. But to be frank, I was distressed at his manifest difficulty in concentrating upon the issues in question,

Frank Gavin, himself, made light of his physical troubles and when I parted with him after travelling up from Edinburgh to Euston at the end of the Conference, bade me *Auf Wiedersehen*,

if not for this year or next, at least for Lambeth 1940. In view of my age, I replied *semiticé*, it shall be.

No doubt, if I had exercised my common sense, I would have perceived that he was broken in physical constitution and that the term of his activities and of his friendships in this world was near. I did not do so, and—*culpa mea maxima*—I wrote to him last January almost crossly because he was not implementing the agreements for our common action which he had himself suggested at Edinburgh.

As I must see things, Frank Gavin was "snipt with the shuttle full." He had done much. But I looked to him to do far more. When one has attained three score and ten, one is bound to ask who is going to carry on the work. That Frank Gavin would see our movement through its final stages to its goal after making full dogmatic agreement of the Orthodox and higher Communions and to their consequent union, I was confident. No man is irreplaceable, they say, and the aphorism is true in the sense that whoever disappears, the work goes on. But some men cannot be replaced. Myself, as must, many others in many spheres, I shall miss Frank Gavin sorely as a priceless colleague and as a dear friend. In him our movement has lost a pivotal and dogmatic worker, and the American Episcopal Church and the whole Anglican Communion, a fine scholar, a visionary, a statesman, and a devout and devoted son.

R.I.P.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS.

Professor Florovsky needs no introduction. The paper of his which we print was delivered at the Pan-Orthodox Conference of Theological Professors held last year in Athens. In these days of much brilliant speculation theological writing, constructive and otherwise, it is well to be reminded that Anglicanism and Orthodoxy are alike in that they are unintelligible apart from the tradition which is revealed in the Scriptures and is found in the Fathers. Unlike some of his Paris confrères, Prof. Florovsky's writings are intrigued and inspired by patristics. Colonel Garstin who writes of the Malabar Syrian-Orthodox was for some years the British political officer in the native state of Travancore. The author of the article on *Latin Poland and its Orthodox Minority* is a responsible public man who is in a position to obtain information and has been at pains both to obtain it and to write with studied caution. His statements may be relied upon.

THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH

HIS HOLINESS DR. GAVRILO.

HIS HOLINESS THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH DR. GAVRILO was born on 17th May, 1881, close by a famous monastery in Montenegro which has given to the Serbian people a great company of famous men, leaders and generals. At his christening he was given the name of George.

The young George showed from his earliest youth love and ability for school and learning. The Archimandrite Michael, the hegumen of the monastery, observed in the young George great natural gifts and decided to have him educated. When he had finished the primary school in the monastery he was sent to a secondary school in Belgrade. From Belgrade he entered the theological school in Prizren. At school the young George was an outstanding pupil.

Even as a child George Dozhich had an inclination for the monastic life, the service of God and the nation. As a boy he resolved to be a monk. And as a student of the Prizren theological school he became a monk in a monastery near Nish on 26th February, 1900, at the age of nineteen. As a monk he was called Gavriilo. The next day he was ordained deacon, and a week later he was ordained priest.

Having completed his studies at the theological school in Prizren he became a teacher in Montenegro. Wishing to continue his studies, Gavriilo soon went to Constantinople, where he successfully completed the course in the theological school there in the Greek language. As an outstanding student he obtained a scholarship for higher theological education in Athens. In 1905 Gavriilo matriculated in the theological faculty of the University of Athens. In 1909 he received the degree of Doctor of Theology.

On completing his theological studies Gavriilo was appointed chief secretary of the monastery Khilandari on Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain. After this he became attached to the Serbian legation in Constantinople in connection with the question of church schools, and at the same time he was director of the Serbian school there.

Gavriilo spent some time in Switzerland and France, where to his knowledge of the Greek, Russian and Bulgarian languages he added a knowledge of French. On his return from Switzerland he was appointed an archimandrite of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In spite of the brilliant prospects open to him in this position, the Archimandrite Gavriilo always aspired to return to his native land and there serve his church and his fellow-countrymen. This aspiration was soon fulfilled when the Metropolitan See of Prizren became vacant. On 1st December, 1911, the Archimandrite Gavriilo was elected to this position, and he was consecrated on 4th December. Here he remained until the beginning of the Balkan War.

After the Balkan War the Metropolitan Gavriilo was appointed Metropolitan and Archbishop of Pech.

On the death of the Metropolitan of Montenegro, Mitrophan Ban, the Holy Council of Hierarchs of the United Serbian Orthodox Church, elected Dr. Gavriilo as Metropolitan with his See at Cetinje, where he was enthroned on 2nd March, 1921.

In the life of the Serbian Orthodox Church the Metropolitan Gavriilo played a very conspicuous part. While still very young he entered the organization of the church, and from the time when he became a monk until he was elected Patriarch he was always in the front ranks of those who fought for the rights of his church and people. His vigorous and indomitable spirit, full of energy and enthusiasm and imaginative foresight, succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties connected with Saint Sava and national missionary activity. In this work for the good of the church and the people, whose vital interests were to him inseparable, he did very much for the church of Saint Sava, especially after Yugoslavia achieved unity and independence.

With his knowledge and experience he was eminently fitted for his subsequent appointments as delegate of our church and country at many inter-confessional conferences, at which he successfully upheld the views of our church and nation.

Thus at the Pan-Orthodox Congress in Constantinople in 1923 the Metropolitan Gavriilo was at the head of our delegation, and represented our church. At this conference, in addition to many other very important questions—such as, for example, the question of the Orthodox Church in the United States of America, Hungary, Albania and Czechoslovakia—there was also decided the question of the reform of the calendar. In the name of our Serbian Orthodox Church, Dr. Gavriilo laid before the Congress a very careful and documented memorandum on it. He declared that the Serbian Orthodox Church could not alter its calendar to which were attached many of our national festivals and ecclesiastical dogmas, and that, moreover, it could not accept any other calendar for that would be sinful.

The Pan-Orthodox Congress accepted this exposition of our expert, Dr. Gavriilo, and passed a resolution in this sense which was afterwards communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. The Council, perceiving all the difficulty of this question as a result of the stubborn opposition of the Roman Catholic Church and the resistance of the Orthodox Church and several other churches, decided to withdraw the question of the reform of the calendar from the agenda.

After the Græco-Turkish War in Asia Minor the Greek Government, having received a large number of refugees, sequestered all monastic property in Greece, including that of our monastery of Khilandari on Mount Athos and elsewhere. Many attempts were made to protect the property of this famous monastery of ours which

for centuries had been a source of inspiration to the Christian faith and Orthodoxy, but they were all fruitless. The Greek Government considered the question of monastic property as a purely internal affair. After very prolonged and difficult diplomatic negotiations a conference was summoned in Constantinople in 1933 to settle this question.

The Metropolitan Gavriilo, as the president of our delegation at this conference, put forward all our legal and moral claims to the property of this monastery, asserting that it was a question of purely private possession many centuries old and respected by the Turks. This the Greek Government was so far from accepting that they fiercely disputed the rights of our Church and nation over the monastery Khilandari. With difficulty after long discussions and disputes this question was solved in the spirit of our allied and friendly relationships.

The united Serbian Orthodox Church needed to be organized and given one single constitution which could render effective the development and mission of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the new country. The Metropolitan Gavriilo, as an expert in ecclesiastical law, took a very active part in determining the legal position of the church. He constantly acted for the old and ailing Patriarch Dimitri, as vice-president of the legal section and member of the Holy Synod and Ecclesiastical High Court. He played an important part in the enactment of numerous laws, including the present Law and Constitution of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

When the Government attempted in 1929 to enact a Law for the Church without the agreement of the Holy Council of Hierarchs or of the Holy Synod, Dr. Gavriilo, at the head of a delegation of the Council, represented personally to His Majesty King Alexander all the evils and unpleasant consequences likely to follow the passing of this Law. Thus the first Law was withdrawn and there was substituted the present Law and Constitution of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In the question of the projected Concordat, the Metropolitan Gavriilo was the first in the Council to oppose this project, indicating its catastrophic clauses concerning our Church. On his initiative the Holy Council of Hierarchs appointed a special committee under his presidency to study this question and at the same time send a delegation to the authorities of the land to make clear the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church in this matter.

The Metropolitan Gavriilo is by race a Montenegrin and an outstanding representative of Montenegro and the People of the Black Mountains. As Metropolitan was not only the spiritual leader, but also took part in all national and cultural projects and questions.

His late Majesty, the much-lamented King Alexander, used

frequently to discuss with the Metropolitan Gavriilo important projects for Montenegro.

The Metropolitan has always been a friend to humane and cultural movements and contributed very generously to a fund for poor students at the Theological Faculty of the University of Belgrade.

Immediately after the Great War the Metropolitan was one of the leaders of the group in Montenegro which advocated and brought about union with Serbia to form modern Yugoslavia.

The name of the new Serbian Patriarch is very highly esteemed among the other Orthodox Churches. The Œcumenical Patriarchate estimates very highly his solid theological learning. He is an old and valued friend of the Metropolitan Stephen of Bulgaria and other leading Bulgarian churchmen. This has enabled him to improve the relations between the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Œcumenical Patriarchate, so long complicated by long-standing differences.

With the Greek Orthodox Church the new Patriarch, who, as already related, received his doctorate in theology at Athens, maintains the most cordial and friendly relations. So it is also with the Albanian, Rumanian and Czech Orthodox Churches and in particular with the Orthodox Church in Carpathian Ruthenia. He has also, as a Montenegrin, felt very deeply for the sufferings of the Church in Russia.

* * * * *

Let us render heartfelt thanks to Almighty God that after the storms and confusion of many months He has placed at the helm of the Serbian Orthodox Church such a wise and vigilant helmsman.

(From *Glasnik*, the organ of the Serb Patriarchate.)

LECTURE ON THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO THE ANGLO-HELLENIC LEAGUE AT ATHENS ON FEBRUARY 19th, 1938.

BY THE BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK (THE RIGHT REVEREND
RICHARD GODFREY PARSONS, D.D.).

IT is a very great honour to have been invited to address the Anglo-Hellenic League here in this glorious city of Athens, famous so long as history shall last as a home of beauty, a centre of wisdom, and the scene of the earliest experiment in that form of political organization which still retains, after more than two thousand years, the same name in all the continents of the world

as it bore in the City-State of Athens, Democracy. The political ideal which Athens first dared to attempt and to extend in the earliest epoch of European civilization, England and the English-speaking peoples, inspired by her classic example, desire to uphold and defend as a precious heritage valuable not only for themselves, but, in proportion as they show themselves capable of rising to its responsibilities, for all the nations of mankind.

It is, however, not about political ideals and institutions that I am here to speak to you to-night. Athens is famous not only for the splendid place it will always hold in the history of man's secular progress, but also for its imperishable contributions to the highest thought of mankind in its agelong quest for truth and the good life. The city of Socrates and Plato is also the city where Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ proclaimed the Gospel of the Resurrection. The little group of converts he left behind Him has for its lineal descendant the Church of Athens, whose Archbishop is Primate and Metropolitan of the Church of the present-day Kingdom of the Hellenes. Ancient tradition affirms that the same Apostle also visited Britain, though modern scholarship affords little confirmation of this interpretation of St. Clement of Rome's no doubt reliable statement that the great Apostle of the Gentiles travelled "to the limit of the West." Whether he, or Joseph of Arimathea, bearing the Holy Grail, or some other unknown missionary, was the first to proclaim Christ in ancient Britain and gather together in that distant isle the first community of Christian believers, may never be known. But whoever under God began it, and however and wherever it began, the Christian Church has continued in our island from that time till now, and it is of the Church of England that I am here to speak.

The English, so we are constantly assured by our friends from other countries, are mad. And perhaps to those of them who are interested in matters ecclesiastical, our madness is nowhere so clearly shown as in our national Church. For it is the Church of a nation, which, ever since that great movement known as the Reformation convulsed Western Christendom, has been in the vanguard of Protestantism, yet it claims itself most clearly and emphatically to be Catholic. It is at once tenaciously conservative in its constitution and its procedure, yet anxious to be liberal and progressive in its dealing with modern knowledge and modern problems. It has been for four centuries cut off from communion with all the other great Christian bodies, yet it is in closer and friendlier touch with them all than any other Church. It is more strictly bound to uniformity of worship by Acts of the national legislature than any other religious denomination, yet it displays greater variety in worship than any of the English "Free Churches." Its true nature is something of a mystery to most

Englishmen: no wonder if it appears utterly incomprehensible to foreigners. Yet there is, I believe, a method in the madness, and this it is my desire to make plain.

First let me try to give you a rapid review of the history of the history of the English Church. When the Roman Empire of the West was broken into fragments by the barbarian tribes, and the legionaries were withdrawn from Britain, a British Church remained. Of it we know but little, and its influence upon the Christianity of the Teutonic invaders who from about 450 A.D. began to force their way into the island was negligible. For the Britons withdrew into the mountainous country of Wales, and would have nothing to do with the heathen foe who had seized their lands.

Another Keltic Church however was destined to play a more decisive part in the origins and development of English Christianity. From Wales St. Patrick went to Ireland, and became the Founder of the Irish Church, and from Ireland there migrated to Iona, a tiny island off the coast of what we now call Scotland, a band of Christian monks under their chief Columba, who were fired with evangelizing zeal towards the heathen on the main island. After about a century and a half the Anglo-Saxon invaders had subdued the greater part of England, and had established seven little Kingdoms of their own, among which, at the end of the sixth century, under its King Ethelbert Kent had won a position of superiority over the greater part of the South, Northumbria under its King Edwin a similar supremacy in the North.

In 597 Pope Gregory the Great's mission to convert the English led by St. Augustine landed on the shores of Kent and soon established its headquarters at Canterbury, henceforth to remain the Mother City of English Christianity. The Pope intended his mission to cover the whole territory of the island, and a companion of Augustine, Paulinus, was sent in due course to evangelize the North. Both Kings, Ethelbert and Edwin, were converted; and York became the seat of Paulinus' bishopric, the Mother City of the North. The Northern Kingdom fell, however, soon after before the still heathen Kingdom of the Midlands, and relapsed to heathenism. Paulinus returned to the South, and it was left to a Keltic missionary from Iona, St. Aidan, thirty-eight years after the arrival of the Roman Mission, with the help of the heroic King, St. Oswald, to resume the task of Christianizing the Northern English. Thus the English Church had a double origin. To the Roman Church, and to a succession of devoted missionaries from the Continent of Europe it owed its civilizing power and its contact with the larger life of undivided Christendom. To the Keltic Church of St. Aidan and his followers it owed a

simple faith, with deep spiritual insight, ardently evangelistic and pastoral.

Time forbids that I should recount the story of the gradual conversion of the different parts of England. Unity of observance as to the date of Easter and in other matters of lesser importance was secured between North and South at the Conference held at Whitby in 664; but the Church of the English still lacked unity of organization when Pope Vitalian in 668 consecrated a native of St. Paul's own city Tarsus, who had studied here in Athens, to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, a learned monk of the Rule of St. Basil. To this prelate from the Eastern Church the Church of England owes its organization: dioceses were established, and parishes set up; Councils of the Bishops and learned divines of the whole country were held at Hertford and Hatfield—the origin of those Convocations of the Bishops and representatives of the Clergy which still remain the effective spiritual authority of the Church of England—and the beginnings of its penitential discipline were defined. With Augustine from Rome and Aidan from Iona, Theodore from Tarsus deserves the undying gratitude of English Churchmen, as one of the Founders of the English Church. His name is in our calendar for September 19th.

Thanks to Theodore, it was the fact that there was a Church of England before there was a State or Kingdom of England; from his time the Church became a unifying power among the Anglo-Saxon tribes, and took its part in shaping their civil policy as well as their religious life. It became in a very real sense the National Church. Under the Saxon Kings there was no clear-cut distinction between Church and State, ecclesiastical and secular authority. It became also a Church of the people, concerned with teaching them the Scriptures in their own language and developing a real religion of the common folk. At the same time it became also a learned Church, as the names of Bede and Alcuin testify, among other less known early scholars. And it was a Missionary Church, from which went forth among others, Willibrod, the Apostle of the Netherlands, with the Church of whose successor, the Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht, it is now once again in full communion, and the more famous Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. Moreover, it was, thanks in part to its insular position, a largely independent Church. It recognized Rome as the centre of Church life and learning, it looked to it with reverence and gratitude; but it seldom sought its advice and sometimes it set papal guidance aside, as once did the sainted Archbishop Dunstan.

These characteristics of the English Church persisted to some extent throughout the period between the Norman Conquest and the beginning of the Reformation, the five hundred years of

Mediæval England. The increasing influence of the Papacy during the first part of this period undoubtedly benefited the Church of England by bringing into it the power of a vigorous and progressive spiritual life, and joining it more closely to the common life of Western Christendom. The zenith of papal power was reached by Innocent III, and it was he who humiliated the English Kingdom, by procuring its surrender into his hands by the weak and vicious King John, who received it back as a fief of the Papacy. The Popes from that time onward regarded the Church of England as their special property, and its bishoprics and other high offices as at their disposal, a claim which was continually resisted by Kings and Parliament and the Church itself. The spiritual authority of the Papacy waned as its temporal and financial claims increased. English Parliaments passed a series of Acts forbidding the provision of Papal nominees to English benefices, and appeals to the Papal Courts without the King's permission. Wycliffe and his followers the Lollards spread among the people a growing dissatisfaction with Roman domination, and an increasing desire for religious freedom.

Yet, it would be entirely wrong to regard the mediæval period in the history of the English Church as merely a phase that was passed through and left behind. For the Church of England to-day retains, as a priceless part of its heritage from the past, a great deal that was developed in the Middle Ages. The great Cathedrals, the parish churches large and small, the tradition of our ecclesiastical art, architecture and music, the procedure by which Bishops are appointed to the Dioceses, and Priests to their parishes, are all still predominantly mediæval, and the public services in which the common worship of the Church of England is expressed and offered, are directly derived from those in use in Mediæval England, which were a local variant of the Roman use.

The Reformation was a movement which affected the whole of Western Christendom, and resulted in the disruption of its unity. That unity had come to be more and more centred upon the Papacy, which had thought to strengthen it by enlarging the scope of its authority, until it claimed that not only spiritual but secular power was entirely derived from the *summa potestas* of the Roman Pontiff, to whom as the Vicar of Christ Himself it was essential that every creature should yield unquestioning obedience, on pain of everlasting damnation. A legalistic system, culminating in an absolute spiritual autocracy, had in the mediæval period superseded the earlier relationship of free and loving co-operation between the local churches in the larger family life of the Church Universal. Force had taken the place of fellowship. Attempts to restore the older and more spiritual system of Catholic Church

Order had found expression in the Conciliar Movement of the later Middle Ages, but without success. The nations of Western Europe were outgrowing their youthful immaturity, and becoming strongly self-conscious as national entities, eager to vindicate their national independence. The agents of the Vatican succeeded in playing upon the national rivalries which made themselves felt in the General Councils of the Western Church in ways which frustrated any effectual reform. But these diplomatic successes did not suppress the growing dissatisfaction at what was felt by an increasing number to be an intolerable tyranny. The revival of learning, the renewed study of the writings of the Early Fathers, especially those of the Greek Church, the discovery that in antiquity the Catholic Church had not thus been ruled by the Bishops of Rome, and the conviction that the Holy Scriptures themselves accorded no sure basis for the increasing claims they were now seen to have been making, resulted in an inevitable revolt, once it became evident that the Popes themselves were determined not to take the lead in reforming the system which they claimed to dominate.

Those who rejected the Papal claims came all alike to be called "Protestants." Yet it is of the utmost importance if we would understand aright the subsequent history of Western Christendom, to emphasize the fact that those who liberated themselves from the Roman obedience were by no means all agreed as to the nature of the reforms which were necessary, once the yoke of servitude had been cast off. They could unite in a common cause against the Papalists, and since the exigencies of controversy compelled the Papalists to treat those who rejected the Roman supremacy all alike as heretics and schismatics entirely outside the pale of the one and only true Church, they were all alike treated as merely Protestants for all practical purposes. Yet it is abundantly clear that there is a very real difference between the Protestant Evangelical Churches which were the product of Luther's reforming zeal in Germany and Scandinavia, and the Protestant Reformed Churches which arose as a result of Calvin's teaching in Switzerland, France, Holland and Scotland; and that both these groups of Protestant Churches are sharply distinguished from the Protestant sectaries of an extremer sort, such as the Anabaptists on the Continent of Europe and the Independents and the Baptists in England. But because England was an island, and because in the political troubles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England upheld the Protestant cause against the Papacy with vigour, it came to be generally assumed that the Church of England, in its own inner life, its doctrine, its worship and its church order, was merely Protestant, and, as the Roman Catholics were only too eager to assert, Protestant in the Reformed and Calvinistic

10 THE CHRISTIAN EAST

sense. But this widespread popular impression was far from being the real truth. For the Reformation of the Church of England was *sui generis*, and its product, Anglicanism, emerges as its inner logic works itself out in the development of its theology, worship and church order, as a definite and distinct type of Christianity, clearly marked off from the Churches of the Lutheran and the Calvinist traditions, and still more from the Protestant sects, closer to the Catholicism of Rome than any other reformed communion in the West, and closer still, as has gradually and more recently been made manifest, to the Holy Orthodox Churches of the East. Strongly Protestant in the sense of anti-Papal the Church of England most certainly became in the sixteenth century, and strongly Protestant in that sense the overwhelming majority of its bishops, clergy and laity still remain. But it has always claimed that the purpose and the effect of its Reformation has been not to discard and cut itself off from what is truly Catholic in the religious life, but only to purify itself from those abuses and corruptions which had marred and misshaped the theory and the practice of the Catholic Religion under the Papal headship of the Church in the Middle Ages. It is significant that in our Coronation Rite the King swears to maintain the Protestant Religion and is charged by the Archbishop to defend the Catholic Faith.

The Anglican Reformation was not accomplished rapidly; it was a long and varied process lasting through 130 years, from 1532, when Henry VIII began his anti-Papal legislation, till 1662, when the Book of Common Prayer in the form in which it is still the only fully authorised liturgical standard for Anglican worship was adopted.

Henry VIII was in his later private life an evil man; in his public capacity as a king he became more and more violent and rapacious. But he was a ruler of outstanding ability, and a very capable theologian. His divorce from Catherine of Aragon, or rather the nullification of his marriage with her, was the occasion rather than the cause of his break with Rome. He was determined to marry Ann Boleyn, but he was yet more determined to be supreme in his own kingdom and to brook no rival authority whatever within it. He therefore proceeded to claim for his Kingdom the status and dignity of an Empire. In making this claim—expressly stated in the preamble to the Act in Restraint of Appeals—he may have had in mind the ancient tradition that Britain had claimed to be an Imperium when Rome withdrew its legions in the fifth century, but there is clearer evidence that he was influenced by the example of Byzantium, and was setting himself to establish in England a “Caesaro-papismus” comparable to that exercised by the Roman Emperors in Constantinople before its fall, and

LECTURE ON THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 11

continued afterwards by the Czars of Russia at Moscow “the Third Rome.” By a series of Acts of Parliament he secured for himself a power over the English Church as complete as that claimed by the Pope. Only Bishops nominated by him were to be elected by the Cathedral Chapters, the Bishops and Clergy in their Convocations were to submit to his ruling all canons and ecclesiastical laws they desired to bring into operation, no appeals to any Court outside the realm were to be permitted, annates and other dues and moneys hitherto paid to the Pope were to be paid to the King, the monasteries were suppressed, and their lands and possessions confiscated; and to the Royal Titles was added “On earth the Supreme Head of the Church of England,” to which Convocation added the words “So far as the law of Christ doth allow.”

Yet Henry was determined that the religion of the English Church which he now ruled should be the old religion. He tolerated no changes in doctrine, he vigorously persecuted heretics, and though he caused an English translation of the Bible to be set up in every English Church (exactly 400 years ago), and permitted the Litany to be translated into English, and an English form to be added to the Latin Mass for the administration of the Blessed Sacrament to the people, he allowed no other liturgical changes at all.

During the reign of his successor the boy king Edward VI, the reforming movement was carried forward by a succession of unscrupulous politicians more rapidly and to greater extremes than the English people desired. Archbishop Cranmer proved himself a liturgical genius by the two Books of Common Prayer which were produced under his guidance. The second book marked the extreme limit in the direction of Continental Protestantism ever reached by the Church of England; it had hardly come into use when Mary came to the throne and restored the Papal rule. Had she been content to refrain from persecution England might not have reverted to an anti-Papal policy, as it did most decidedly when Elizabeth became Queen.

Elizabeth was careful to style herself “Supreme Governor” not “Supreme Head” of the English Church. To the astute statesmanship of this great Queen and her advisers England owes the settlement of the affairs of her national Church on lines which, despite the turmoils of the Seventeenth Century and the outlawry of Anglicanism by Oliver Cromwell during the period of the Commonwealth, have persisted to the present day. A deliberate attempt was made to retain as large a number as possible of the people of the country in the communion of the Church. To this end, while on the one hand Papal jurisdiction was firmly repudiated, and a common cause maintained with those who were

struggling to establish Protestant liberties on the Continent, on the other hand the movement to assimilate the theology, worship and order of the English Church to the pattern of Geneva or of Wittenberg was quite definitely resisted, and a middle course pursued, which subjected the Church to attack from Papalists and Protestants alike.

The principal features of Anglicanism as it shaped itself and developed through the struggles which followed may be thus summarized:—

In matters of Faith, it insists that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, but that "the Church hath authority in controversies of Faith," as the witness and keeper of Holy Writ. The Nicene Creed together with the Apostles Creed and the Athanasian Confession of Faith are accepted as declaring the Faith of the Church, together with the doctrinal decisions of the General Councils of the Undivided Church, though things ordained by General Councils as necessary to salvation are declared to have no authority unless it may be declared that they are taken out of Holy Scripture. As regards those matters concerning which there was vehement controversy during the Reformation period, the Church of England defined its position in the Thirty-nine Articles, which are not a complete confession of faith but an attempt to do justice to what was true and scriptural in the contentions of the Reformers in their disputes with Rome, while maintaining a conservative position, based upon the theology of the Fathers of the Early Church. An appeal to antiquity and to sound learning has always characterized the writings of the great Anglican theologians. To a greater extent than the leading Reformers of the Continent, they have been influenced by the writings of the Greek Fathers of the Church, and the influence of St. Augustine has been less marked upon our theology than upon that of Western Europe, whether Protestant or Papal.

In matters of Church Order the English Church has been careful to maintain the threefold Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. It asserts in the Preface to the Ordinal that these three Orders have existed from the Apostles' times, and that it is its intention that they shall be continued and reverently used and esteemed. Great care was taken when Archbishop Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to the last Papalist Archbishop, Cardinal Pole, that he should be consecrated by three bishops who had received their consecration to the Episcopate in unbroken succession from Bishops of the pre-reformation days, and there can be no question that all Anglican Bishops from that time until now have been consecrated in unbroken succession. Only Bishops may ordain Priests and Deacons, though Priests, according to the Anglican Rite, join with the Bishop in the laying on of hands at

the Ordination of Priests. No operative decision regarding Doctrine, Worship or Church Order can be taken without the consent of the Archbishop and Bishops assembled in the Synod or Convocation of the Province, with the concurrence of the elected representatives of the Clergy of each Diocese.

In matters of worship, the English Church aims at maintaining the traditional forms of liturgical service inherited from its earliest beginnings for the Sacraments and for the Public Offices, translated into the vernacular and made so far as possible simple in their structure and intelligible in their language to ordinary men and women, with constant references to the Holy Scriptures in the wording of the prayers. The Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal are regarded by Anglicans and non-Anglicans alike as among the classic glories of English literature, taking their place with the Authorized Version of the Bible as standard examples of the English language at its best, strong, rhythmical, solemn, clear.

The iconoclastic zeal of the Puritan Movement, inspired by Geneva, destroyed much that was beautiful in the furnishing and adornment of our ancient churches, and refused to conform to the ceremonial standards as to the vestments of the Clergy and the ornaments of the Churches which the rubrics of the Prayer Book intended. The Bishops had enough to do to secure that the liturgical services should be maintained, the Catholic Faith taught, and Episcopal Church Order continued. Some of the Bishops of the Seventeenth Century, notably Laud, Andrewes and Cosin, did their best to restore ceremonial dignity and richness to the ordering of worship, and the tradition of English Church Music has been throughout a splendid one. It was not however until the Nineteenth Century that the English Church witnessed a widespread and continuous restoration of the use of accompaniments of worship inherited from the Catholic past, vestments, lights, incense, processions, images, and so on. In a large number of our churches the services are still conducted with the very simplest ceremony, especially in country places and in the North.

As regards the Sacraments, the Church of England holds that Baptism and the Eucharist are pre-eminent, and in a class by themselves as "Sacraments of the Gospel," with an outward and visible sign (form and matter) ordained by Christ Himself. This distinction was also made by the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremias in the Sixteenth Century, in his correspondence with the Lutherans of Tübingen, and the Patriarch Metrophanes Critopoulos of Alexandria in the Seventeenth Century in his famous Confession.

Confirmation, Marriage and Ordination are however also regarded as sacramental in their nature; provision is made for the Confession of Sins, not only in general by the congregation

assembled for the Eucharist and for Morning and Evening Prayer, but by individuals, though it is not compulsory, and the Priest is definitely authorized to give absolution if he thinks fit. Provision is also made for priestly visitation of the sick, and, though it fell into disuse for a long period (owing to objections to the Roman Catholic use of it as a last sacrament for the dying, instead of as a rite administered in the hope of recovery from sickness), Unction and the Laying on of Hands upon the sick have been revived, and the Bishops and Convocations have sanctioned services for this purpose.

As to Eucharistic teaching, the Church of England repudiates the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation on the one hand, and the bare negations of Zwingli on the other. Its divines of all schools of thought are agreed in affirming that Our Lord is truly present as the Unseen Priest and Celebrant and that in the offering of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving the Church militant on earth is united with the Church expectant and triumphant to the One Divine-human Priest and Victim, Jesus Christ Himself, in His eternal self-offering in perfect love to the Eternal Father. Its formularies teach that His one Sacrifice of Himself is commemorated with praise and thanksgiving before God and man as the "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world," that His Body and His Blood "are verily and indeed given" in the Sacrament "after an heavenly and spiritual manner" and "are taken and received" by faithful communicants as "spiritual food" to "preserve their bodies and souls unto everlasting life."

As to the precise nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the precise relation of the Heavenly Gifts to the earthly elements, the Church of England allows a variety of opinion, but of the sacrificial nature of the Sacrament and the reality of the Divine Presence and the Divine Gift it has never been in doubt.

Confirmation is administered only by Bishops, by the laying on of hands with prayer for the sevenfold gifts of the Paraclete; the normal age for Confirmation is 12 to 14 years; careful instruction is given to all candidates, and they reaffirm their Baptismal vows.

Marriage is celebrated by the exchange of life-long vows, and the giving and taking of a ring followed by the Marriage Blessing by the Priest. It is described as a "mystery," and the use of the Marriage Service is not permitted in the case of a divorced person who has the partner of a previous marriage still alive though the Bishops may exercise their discretion as to readmitting such civilly re-married people to Communion in certain circumstances.

As regards its connection with the State, the Church of England stands in a peculiar relationship to the Crown and Parliament. At the time of the Reformation it was intended that the whole people of England should belong to the Church of England. It was the

assumption of theologians, such as Hooker, and of lawyers and statesmen also, that Church and State were two aspects, spiritual and temporal, of one and the selfsame community or society, consisting of the same persons, over which the Christian Sovereign exercised supreme governing authority, hallowed by the Church at his Coronation for the performance of his sacred office. So long as this view was acted upon, it followed that those who separated from the Church forfeited also their political privileges in the State; they could not hold any office under the Crown nor vote in either the House of Lords or the House of Commons.

The Book of Common Prayer was revised three times between 1549 and 1662. The Revision was prepared by Bishops and Divines, approved by the Convocations and then submitted to Parliament, which approved it and the Royal Assent gave it the force of Statute Law. It must be always remembered that on all these occasions only Churchmen sat in Parliament. The Convocations therefore submitted their proposals in effect to the laity of the Church for their assent, and the laity by giving it, signified their willingness that it should be invested by the Crown with legal effect, or, in legal language, become "established by Law."

After the Restoration of the Monarchy and the last legal revision of the Prayer Book in 1662 the Nonconformists definitely broke away from the Church, and became separate denominations—Presbyterians, Independents or Congregationalists and Baptists. Religious toleration was gradually granted them, but their civil disabilities remained. In the Eighteenth Century, under the Hanoverian Sovereigns, the Convocations, though they were not abolished, were silenced by the action of the State from 1718 to 1852. During the same period the Parliament of England was enlarged to become the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain (*i.e.*, England and Scotland, a Presbyterian land) and subsequently also Ireland. In the Nineteenth Century full political liberties came to be granted to Protestant Nonconformists—who now included the great Methodist connections—Roman Catholics, Jews, and men of any faith or none. The present Parliament therefore is a very different one from the Council of Anglicans which passed the early Acts of Uniformity. From the point of view of political justice there is everything to be said in favour of the change. But quite clearly it profoundly altered the ecclesiastical situation. This became painfully obvious during the Nineteenth Century, and at length, in 1919, an Enabling Act was passed whereby the National Assembly of the Church, consisting of the Archbishops, Bishops and Representatives of the Clergy and of the Laity of all the Dioceses, if it agrees to any measure affecting the Church, may submit it to Parliament, which may not

alter it, but if it approves it, the Royal Assent is given and it becomes established by law.

In 1927 and 1928 a revision of the Prayer Book, passed by large majorities of the Bishops, the Clergy and the Laity of the Church Assembly, was twice rejected by the House of Commons. A majority of the English members voted in favour of it. It was rejected by the help of members from Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. The resulting position has been one of strain; open conflict between Church and State has been avoided; the Church has however asserted the principle that it has the inalienable right to order its worship in accordance with its faith, and has proceeded to do so, without further reliance on the force of Statute Law to enforce its discipline. Further re-adjustments of the relation between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities are under consideration. It would be premature to hazard any prophecy as to what their result will be. At present neither statesmen nor ecclesiastics are anxious to press for a separation between Church and State.

It has already been said that the aim and the result of the Anglican Reformation was to keep the national church as comprehensive as possible, retaining the essential elements of Catholic faith, worship and order as its basic and continuous tradition, and, within these, freedom for the development of evangelical piety and full scope for sound learning, which should in matters theological always seek to interpret the appeal to antiquity with due regard to the increasing knowledge and changing needs of later times.

In the Eighteenth Century the Church of England sank for a while into a dignified slumber; it appeared to have become little more than an organ of the State for the maintenance of an official religion. The mass of the people, as the Industrial Revolution began to make itself felt, was virtually heathen; religion was no longer for them a vital reality. Then there swept over the land like a forest fire a mighty revival; the masterful and many-sided personality of John Wesley was used by God to convert thousands from ignorance and apathy to a living experience of the forgiving love of Christ, and to a life built up on faith in His atoning sacrifice. Methodism which began as a movement within the Church of England, and was intended by Wesley himself to remain within its fellowship, organized itself into a separate communion, with its own ministers, places of worship and ordinances. But it stirred to greater zeal many of the Anglican clergy and laity, who could not throw in their lot with those who separated themselves from the Church, and it led to the Evangelical Revival, the first of three great movements which have influenced present-day Anglicanism. Its principal products were a sincere, if sometimes narrow, personal piety, a zeal for missionary enterprise to convert the heathen at

home and overseas, and the beginnings of social reform, through the abolition of slavery under the influence of Wilberforce and the improvement of industrial conditions by the Factory Acts introduced by Lord Shaftesbury.

The Evangelical Revival was followed by the Oxford Movement, which aroused the Church to realize the value of its Catholic heritage, to strengthen its corporate life, to make more real and beautiful its corporate worship, to use more fully its sacramental system, to revive the religious Communities, both of monks and nuns, to break the fetters of its insularity and claim its kinship with the ancient historic churches of the East and West. No doubt there was much that the Church of England needed to re-learn both from Rome and from Orthodoxy, if its life was to be revived in fullness, and it has been seeking to learn it throughout the century which has passed since under Keble, Newman and Pusey the Oxford Movement began.

English Christianity in the Nineteenth Century had also to face up to the challenge of modern science and discovery, and the great changes which have as a result so rapidly altered the conditions of civilized life. The need to do this honestly and courageously was emphasized by the leaders of the "Broad Church" Movement, liberal churchmen who sought to express their Christian faith in terms compatible with modern knowledge and to bring it to bear upon the problems and needs of modern life. Their efforts were directed in part to the application of Christian principles to social and industrial life, and originated the "Christian Socialist" enthusiasm which first expressed itself, under the leadership of men such as Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice, in devoted labours for the bettering of the lot, material as well as spiritual, of the poor and the oppressed; in part to dealing frankly with the doubts and difficulties concerning traditional religion caused by the theory of Evolution and scientific speculations concerning the nature of the universe, as well as by the application of the methods of historical and literary criticism to the study of the Bible and Christian origins. It fell to Anglican scholars and thinkers such as Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, Creighton, Gore, to name but a few prominent leaders, to study and weigh with independent minds the problems raised by critics, scientists, historians and philosophers of the Continent (principally in Germany), to test all things and to hold fast to that which was good. The Church of England, reflecting the spirit of a free people which, thanks not a little to its own influence, values liberty of conscience and religious freedom as among its most precious possessions, allowed itself to be inoculated with the serum of the critical spirit of modern times and suffered the results on behalf of other parts of Christendom, which escaped so severe an experience. Its outcome has been, after some decades

of controversy among the learned, a strong re-establishment of the conviction that genuine Christianity has been from the first what the Catholic Church proclaims that it is, a supernatural religion, based upon God's revelation of Himself in Christ as redemptive, triumphant love.

The three great schools of thought, commonly called in England "High," "Low" and "Broad," co-exist within the Church of England and co-operate in the furtherance of its common tasks. They continually react upon each other, and their inter-relationship builds up a vigorous and varied religious life. We Anglicans are convinced that only through freedom can we maintain fellowship and make reliable advance in the knowledge of the truth. Yet it would be an entirely mistaken view to describe the English Church as a mere conglomeration of conflicting views. There has been throughout its history a strong, unbroken, central and predominant tradition, flowing like a great river down the ages. All our theologians and all our schools of thought are alike borne along upon its current, though some of them are nearer to the right bank and others to the left, than are the great majority, who have been and still remain quite definitely "Anglican." We hold and contend that this tradition is in all things essential identical with the tradition of the ancient undivided Church.

The little island church which in the Sixteenth Century rejected the Papal claims and found itself separated from all other Christian communions around it, both Catholic and Protestant, has in four hundred years grown into a world-wide fellowship of churches, known as the Anglican Communion. There are now nearly four hundred Anglican archbishoprics and bishoprics, scattered over all the continents and oceans, grouped in autocephalous provinces or national churches. None of them is in an official connection with the State, except the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury claims no Papal nor even patriarchal authority over them, but every ten years the Bishops in communion with the ancient Metropolitan Church of Anglo-Saxon Christianity freely accept his invitation to meet in conference at Lambeth. This Conference has no legislative authority but its resolutions express the common mind of the Anglican Episcopate. This is how in 1930 they defined the Anglican Communion:—

"The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, within the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces or Regional Churches in communion with the See of Canterbury, which have the following characteristics in common:—

- (a) they uphold and propagate the Catholic and Apostolic faith and order as they are generally set forth in the Book of Common Prayer as authorized in their several Churches;

- (b) they are particular or national Churches, and, as such, promote within each of their territories a national expression of Christian faith, life and worship; and
- (c) they are bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the Bishops in conference."

In the Providence of God it has become the task of the Anglican Church in different parts of the world to act as mediating agencies. We have been described as a "Bridge Church." Our history and our characteristics help us to explain Catholicism to Protestants, Protestantism to Catholics, Modernism to Traditionalists, Tradition to Modernists, East to West, West to East. We have been brought into close and friendly contact with Christian Communions of every kind; more especially we rejoice in the great opportunities for Christian co-operation in work, witness and worship which are afforded by the Œcumenical Movement, which in 1937 held two such memorable conferences as that on Life and Work at Oxford and that on Faith and Order at Edinburgh. The fellowship experienced in the Œcumenical Movement makes possible a closer understanding of great principles held in common in spite of not unimportant differences. Anglicans are discovering many close affinities with the ancient churches of the Orthodox East, and we are thankful that they begin to recognize in us, among much which must seem strange to them, the authentic marks of that Church which is Christ's Body. May He who is our Head, by the power of His Life-giving Spirit, draw us and you and all who worship Him in every place into closer fellowship, and Himself fulfil His Prayer for His disciples, "that they may be perfected into one."

PROFESSOR ALIVISATOS AT OXFORD.

WE rejoice at and regard as being altogether appropriate the singular honour rendered to Dr. Hamilcar Alivisatos in the conferring upon him a Doctorate in Divinity *honoris causa* at the time its Encænna in June by the University of Oxford.

Dr. Alivisatos was beginning to be known as a sound and able theologian and canonist of promise in the Athens Faculty of Theology twenty years back when Frank Gavin was studying

Modern Greek Theology there under the late Christos Androustos and Constantine Dyovouniotes who happily is still at work in the Faculty. Since then he has become an outstanding figure in the whole Orthodox Communion.

The significance to-day of the University of Athens to Orthodoxy is vital. The wiping out by the Bolshevik régime, root and branch, of the magnificent system of Orthodox universities and academies, the evolution of three centuries, which characterized our Holy Russia of the Tsardom, increased that significance. Since the Great War the Athens Theological Faculty has exercised a certain leadership. Both as a teacher and research worker, Dr. Alivisatos has rendered fine service to the life of the University. His works have secured him no small reputation as a canonist. In the administration of the Church of Greece he has held the highest offices open to a layman and possesses the general confidence of its hierarchy.

The position which he holds and the influence which he possesses are illustrated by it having been through his foresight on his initiation that the Conference of Orthodox Theologians was held in Athens in November, 1917, and that by unanimous consent he was called upon to preside over it and to direct its proceedings.

Though a strict guardian of Orthodox tradition, he is an enthusiast for the promotion of solidarity between all Christian Churches and wherever principle permits for their co-operation. At the Preliminary Meeting at Geneva in 1917, which constituted the Faith and Order Movement, he represented the Church of Greece and since then has hardly missed a Faith and Order Continuation Committee Meeting, and is recognized and beloved as one of its most devoted, active and helpful leaders.

On occasion as at Lausanne in 1927, when in collaboration with Archbishop Germanos, he helped to draft the well known Declaration by which the Orthodox delegates disassociated themselves from six other Reports, and so saved the Faith and Order Movement being committed to him. He can be relied upon to be immovably loyal to Orthodoxy and to reject the least compromise upon matters of dogma. None the less the most impatient of the American œcumenicists proclaim his value to the Movement and do homage to his contribution to it.

* * *

In celebrating its centenary in March last year, the University of Athens conferred honorary doctorates upon representatives of all the great European universities and among them with Paris and Berlin, Oxford, Cambridge and London took pride of place.

Before the assembly of the Life and Work Conference in Oxford last August, the University of Oxford had decided to confer hon. D.D. upon Professor Zankov, of Sofia, whose services to the Œcumenical Movement are considerable and well known. When it came to be known that Dr. Alivisatos was to visit Oxford as a delegate to the Conference, great regret was felt that Oxford had missed the opportunity of reciprocating the action of the University of Athens by honouring in his person one of its most distinguished sons, who was also an outstanding Orthodox Theologian and a great worker for the Unity of Christendom. The long vacation having begun, nothing could then be done. In due course, it was decided to remedy the omission and having accepted the invitation to receive an Oxford D.D., Dr. Alivisatos came to England last June; and it was conferred upon him at a special Convocation on June 23rd, the day after the encœnia.

* * *

At Oxford Dr. Alivisatos was the personal guest of Dr. Goudge, the Regius Professor of Theology, at Christ Church, of which college he was a special guest at its annual Gaudy Dinner. In London he was invited by the Lord Mayor to the Mansion House Banquet given for the English Hierarchy and to a dinner at Lambeth Palace to which the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took special interest in the conferment of his degree, had invited a large party of English bishops.

* * *

We copy this extract from the *Times* of June 24, Oxford, June 23,

In Convocation this afternoon, the Vice-Chancellor presiding, the honorary degree of D.D. was conferred on Professor Hamilcar Alivisatos, Professor of Canon Law and Pastoral Theology in the University of Athens.

In these days of international discord, said the Public Orator in presenting him, *quid magis est gaudio dignum, quam quod Ecclesiae Christianae ritu et doctrina olim dissociatae nunc una velint colloqui et deliberare?* The University had seen an example of this a year ago when, in this same theatre, eminent representatives of diverse Churches were trying to find a common road and in large measure succeeded in finding it. Conspicuous among them had been Professor Alivisatos, a pillar of the Orthodox Church and one who through his character and his talents was a man of almost unique weight both at home and abroad. He was deeply versed in theology and canon law and two years ago had presided at a Council of Orthodox Theologians, an honour well

deserved, since he had written with great learning on "The Codification of the Canon and its Significance," and on "The Meaning of the Episcopal Order," and besides *ipse morum suavitate, iudicii moderatione, rerum hominumque peritia omnibus reverendus existit*. The University desired to honour *virum doctissimum et maxime amabilem, qui id semper egit ut "omnes unum fiant,"* and he therefore presented Professor Alivisatos, whom the Vice-Chancellor admitted with the words:—*Vir iuris canonici scientissime, Ecclesiae tuae lumen, colloqui et concordiae inter Ecclesias fautor acerrime*.

Lord Nuffield and Professor R. H. Lightfoot have been elected Honorary Fellows of Worcester College.

A PAPER READ AT THE CONFERENCE OF ORTHODOX THEOLOGIANS IN ATHENS, IN 1937.

PATRISTICS AND MODERN THEOLOGY

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE FLOROVSKY.

AN Anglican bishop of old days gave his clergy on one occasion this admirable advice. "Ye who are devoting yourself to the divine study of theology; Ye who are growing pale over the sacred Scriptures; above all Ye who either occupy the venerable office of the priest, or aspire to do so; Ye who are about to undertake the awful care of souls; *put away from you the study of the times, have nothing to do with the novelties that are in vogue; search how it was in the beginning; go to the fountain-head, look to antiquity; return to the reverend Fathers, have respect unto the Primitive Church that is, to use the word of the prophet I am handling, ask for the old paths, Jer. VI. 16*"⁽¹⁾. . . It was a sound programme of studies indeed. . . And yet this suggestion that a modern theologian may for his inspiration *go back, back to the past ages,*

⁽¹⁾ *John Pearson, Bp. of Chester, Conciones ad clerum the minor theological works ed. E. Churton, Oxford, 1844, Vol. II, p. 6: Vos igitur, si a me quaeratis, quid in religionis negotio maxime spectandum putem sic accipite. Qui divino theologiae studio operam datis; qui chartis potissimum sacris impallescitis; qui venerandum sacerdotii officium aut occupatis, aut ambitis; qui tremendam animarum curam susceperitis: excutite praesentis temporis pruritus, fugite affectam novitatem quod fuit ab initio quaerite, fontes consulite, ad antiquitatem confugite, ad sacros Patres redite, ad Ecclesiam primitivam respicite, hoc est ut cum propheta nostro loquar. Interrogate de semitis antiquis. . . (Translation of the text above is taken from Prof. J. J. Blunt's Lectures on the Right Use of the Early Fathers, 1857, where the passage of Pearson is given as an epigraph.)*

is still very unpopular among our theological students. The need to face and to meet in a *new* theological synthesis the difficulties of *our own age* is dangerously overemphasized by most of them. And usually a forced distinction is uttered between the *dogma* and the *doctrine*. All "dogmas" are to be received and kept untouched or unchanged, this is presumably taken for granted by all Catholic-minded scholars. But only very few statements are recognized as being really "dogmatic" in a strict sense of the word, backed by a proper, decisive and binding, authority of an Œcumenical Council or of the unanimous consent of the whole Church (*ecclesia sparsa*). In any case these dogmatic statements or definitions do require an explanation, must be extended or developed into a coherent system of ideas.

And the main purpose of the doctrine is supposed to be just the following one: to make the unalterable truth of dogmas fully available and comprehensible for a particular and concrete historical "milieu," to express and to explain the revealed truth under some special conditions, for a definite age or for a definite generation. And thus the doctrine inevitably has but a relative or conditional value—for a certain time and environment, and must be again and again re-adopted to the changing mentality of the peoples, must be restated or re-constructed from time to time. An explanation can matter for all times! And Christian doctrine is presumed too often to be merely an explanation of the faith, helpful and instructive perhaps but hardly indispensable or obligatory. Curiously enough this attitude is shared sometimes by certain conservative minds in the Church also. The faith cannot depend upon any special philosophical presuppositions, this is the main argument. In the previous generation of Russian ecclesiastics there was a strong prejudice against any "metaphysics," any philosophy or speculation, may it be German or Greek. We are living still under a shadow of this peculiar ecclesiastical agnosticism. Purity of Scriptures and simplicity of faith are contrasted with the vainglory of all theological speculations. . . And there is an unexpected agreement between those who mistrust any theological speculation and those who are looking for a new or modern theological synthesis. Both do disregard the traditional synthesis, the patristic doctrine. For some it is still a speculation, for others it is a speculation of old days, and therefore antiquated. . . Patristic writings are respected indeed, but more as historical documents than as books of authority. . . Numerous patristic references or even quotations are still usual in our theological essays and text-books. But so often these old texts or quotations are simply interpolated into a scheme borrowed elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the conventional schemes of our theological text-books came from the West, partly from Roman

sources partly from Reformed ones. . . Patristic texts are kept and repeated. Patristic mind is too often completely lost or forgotten. . . Palamite teaching of the divine *ἐνέφραση* is hardly mentioned in most of our text-books. The peculiarity of our Eastern tradition in the doctrine of God and His attributes has been forgotten and completely misunderstood. . .

The common patristic doctrine of the *ξέωση* again is rather ignored in our modern systems. . . The doctrine of Atonement is presented in our popular text-books either according to Anselm of Canterbury or some later Post-Tridentine authority. And the typical patristic idea, so vigorously emphasized in the liturgical texts, that Christ's Resurrection was the climax and the real source of the victory over the death has been completely overlooked by our theologians. . . The idea of the Church, as of a Mystical Body of Christ, has been also forgotten, and a modern attempt to remind it in a theological thesis was severely censured by the Russian Synod about forty years ago (the case of the Rev. E. Akvitonov). . . The admirable treatises of Nicolas Cabasilas or of Symeon of Thessalonica have been hardly studied by our theological professors as an authority on the Orthodox doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. . . The vital and urgent necessity to reform our theological school routine and to restore the patristic mentality in the theological teaching was felt and uttered more than once in the last fifty years by many prominent leaders in the Russian Church. It was a great and historical merit of the late Metropolitan Antony (Khrapovitzky) that he has preached so vigorously the standard value of the Patristic writings and of the Patristic mind. Unfortunately enough his own interpretation of the Patristic doctrine was in many points more than inadequate. But the right principle was promulgated with a great insistence and a real authority. . . This call to "go back" to the Fathers can be easily misunderstood. It does *not* mean a return to the *letter* of old patristic documents. To follow in the steps of the Fathers does not mean "*jurare in verba magistri*." What is really meant and required is not a blind or servile imitation and repetitions but rather a further *development* of this patristic teaching, but homogeneous and congenial. We have to kindle again the creative fire of the Fathers to restore in ourselves *the patristic spirit*. As Cardinal Newman said on one occasion: "The Fathers are our teachers but not our confessors or casuist; they are the prophets of great things, not the spiritual directors of individuals" (*Essays* II, 371). . . What is of real importance is not so much an identity of spoken words, as the real continuity of lives and mind, and inspiration. . . One has to grow older or to go farther, but *in the same direction* or, better to say, *in the same type and spirit*. . . Two points must be here specially mentioned. . . I. Even

historically it is hardly possible to isolate the formal or defined dogma from that inclusive doctrinal context in which only the definition itself possesses its full value and meaning. The connection of "dogma" and (patristic) "doctrine" is much deeper and more organic than the partisans of a new doctrinal synthesis would like to admit. Patristic teaching for an historian in any case is the best and the most natural key to the dogma. This interpretation may be incomplete, then one has to continue *the same line*. Holy Fathers are still leading the way, one has to walk farther, and many views quite unexpected do appear, but the road is still the same, the kingly way of the Catholic understanding. . .

2. And this is perhaps the main point. Holy Fathers are more than merely theologians. They are teachers, "teachers of the Church," *doctores Ecclesiae*, οὗ δὲ διδασκαλοὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης . . . "In Catholic transfiguration personality receives strength and power to express the life and consciousness of the whole. And this not as an impersonal medium, but in creative and heroic action. We must not say: "Every one in the Church *attains* the level of Catholicity," but "*every one can, and must, and is called to attain it.*" Not always and not by every one is it attained. In the Church we call those who have attained it Doctors and Fathers, because *from them we hear not only their personal profession, but also the testimony of the Church; they speak to us from its Catholic completeness, from the completeness of a life full of grace*". . . This "Catholic mentality" constitutes the incomparable methodological value or authority of patristic writings. And again, this does not mean that all personal opinions of the Fathers must also be held, or that one has to follow any particular teacher among the Fathers. The first task for the present generation of Orthodox theologians would be to restore in themselves this sacrificial capacity, not so much to develop their own ideas or views, but to bear witness solely to the immaculate faith of the Mother Church! *Cor nostrum sit semper in Ecclesia!*

It would be unfair, even from a purely historical point of view, to pretend that old Fathers have expressed the faith of the Church in a conditional language of the current philosophy of their own age which has obviously no title to be canonised, though *implicite*. The full truth about Holy Fathers is that *they have created a new philosophy*, very different from both Platonism and Aristotelianism, or anything else. . . This makes ridiculous any attempt to reinterpret the traditional doctrine in terms or categories of a new philosophy, whatever this philosophy may be. The development of modern philosophy in any case cannot be treated as an inde-

(¹) G. Florovsky, Sobornost, The Catholicity of the Church, "The Church of God," An Anglo-Russian Symposium by members of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, London, S.P.C.K., 1934, p. 62.

pendent instance. And "modern philosophy" must be examined first of all from within the Catholic self-consciousness of the Church. It would be precisely ridiculous to check Christian doctrine by some Kantian or Hegelian criterion, or by that of Lotze, Bergson and somebody else. What is really required is not a new language, or any new glorious visions, but only a *better spiritual sight* which would enable us again to discern in the fullness of the Catholic experience as much as our spiritual Father and forefathers did. . . This re-discovery of the Patristic sight would be the only real step forward. . . One point must be emphasized here. No particular philosophy has been ever "canonised" in any doctrinal or dogmatic statements.

And still all these traditional schemes and formularies are through and through *hellenistic* or *Greek*. This "*hellenism*" is really *so-to-say canonized*. It is a new, *Christian Hellenism*. It is a common atmosphere of the Church, created by a series of Christian generations. Our Christian worship in its essential is *hellenistic* (as it was shown quite recently in most illuminating publications of the great Benedictine scholar, Fr. Odo Casel, of the Abbaye Maria Laach). The same one has to say of our icons. The same is true of our doctrinal formularies too. In a sense *the Church itself is hellenistic*, is a *hellenistic formation*—or in other words, *Hellenism is a standing category of the Christian existence*. . . And thus any theologian must pass an experience of a spiritual *hellenization* (or *re-hellenization*). . . Many shortcomings in the modern developments of Orthodox Churches depend greatly upon the loss of this *hellenistic spirit*. And the creative postulate for the next future would be like this: *let us be more Greek to be truly Catholic, to be truly Orthodox*.

LATIN POLAND AND ITS ORTHODOX MINORITY.

THE strip of territory from the Baltic to the Eastern shore of the Adriatic has for a thousand years been the scene of struggle between the Eastern and Western Churches. Vladimir, the first Russian Prince to become Christian, was approached by Rome before he accepted baptism at the hands of the Byzantine Patriarchate in 988. Throughout the centuries the people in this region, mostly Slavs, have been the object of conquest by the Western Church. In the XIII century there came about a consolidation of the Western jurisdiction and rite in Lithuania and Poland, and an equally firm confirmation of the adherence of the Russian people

to the Eastern Church. Since that time the provinces of Volhynia and Galicia, now forming the South Eastern part of Poland, have suffered the ravages of both ecclesiastical and political warfare. The Florentine plan of *Unia* in 1440 failed so far as the Russians were concerned, but provided a "porch," so to speak, for those who loved the Eastern rite and their own language for services, while desiring the powerful protection of Rome to take the place of the then dying Byzantine capital. In this struggle churches and monasteries as well as episcopal thrones changed hands. During the "Time of Trouble" following Ivan the Terrible, the Polish kingdom was strong and the Roman domination extended even to Kiev. With return of Russian power, Eastern influence was restored, increasingly reconquering both territory and souls, until the final partition of Poland under Catherine gave the Easterners the advantage. It was, however, only an advantage, for the struggle continued up to the world war.

The restoration of Polish independence in 1918 and her treaty of Riga with Soviet Russia in 1921 resulted in the determination of a frontier well to the East where residents on the soil spoke not Polish but Russian or Ukrainian, and where the bulk of churches and monasteries were not Roman but Orthodox. The Orthodox, nominally still under the Moscow Patriarchate, were led to form an autonomous jurisdiction and received the benediction of Constantinople, although the new Polish Orthodox Church has not yet fully adjusted its canonical status with Moscow.

According to the last Polish census (1931) the Orthodox in Poland number 3,787,000; the "Greek Catholics" (Uniates, etc.) number 3,361,000, out of the total population of 32,107,000. Even during the twenty years of Polish independence, the three million "Greek" Catholics have continued to be the no-man's land between the Eastern and the Western jurisdictions. A considerable number, by entire villages, have declared themselves Eastern Orthodox. These, added to the normal increase in population, give the Orthodox claim to a total of about 4,500,000 adherents in 1938.

But the struggle continues to wage not only for souls but for property. The Roman Church laid claim, on historical grounds, to about a thousand church and monastic properties. Some claims were granted, but court decisions at the middle of the present decade rejected their claims to some six hundred properties, actually in use by the Orthodox. Since this decision, other methods have been used to acquire both property and souls, as will be described below. It is perhaps natural that, as in previous centuries both the Government and the Church should seize the advantage given it. The Polish Government takes account of the fact that the

Orthodox, on the main, speak not Polish but Russian or Ukrainian, languages of the Soviet Republic whence comes by radio in these languages a persistent stream of subversive political influence. It undoubtedly desires to offset this influence by breaking the hold of the Church whose tradition, literature and cult are Russian or Slavonic. There is thus a natural tendency for the Government to align itself with the Roman Church, and jointly to carry on the century-old struggle between East and West.

In this situation the Orthodox Church is in an almost helpless condition. Its bishops, clergy and people have never been accused of disloyalty to the state, yet they have no legal status, for the Orthodox Church has as yet no legal constitution, charter or concordat with the Government. Since the rescript of January 20, 1922, which provides the only official recognition of the Orthodox Church, does not have the force of law, it follows that the Orthodox Church is not a legal body with right of holding property. All churches, monasteries, lands, etc., which were in possession of the Orthodox Church at the time of the reconstitution of the Polish state, were lost to legal ownership and have been held in a state of sequestration by the government. From this standpoint, therefore, the Government could be considered fully competent to dispose of such properties, were it not for historic and actual tenure, and for moral considerations.

For about eight years, a mixed commission, consisting of three Orthodox Bishops and five Government officials (Roman-Catholic) have been sitting to prepare a project of a constitution, or charter, which would be accepted by the Church and approved by the Government. The Church desires to call a Sobor as soon as possible for this purpose as authorized by the President of the Republic on May 30, 1930. The project is understood to be already prepared. The Government has approved of the plan, but has not approved a date for calling of the Sobor, postponing it from year to year. At the end of April, the Government let it be known that the project would remain without attention for the reason, they claimed, that public opinion in Poland is against the Orthodox Church.

Under conditions of such absence of legal status, the Orthodox Church has been the prey to hostile forces, which have not hesitated to take action, and in many cases have been supported by the police, the army, civil officials, not to speak of Roman-Catholic priests and Roman-Catholic religious orders. Hundreds of Orthodox Churches have been closed and nearly 150 torn down. This procedure is perhaps logical in view of the decision of the courts against their transfer as property to the name of the Roman-Catholic authorities. Orthodox faithful, deprived of churches are

instructed by the civil authorities to join the Roman-Catholic Church. Even joining the Uniat, or Catholics of the Eastern Rite, is not sufficient. During Holy Week, 1938, in Wolynia alone, 20 Orthodox churches were closed, without recourse to legal procedure, but simply by local administrative authority. In an interpellation in the Sejm on July 21, 1938, it was stated that in June and the first three weeks of July, 112 Orthodox churches had been torn down and three burned. Some of these were historic monuments, e.g., in Szczepieszyn, dating from 1184, in Kornitz, from 1578, etc. To add to this distress, the Orthodox faithful are required to pay the wages of the workmen hired by the officials for this destruction, sometimes amounting to Zloty 1,000.

When peasant faithful have asked on what grounds the churches were closed, the police replied, "The Voyevod," when the enquiry was addressed to the Voyevod, he replied, "The Ministry"; enquiry at the Ministry resulted in the reply, "We know nothing, ask the Voyevod."

When the peasants gather to pray in the courtyard about the closed church, the police have fined and arrested the priests, beaten and arrested the faithful, even women with infants in arms. The faithful cannot even gather for services in cemeteries or in the fields.

On one occasion, a delegation of faithful from a village came to the Ministry to request a more favourable policy. The official at the Ministry when told that there was an Orthodox delegation, said that there were no Orthodox in the village from which this delegation came, and therefore refused to see them. The question has been raised by two interpellations in the Sejm, 6th and 21st July, and delegations have come to the Ministry from the Orthodox Bishops and from representatives of various people's organisations, but no answer of favourable character has been given. In the meantime the authorities continue to close the churches.

Not only in the villages, but in some of the larger towns, cathedral churches and ancient monasteries are being completely or partly destroyed or closed, or are simply turned over to the Roman-Catholics. In Bielostok, where there are 9,000 Orthodox, the cathedral church is being torn down on instructions of the authorities. In Wilno the cathedral has been closed on the grounds that a crack has appeared in the structure. The Orthodox are prepared to make the necessary repairs, but the authorities have not permitted this. In Grodno, the cathedral has been ordered to be torn down by the civil authorities, in order to make room for a parade ground. One of the oldest monastery churches in Suprasal, XVth century, rebuilt by the Orthodox, has been taken over by the Roman-Catholics and is used for their services. The Orthodox

took the matter to court, and won the decision, but the court then declared itself incompetent to carry the matter further and referred action to the authorities. The Zirowitza Lawra, XVth century, has several churches in its cloister. One has been turned over to the Roman-Catholics, and the priest preaches not only in the church but in the court-yard before the Orthodox faithful. The great buildings of the monastery have been taken over, without payment, to be made into an agricultural school. It has become the custom to haul out the manure from the stables past the door of the Orthodox Church, although this is not necessary.

At the demand of local officials, the Orthodox have in numerous places been obliged to employ Polish, instead of Church-Slavonic, both for services and preaching. The people so resent this that many leave the church and remain without its services.

The Orthodox priests have no legal standing. A priest can be appointed to a parish only by civil authorities, and can be removed by them without explanation. The police even remove priests from the county when they find the priest not amenable to their desires.

The Polish Government budget provides funds for the maintenance of the Orthodox Church, the same as the Roman-Catholic Church; the sum being about Zloti 1,500,000. However, instead of this sum being turned over to the Orthodox Church authorities, or paid regularly to the priests, it is turned over to the civil authorities who then pay only to those who are amenable, and only such amounts as they themselves decide. The priests having no legal status can make no claims in the matter, and are forced to submit to the civil authorities.

The Polish Government also supports the Dormitory for students studying in the Orthodox Theological Faculty of the Warsaw University, but requires that any student desiring to be accepted into this Dormitory shall give a declaration in writing that he is a Pole (that is, not a Russian, Ukrainian, etc.) and will speak only Polish. The monitors and supervisors at the Dormitory are Roman-Catholics appointed by the Government.

Along the Eastern border it is said that there is a zone of about 50 kilometers in which the authorities are endeavouring to completely Polonize the population. Procedure varies. Thus in the village Chrinko on the occasion of a national holiday, there was a great picture of Pilsudski in the square. Someone discovered that it had been slightly spotted, possibly by some of the dust or mud from the street being splashed upon it. The police surrounded the town and demanded that the entire village declare themselves to be Roman-Catholic, and to join the Roman-Catholic Church;

and that all the inhabitants who refused to do so would be expelled from the village and lose their right to homes and land.

In the border zone the civil authorities together with the Roman-Catholic priests use every opportunity to achieve transfer from Orthodoxy. For instance, it is reported that if a citizen's name ends in "ski," the authorities explain that such a citizen is really a Russianized Pole, and must now "return to the faith of his fathers." Only then will he have the privilege of remaining in the region. This has happened in the region of the Zagorski Monastery.

Recently the Vatican canonised Andrea Bobola. In the XVIIth century, Bobola was the one who was most formidable in his measures to force the Orthodox into the Roman fold through the Unia. He was killed by the Cossacks and his relics have been in Rome. In June, his relics were returned to Poland by a delegation of 200 who went to Rome for the purpose, and since then they have been brought in procession to various places in order to inflame the Roman-Catholic population against the Orthodox.

While this article treats of the desperate situation of the Orthodox, much might be written as well regarding the fate of the Uniats, since the present crusade aims not merely at Roman jurisdiction, but at Latinizing the rite of those already adhering to the Western Church.

It is to be hoped that an era of greater charity and reasonableness will soon intervene.

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN STATES OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN

BY W. A. GARSTIN.

1. This article is based on notes made by me during the years 1935 and 1936 when Agent to the Governor-General of India (now styled "Resident") in the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, S. India. They were derived from personal contacts with the local people through talks and personal inquiries; also from books, pamphlets, memoranda, and the like with which I was supplied. From these sources I gleaned such knowledge about this ancient Church of Malabar as I could in the then somewhat restricted opportunities my official duties offered. To those my friends in Travancore and Cochin who so willingly and obligingly gave me such ready and valuable aid I am indeed greatly indebted.

2. My sole aim is to provide a synopsis of the present-day position in the Malabar Church described as far as possible from the standpoint of the local Syrian Christians themselves. That is to say, I desire particularly to represent the local point of view in a reliable, non-tendencious and brief, yet sufficiently detailed form, such as will provide a useful, workaday conspectus of the question of who the Syrian Christians of the South-West Coast are and of what exactly their Church consists. To more than that I make no claim.

3. MALABAR.—Gazetteers give Malabar as the name of an administrative District of the Madras Presidency on the south-west coast of India, with headquarters at Calicut. The name has, however, a much more extended application. In common parlance it signifies that strip of the south-west coastline about 650 miles in length, extending from the north of the South Kanara District of the Madras Presidency on the north to Cape Comorin in the south, and in breadth running back from the Arabian Sea to the south-western *ghauts* (*vide* map). This is Malabar, or "The West Coast." Inland on the east it is bounded by the Indian State of Mysore, the British-administered district of Coorg, the Nilgiri Hills, Coimbatore District of the Madras Presidency, the Anamalai Hills, the High Range, and on the extreme south the Tinnevely District of the Madras Presidency. It comprises the S. Kanara and Malabar Districts of the Madras Presidency, and the Indian States of Cochin and Travancore. Starting from the north, its principal coast towns are Mangalore, Cannonore, Calicut, Cochin (the British port, the town on the foreshore is Ernakulam which is in the limits of Cochin State), Allepey, Quilon and Trivandrum. And inland, Trichur (the capital of Cochin State), Alwaye, Kottayam, Trivandrum (the capital of Travancore) and Nagercoil (the headquarters of the South India United Church, com-

prising Congregationalists and Presbyterians). The inhabitants speak Malayalam, a Dravidian language.

4. This article, however, relates only to the Syrian Christians in Cochin and Travancore States; but it so happens that as regards the history, development and present-day position of the Syrian Malabar Church the States of Cochin and (the northern half) Travancore are the important areas. It is there that their churches are situated, their bishops reside, and the community is chiefly to be found.

5. KERALA.—The name Kerala is frequently met with. It is the old name for the Malabar coast. The ancient kings or "emperors" of Kerala were the suzerains or overlords of the petty rajahs or chiefs of the south-west coast (*e.g.*, the Zamorin of Calicut and the Rajah of Cochin), and were known by the name Cheruman Perumal. The dynasty lasted until the middle of the tenth century.

6. MALANKARA.—This is the territorial name given by the Jacobite Syrian Christians to their Church. It is now purely an ecclesiastical conception designating the entire territorial jurisdiction of the "Malankara Orthodox Jacobite Syrian Church" in Malabar.

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

Pre-Portuguese Period.

7. The Syrian Christians of Malabar are, as I have said, almost wholly centred in Cochin and Travancore States where, according to the last census of 1931, they total roughly just under 1,650,000, or about one-quarter of the entire population. By race, with the exception of a small minority called Knanaya Christians (§25 *infra*), they are Hindus but are called "Syrians"¹ because they use the Syrian liturgies or are the descendants of those who used those liturgies. As is well known, they claim an Apostolic origin for their Church through evangelization by the Apostle St. Thomas. The tradition is that in the latter half of the first century A.D. (A.D. 52 is the date generally cited) St. Thomas, after visiting the island of Socotra by way of the Red Sea, came to India where, as the first Christian to set foot on Indian soil, he landed on the island of Malankara (or Maliankara)² opposite the ancient port of Kodangulur

¹ The term "Syrian" was not applied to the Malabar Christians until the middle of the eighteenth century. Of course the appellation is now commonly used. I was told that in all ancient records they are always called the St. Thomas Christians or Christians of St. Thomas, a title of which they are justly proud.

² I tried to locate this island but was never fortunate enough to find anyone who could tell me its exact situation. The coast is a chain of lagoons and backwaters and the nearest I ever succeeded was in placing it just to the east of Manubam or perhaps on the north bank of the Periyar river, opposite Manubam. Kottapuram, where the Roman Catholics have a church which they claim is near the site of the original "church" founded by St. Thomas, is not on an island.

St. Thomas is said to have received the Pentecostal gift of the Malayalam tongue as the Evangelist chosen for South India.

(Cranganore), the Mouziris of the Greek and Roman geographers, mentioned by Pliny as being the "primum emporium Indiæ." Mouziris was situated on the north bank of the Periyar river where it joins the Arabian Sea about 14 miles north of Cochin. Here St. Thomas is said to have founded one of the seven "churches," or Christian centres, which he established in S. India, two others being at Parur and Palur in the same neighbourhood.

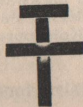
8. The Malabar Syrians claim descent (a) from the high-caste Hindus converted by St. Thomas, reinforced two centuries later by (b) the major portion (300) of a colony of 400 Persian Christian families from Baghdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem (?) founded at Cranganore by the Persian Christian Nestorian merchant Thomas of Cana of Jerusalem (Portuguese Cananeo, Malayalam Knayi Tommam or Tommam Kinan). A number of priests and deacons is said to have come with them. Malabar tradition assigns the date A.D. 345 to this event on the basis of a copper-plate charter alleged to have been granted to Thomas of Cana by the Kerala overlord Cheraman Perumal, but missing since A.D. 1544²

9. Western historians have rejected the tradition of an Apostolic origin as legendary, although they seem now more favourably inclined to it as being at least possible but not very probable. The tradition has persisted through the centuries, and modern indigenous historians are confident that it is in accordance with fact. It is revered by all patriotic Malabar Christians, I may say, *quod semper, quod ubique, et quod ab omnibus*.

10. Nevertheless it is conceded that for the first fifteen centuries adequate historical material is lacking. That a Christian community did exist on the Malabar coast during at least the first quarter of the sixth century appears to be certain. For instance, there is the oft-quoted witness of Cosmas Indicopleustes, A.D. 535, that in "Male," "where the pepper grows," a large community of Christians was to be found having a Persian ordained clergy. The Western view most generally held (*faut de mieux*, it seems) is that in all probability the appellation St. Thomas Christians is derived from Thomas of Cana, and that Christianity found its way to the Malabar coast during the great spread of Nestorianism eastwards from Edessa and Nisibis in the fourth century and after.

11. In any case the Malabar Christians do admit that during the

² It is related how Thomas of Cana discovered to his amazement that some of the local inhabitants wore wooden crosses suspended from their necks. On inquiry he was told that they had been shown how to make them by St. Thomas who himself was a carpenter. The Malabar Cross seems to be unique in Christendom and I have never found it even mentioned in any book of reference I have consulted. It is shaped thus: On the upper transverse arm is sometimes found the inscription in Syriac, as translated for me, "Through Thee we shall pierce (the hearts) of our enemies."



centuries preceding the coming of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century their Church was under the spiritual influence of, or was dependent upon, the Nestorian (Chaldæan) Church in Persia under the Primate or Katholikos Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon ("Babylon," *i.e.*, Baghdad). Just how far this dependence went is a moot point. The Malabar Christians maintain that it does not necessarily follow in the least that their Church was in fact Nestorian and therefore in "heresy." Indeed they most strongly deny that their Church ever was "heretical," and maintain that originally it possessed an indigenous (Dravidian) liturgy of its own of Apostolic purity.

12. The Roman Catholic Syrians (both Latin and United) hold that the early Syrian Christian centres which arose after the advent of Thomas of Cana were supplied with prelates by the Church of Mesopotamia which was in communion with Rome through the Patriarch of "Babylon" (Baghdad).

13. The non-Roman Catholic Syrian view is that although during all the intervening centuries, when the Malabar Church was almost isolated from the rest of Christendom, their Church was under the spiritual influence of, or dependent upon, the Nestorian Katholikos, yet it never went farther than that the Church of Persia came to of assistance by sending them priests to preserve the continuity their orders.

14. The general Western view appears to be that in all probability, from the founding of the Christian colony in Cranganore by Thomas of Cana, who was himself a Persian Christian, the Malabar Church was simply Nestorian (Chaldæan).¹

THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE.

15. A new era for the Malabar Church opened with the establishment of the Portuguese in Malabar in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1599 the historical synod of Diamper (the modern Udayamparur), a small village about 12 miles south of Cochin, was convened by Archbishop Menzies. It seems he was at that time acting as the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. Common report is that at this synod conversions *en masse* were effected to the Roman Church and many historically priceless documents were by his orders committed to the flames, including every copy of the primitive Malabar liturgy, said to have been one of the oldest liturgies in Christendom. For 54 years (1599-1653) the whole Malabar Church

¹ "... the Nestorian Church extended far beyond the limits of the Persian Empire, and at one period the Nestorian Patriarch had a bigger area under his spiritual jurisdiction than any other Christian hierarch." *The Nestorian Churches*, A. R. Vine, 1937, p. 52.

remained Roman Catholic, outwardly at least; but then a revolt against Papal domination broke out. In 1653, at the equally historical Coonen Cross in Mattancherry (Cochin), a large section of the St. Thomas Christians threw over allegiance to Rome.

" JACOBITE " SYRIANS.

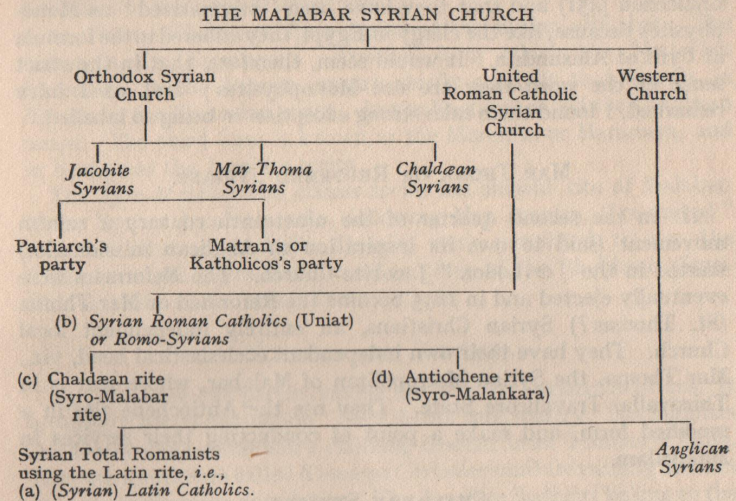
16. From this event, famous in the annals of the Malabar Church, two divisions emerged in the Church, viz., the " old sect," called *Palayakoor*, and the " new sect," *Puthenkoop*. Those who retained the authority of the Pope, *i.e.*, the whole body of so-called " Romo-Syrians," formed the " old sect," while the " new sect " were those who broke away from Rome. The " new sect," in order to maintain their episcopal succession and continuity of orders appealed to various sections of the Eastern Church with the result that in 1665 Mar Gregarious, the Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem, was sent by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch to help them. They subsequently received the designation " Jacobites." Two hundred years later, in 1875, following the coming of Anglican missionaries to Malabar (1816-18), a " Reformed " party separated from the Jacobite Syrians and took the style of Mar Thomas or Reformed Syrians. Meanwhile the connection with the Nestorian (Chaldæan) Church greatly decreased, but was kept alive in a small group of Chaldæan Syrians in Trichur.

17. It has to be noted that the common report given above of the synod of Diampur is regarded by the " Latin Syrians " (*i.e.*, the Syrian Roman Catholics of the Latin rite) as misleading. They deny that the orthodox pre-Menziesite Syrians were not Roman Catholics needing " conversion." The Portuguese, rightly or wrongly, suspected that the Syro-Chaldaic liturgy they found in use among the Malabar Christians (Roman Catholics) was contaminated with Nestorianism and decided that the only remedy was to replace the indigenous liturgy by the *Latin* liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. This is what, they declare, Archbishop Menzies accomplished. They do not accept the report of " conversions *en masse*." The Malabar Church, they claim, was already in communion with Rome.

18. What has to be borne in mind is that from the Malabar Syrian Christian point of view all divisions of the Malabar Church claim St. Thomas as the founder of their Church, and through him to have descent from the See of Antioch. All protest freedom from heresy and heterodoxy at all times, the Jacobite Syrians acknowledging as their head the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and the Syrian Latin and United Catholics claiming from its foundation the communion of their Church with the See of Rome, whose supreme pontificality *ab initio* they acknowledge and obey.

DIVISIONS OF THE MALABAR CHURCH.

19. The Syro-Malabar Church comprises three main branches, the *Orthodox Syrian Church*, the *United Roman Catholic Syrian Church* (United Catholics), and the *Western Church*, with their divisions :



NOTE.—The designations given above are those generally used in Malabar, except that I have employed the title " United Catholics," following the practice in Syria, for the Uniat Syrian Roman Catholics. I was informed that the term " uniat " is disliked by those to whom it is applied by other persuasions. In England the Chaldæan Syrians are generally known as Assyrians.

EASTERN CHURCH.

JACOBITE SYRIANS.

20. It has been seen (para. 16 *supra*) how the " new sect," after the Coonen Cross revolt in the seventeenth century, were sent a Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. To the Jacobite Syrians, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch is the supreme head of their Church. But in 1909 a dispute arose in the Church about the Patriarch's secular and canonical authority (*vide* para. 26 *infra*). The Patriarch's party acknowledge the unrestricted powers of the Patriarch. They designate their Church the " Malankara Orthodox Syrian Christian Church." The Matran's party wish to limit the Patriarch's secular authority and regard the " Katholikos of the East " as the head of the completely independent autokephalous " Syrian Orthodox Church of the East " in Malabar, with headquarters at Koltayam where the Katholikos resides. This party is numerically the stronger.

The Jacobites use the Antiochene rite in Maranaya Syriac (para. 24 *infra*). They strongly resent being designated Monophysites in the sense of accepting the monophysite "heresy" of Eutyches, whose doctrine of the nature of Christ they anathematize. I understand their position is that they reject the definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and that they have been "stigmatized" as Monophysites because, like the clergy in Egypt, they adhered to the formula of Cyril of Alexandria. It would seem, therefore, that in the strict sense of the word they are not Monophysites; and, as I have remarked, I found them take strong exception to being so labelled.

MAR THOMA OR REFORMED SYRIANS.

21. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century a reform movement (said to owe its inspiration to Anglican missionaries) started in the "orthodox" Jacobite Church. The Reformers were eventually ejected and in 1875 became the Reformed or Mar Thoma (St. Thomas?) Syrian Christians, an entirely independent local Church. They have their own independent ecclesiastical head, viz., Mar Thoma, the Syrian Metropolitan of Malabar, whose seat is in Thiruvalla, Travancore State. They use the Antiochene rite in a modified form, and make a point of conducting their services in Malayalam.

CHALDÆAN SYRIANS.

22. Various known also as Nestorian Syrians, Eastern Syrians, or Assyrians. They are a small but interesting communion in Trichur. They use the Nestorian (Chaldæan) liturgy and, I was informed, claim never to have lost their primitive connection with that Church. Thus they claim to be members of the original Nestorian (Chaldæan) Church of Malabar.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

23. That is to say the "Latin Catholics" and the Syrian Roman Catholics, or, as they are nearly always called, by others, "Romo-Syrians."

(a) The Latin Roman Catholics are the result of the mission work of Jesuits and other Roman Catholic orders from the West during the last three centuries. Bear in mind, however, that they themselves claim Apostolic Roman origin from the beginning, as already explained. They are the most numerous Christian community in Malabar and are composed largely of converts from the depressed classes.

(b) *Syrian Roman Catholics*.—These are United Roman Catholics having their own liturgies. Of them (d) is a new branch founded in

1930 by Mar Ivanios, now Roman Catholic Archbishop of Trivandrum. Originally a Jacobite Syrian he left the Jacobite Church and joined the Church of Rome, being permitted to retain the Jacobite Antiochene liturgy. They style themselves Syrian Roman Catholics of the Syro-Malankara rite (d) as distinct from the Syrian Roman Catholics of the Syro-Malabar rite (c).

24. *Rites*.—There are three forms of the Syriac alphabet. The oldest is the Estrangelo. Another form which the Nestorian Christians in the Persian empire chiefly used, is that known in Europe as the Nestorian script. In the East it is called the Chaldæan script. The third form is known as the Maronite or Maranaya, and in Europe as the Jacobite script.

The *Syro-Malabar* rite claims to be the ancient rite of Malabar. Those Syrian Jacobites who, following Mar Ivanios, "re-united" with the Roman Catholic Church, were permitted to use the Antiochene rite (Syro-Malankara) in place of the Chaldæan (Syro-Malabar) rite of the other Romo-Syrians.

NORDISTS AND SUDHISTS.

25. These are two parties among the Malabar Syrian Christians. It is purely a social distinction. They do not inter-marry. The Sudhists are a very close community claiming descent from Thomas of Cana. They are sometimes called *Knanaya Christians* and are racially distinct from the indigenous population. The Jacobite Sudhists belong to the Patriarch's party and have their own Syrian Knanaya Metropolitan. Similarly the Romo-Syrian Sudhists have their own Bishop.

THE DISPUTE IN THE JACOBITE SYRIAN CHURCH.

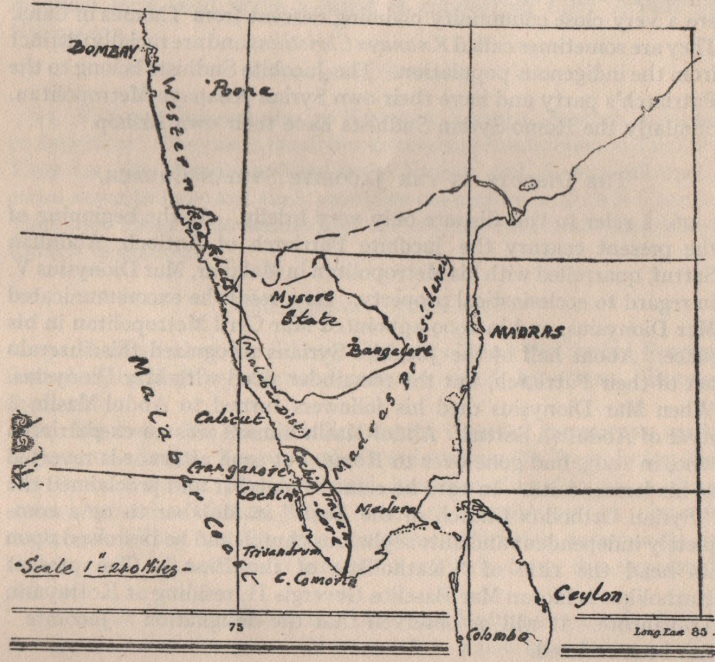
26. I refer to this dispute only very briefly. At the beginning of the present century the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Abdullah Sattuf, quarrelled with his Metropolitan in Malabar, Mar Dionysius V, in regard to ecclesiastical property. As a result he excommunicated Mar Dionysius, and in 1909 appointed Mar Cyril Metropolitan in his place. About half of the Jacobite Syrians recognized this suzerain act of their Patriarch, but the remainder sided with Mar Dionysius. When Mar Dionysius died his followers turned to Abdul-Masih, a rival of Abdullah Sattuf. Abdul-Masih himself was an ex-patriarch who, in 1903, had gone over to Rome, but soon afterwards reverted to his former faith. In 1912 he came to Malabar and proclaimed the "Syrian Orthodox Church of the East" in Malabar and proclaimed the "completely independent and autocephalous church and he bestowed upon its head the title of "Katholikos of the East." The present Katholikos is Moran Mar Baselios Gevergis II, residing at Kottayam, Travancore. It will be observed that the designation "Jacobite" has been omitted.

To the opposing party the Katholikos is merely the Patriarch's Matran. In this manner have arisen the two parties—the Patriarch's party and the Matran's party. The dispute at bottom relates to the ownership of property and there has been lengthy and costly litigation in the courts. As has been aptly said, in this dispute religion has been driven into the background. The Patriarch's party will brook no outside attempts at compromise.

27. *Mar* or *Mor*, the Syriac for Lord, is the honorific title given to a saint and bishop. The feminine form is *Mart*. *Moran* is a derivative of *Mor* meaning "Our Lord," and as such corresponds to the Syriac form *Mari*.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES (NON-SYRIAN).

28. These are numerous chiefly in Travancore: Anglicans, South India United Church (Congregationalists and Presbyterians), Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Salvation Army; Seventh Day Adventists; Brethren Mission, Pentecostals, Church of God and other miscellaneous sects, the result of the European and American Mission in the two States. The first C.M.S. missionaries came to Malabar in 1816/18.



STATISTICS OF POPULATION.

29. I.—The following statistics of the numbers of Christians in Travancore and Cochin States are taken from the census of Travancore and Cochin, 1931.

	Total.	Travancore.	Cochin.
Population all classes	6,300,989	5,095,973	1,205,016
Christians	1,939,345	1,604,475	334,870
<i>Distribution by sects:</i>			
(i) Anglican Communion	88,044	85,261	2,783
(ii) Jacobite Syrians	363,721	337,872	25,849
(iii) Mar Thoma (Reformed) Syrians	144,491	142,486	2,005
(iv) Romo-Syrians	632,805	449,173	183,632
(v) Latin Roman Catholics	469,720	360,217	109,503
(vi) South India United Church Congregationalists	138,958	138,958	—
(vii) Salvationists	59,290	58,991	299
(viii) Other Christian sects including other Syrians	42,316	31,517	10,799

2.—A. The separated EASTERN CHURCHES number altogether 515,000 persons approximately.

B. The ROMAN CHURCH (Latin and United Catholics) 1,102,500 " "

C. The PROTESTANT CHURCHES 322,000 " "

The CHALDEAN SYRIANS of Trichur, Cochin State included in (viii) above number 6,809.

3.—The number of Christians in Travancore is nearly one-third of the entire population of the State; and in Cochin their number is nearly one-fifth.

4.—ECCLESIASTICAL HEADS.—At present the number of Archbishops (including one Katholikos) and Bishops (including a delegate of the Patriarch of Antioch who resides at Kottayam) in Travancore and Cochin States is 22, viz., Jacobite Syrian, 9¹; Mar Thomite, 2; Syro-Roman, 6; Latin Roman, 4; and Anglican, 1.

¹ There is one other Bishop of the Jacobite Syrian faith whose ordination, however, is not accepted by that Church. He lives at Anjoor in British territory and is known as the Bishop of the Thozhiyoor diocese. The Bishops of this diocese are now consecrated by the Mar Thoma Bishops.

ARCHBISHOP DAVIDSON AND THE EASTERN CHURCH.

RANDALL DAVIDSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, BY
G. K. A. BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

WITHOUT doubt these two volumes constitute in substance one of the most valuable and important biographies which from the Anglican point of view have appeared in recent years. The Bishop of Chichester has performed an immensely difficult task in a manner which not only calls for admiration but also gratitude on the part of the Church of England.

In this exceptional work, which stands out among all the recently attempted Ecclesiastical Biographies, will be found the really salient material relevant to the history of the Church of England during the last six decades. From the reading of this work it is plain that there was hardly a situation of Political, Social or Ecclesiastical significance with which Archbishop Davidson did not have some connection or in which upon many and various occasions his advice was sought or canvassed. In the long line of successors to St. Augustine he occupied a unique position, and certainly, perhaps since Wolsey, no Ecclesiastical Statesman has played so prominent a part in the affairs of Church and Nation.

In the brief space at our disposal it would be impossible to review these two volumes as a whole, moreover that has already most adequately been done by others. Attention, however, may be called to one impression which results from the reading of this biography, that is the Archbishop's aversion to anything like extreme centralization or a kind of Anglican "Intergrism." Again, he appears to have regarded anything like an attempt to deal with the ever-increasing development of Church life in all its many manifestations from a Legalist standpoint with suspicion. The impression conveyed is that on the whole he took an organic view of the Church and resisted the exhortations of Legalists to deal with certain problems by resort to Courts and Lawyers. It may be that he had imbibed more than many suppose from the teaching of Dr. Westcott, whose view of Church ultimately may be construed in terms of organic development and conciliatory equipoise. In a word, the Archbishop favoured the organic outlook rather than the institutional and purely legal. As to the merit of this in practical politics opinions will differ, but at the same time we venture to affirm that despite the fiasco of the New Prayer Book the policy to which the Archbishop inclined and for which he suffered a certain amount of adverse criticism has on the whole enabled the Church of England to develop and hold together, even

when contention has been sharp between opposing schools of thought and practice.

The readers of this Journal, as indeed all who are devoted to the cause of Christian Unity, will no doubt turn with interest to those sections of the Archbishop's Biography which deal with the various efforts made over a long course of years toward Christian Unity. So far as the Church of Rome is concerned they will find much material of interest and supplementary to that which has already been published either officially or unofficially. They will also observe that Dr. Davidson, despite his natural hesitation, which sprang from his general policy in relation to the Church, had a far more comprehensive and wide understanding of the significance of the problem of Unity than many suppose.

It is, however, with regard to the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church that many will find that which interests them in particular. The attempt will now be made to give some brief survey of those sections in both volumes which deal with this matter.

On pages 106-107, Vol. I, will be found a reference to the Kieff Synod which met prior to the Kieff festival of 1888. This event gave rise to a letter which was sent by Archbishop Benson to the Metropolitan Platon, July 14th, 1888. This letter made an excellent impression, the Metropolitan replying in an important letter which followed in September of the same year. This led to a further letter of some importance from Archbishop Benson in March, 1889, since when increasing friendliness has been promoted between the two Churches. It is in connection with the Russian gesture that the name of Mr. John Birkbeck first comes to the fore. On page 240, Vol. I, the Archbishop records a conversation with the Cesarevitch, July 7th, 1897, in which "He gave me the best account I have ever heard of the position and history of the Greek Church in modern times and its relation to the State, and he expressed repeatedly and strongly his own ardent wish for a reunion between the Eastern and Anglican Churches." On pages 416-424 will be found a chapter dealing with matters effecting the Near East. The text of the letter of the then Patriarch of Constantinople, Joachim, to Dr. Davidson on his elevation to the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, in 1903, breathes a friendly spirit and marks increasing interest in the relations between Constantinople and Canterbury. The reply of Archbishop Davidson shows that since 1878 and in his capacity on three occasions of being one of the Secretaries to the Lambeth Conference he had gained considerable experience and knowledge which augured well for his affirmation that "it will be our constant care, beloved brother in Christ, to maintain and promote those friendly relations between the Church of England and the Orthodox

Eastern Church which have long existed, and which were especially dear to our predecessors."

It is amusing to notice that the Russians were somewhat alarmed at the exchange of courtesies, thinking that a political motive stood somewhere in the background. The Archbishop, it need hardly be said, made it perfectly clear in this case as also later in reference to messages of congratulation from the Churches in Syria that his objects were purely religious.

Dr. Bell points out that Archbishop Davidson had constant difficulty in convincing the Eastern Churches that he was not a great "Political Potentate" backed by "political and military sanctions." Thus he had perforce to repeat often that such a notion was untrue to fact and that his actions in these matters were "purely religious." In the summer of 1907 came the first of many urgent appeals made on behalf of the Macedonian Christians, suffering under the heavy hand of the Turk. After careful thought and increasing pressure the Archbishop wrote to Mr. Balfour, the then Prime Minister, for detailed information. Mr. Balfour promised to deal with the matter in a letter to be published and in which he expressed feelings of horror and indignation which the position excited "in the heart of every humane man." The Archbishop gave support to the relief fund and expressed sympathy, but wisely avoided any action of a public nature which might recoil upon the sufferers. In chapter xxvii will be found material relating to Foreign, Social and Church questions. It was the year 1905 when the humiliation of the Russo-Japanese War bore hard upon Russia and brought in its train many ills that the Revolutionary movement, which had been long threatening, burst into flame and culminated in the fatal Sunday, January 22nd, at St. Petersburg. The circumstance of the War called for an expression of opinion and in a letter to Mr. Balfour the Archbishop touched tentatively upon the question of intervention in the interest of peace, but the position was such that neutral intervention would not have been tolerated on the part of Russia.

In November, 1905, the Archbishop wrote a letter to the Metropolitan Anthony, of St. Petersburg, whom he knew personally, deploring the troubles and appealing to him on behalf of the Jews upon whom fell a heavy onslaught.

On page 548, Vol. I, will be found yet another record of Dr. Davidson's aid being invoked on behalf of the victims of the Bulgarian atrocities in Macedonia. With regard to this matter he had received a communication from the Patriarch of Constantinople. In a subsequent deputation to the Foreign Office he pressed strongly for Government intervention. In this particular case he went further than the expectations of many, further certainly than

he had been able to lead the Archimandrite Pagonis to expect when he saw him at the House of Lords, June 27th, 1907.

On page 587, Vol. I, we have the account of his being solicited for aid by an Armenian deputation on behalf of famine stricken sufferers in Cilicia. In this case he was cautious in calling attention to the limitations of his power to assist; he had no desire to raise groundless expectations. In 1908 an appeal was made to him by the Metropolitan of Serbia with respect to the Slave provinces of Herzegovina and Bosnia then annexed by Austria-Hungary. The Archbishop while stressing the need for prayer took opportunity to point out that "the Bishops of the Church of England abstain carefully from intervention in the anxious and difficult political questions which press at present upon the people of Eastern Europe." Volume II brings us to the Great War, and on page 816 we note an appeal to Archbishop Davidson by the Holy Synod of Athens to stop the blockade of Greece!

Chapter LII, page 839, deals with the Russian Revolution and the general collapse of Russia. In two letters to Miss Blanche Sitwell it is plain that Dr. Davidson's hopes for Russia were not sanguine. The text of two interesting Archepiscopal messages is given, one to the Holy Synod on the occasion of Easter, 1917, and the second is on behalf of the Church of England wishing the Authorities and the Holy Synod well in their efforts for the good of the Russian people. Following the decision to revive the Patriarchate of Moscow and to which the Metropolitan Tikhon of Moscow was elected in June, 1917, Archbishop Davidson, in the name of the Church of England, sent fraternal greetings. The Patriarch was regarded as being friendly to the English Church and replied in a cordial letter, June, 1918.

December was, however, to bring the appeal of the Russian Church from persecution. In the same year an interesting plan for helping Serbian Ecclesiastical students whose training had been cut short by the war was initiated. The Archbishop of Belgrade and the well-known Fr. Nicolai Velimirovic, now Bishop Velimirovic of Ockrida, were the prime movers. The suggestion was that the Church of England should help select students for the completion of their training in certain English colleges. The Archbishop acted, however, with extreme caution despite urgent appeals to move quickly in the matter. He wished to have before him adequate details of the scheme and in no way to give colour to an action which at some future date might lead to the charge that Orthodox Serbians had been proselytized and taught un-Orthodox ways by Anglicans. The scheme was eventually carried through, and proved a success, and through the Serbian Students Aid Council in two years some 60 Serbian Students were trained.

On page 908 there will be found an interesting letter to the Bishop of Winchester, in which Dr. Davidson enumerates something like eighteen important items with which he has to deal in two days and a half. They refer to all types of questions, and among them will be found three connected with the Eastern Church.

On October 12th, 1918 (vide page 912, Vol. II), the Archbishop was decorated by M. Paschitch with the Order of S. Sava on behalf of the King of Serbia. This event took place at a dinner held in recognition of the help given by the English Church to the Serbian Church during the War.

On November 28th, 1918, Archbishop Meletios Metaxakis of Athens visited England and expressed himself strongly to Archbishop Davidson on the subject of the restoration of S. Sophia to the Orthodox for purposes of Christian Worship. The Archbishop wrote to Mr. Balfour pressing for consideration of such restoration. Mr. Balfour could only vouchsafe a guarded reply. Thus despite an influential memorial which was signed on behalf of Archbishop Meletios' desire, nothing could be effected. This was largely due to the fear of Moslem reactions to this much to be desired restoration. Meletios, was, it will be recalled, a friend of M. Venizelos and also a keen supporter of the cause for Reunion. The 1920 Lambeth Conference (see page 1010) was distinguished by the presence of an Orthodox Bishop, M. Dorotheos, of Demotica. M. Dorotheos had come primarily to confer with the Committee on Reunion and as the delegate of the Patriarch of Constantinople. On page 1036, Vol. II, there will be found a delightful reference to the Archbishop's election as President of the International Committee of World Alliance for promoting friendship through the Churches. The Germans having offered a demurrer to this, Father Janic, the representative of the Serbian Church, rose to say that all the Orthodox present desired him to say that it was also their desire that the Archbishop should be President being unanimous in Dr. Bells words, "that he was the greatest man they could have." In 1921 there were further troubles relating to the Franco-Kemalist agreement which resulted in the handing over of Christians in Cilicia to the Turk. (SS page 1053, Vol. II, also the same for Bishop Velimirovic's criticism of the Archbishop's concern for affairs of State.) Chapter LXXVII deals very fully with the Russian Church subsequent to the election of the Patriarch of Moscow. With the domination of the Bolsheviks the Russian Church was submitted to violent persecution, and appeals for aid were addressed to Archbishop Davidson. The first came from Archbishop Platon, Metropolitan of Odessa, and disclosed a persecution of the most savage type, indeed the Metropolitan affirmed that by the side of it "the persecutions of the Christians in the

first three centuries pale." The Archbishop replied on January 8th, 1919 to the effect that he was doing all he could. Appeals continued to flow in from other quarters showing that the persecution was widespread. Later came the great Russian famine. One of the two appeals from Russia in this connection came from the Patriarch Tikhon stressing the urgency of the case and the frightful effects of the famine. The Archbishop did all he possibly could. The Russian Famine Relief Fund was initiated, and the Archbishop supported a National appeal. The Soviet Government now, in spite of the fact that the Patriarch had himself founded a relief fund, liquidated it and took over the funds. A demand was then made to yield up Church treasure on behalf of the fund and though the Patriarch agreed to hand over certain treasures and even proposed another scheme whereby the money might be raised he was refused. The surrender of unconsecrated objects was deemed to be insufficient, and it was required that within one month all valuable objects be handed over. The Patriarch declared this to be a sacrilege, but the decree was enforced and at the same time the Bishops accused of being counter-revolutionaries. Dr. Davidson, on receiving intelligence of these facts, wrote to warn the then Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, then at Genoa, that the Russian delegates attending that Conference were likely to misrepresent the facts to the disadvantage of the Russian Church.

In May, 1922, Patriarch Tikhon was arrested and Metropolitan Eulogius wrote an appeal to the Archbishop. On the 25th of the same month the Archbishop raised the whole matter in the House of Lords and decided to address a protest to the Soviet Government. Having ascertained that the Holy See had made representations and would repeat them, the Archbishop secured the support of the two Scottish Moderators and the Heads of the Free Churches and launched a powerful protest which was telegraphed to "President Lenin." The protest made its impression, and the Russian Soviet Government made reply via M. Krassin. The reply betrays an extraordinary weak attempt to make the best of a very bad case, and is of such a nature as would only afford a further study in human credulity. The Archbishop's rejoinder stressed the fact that he was possessed of first-hand information concerning the fact that the Patriarch had repeatedly offered the help of the Church for the relief of the famine and that his offers had been refused. The suggestion that permission be given to a small body of persons to investigate the facts was of course quite unacceptable, and the reply which the Archbishop received contained much though while relevant to bombast about "the class solidarity of the 'princes' of the various Churches," is at the same time quite irrelevant to the points at issue. The Archbishop noted in his further reply

that the facts of arrest and persecution of leading Russian Clergy were not challenged.

The Patriarch continued to remain a prisoner during which time the group known as "the Living Church" abetted by the Soviet Government, seized the administration. Later Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd was put on trial and charged with counter-revolutionary conspiracy. All efforts to prevent his execution failed. The trial of the Patriarch was, however, delayed. In 1923 followed the affair connected with the attack made upon the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Petrograd and a number of priests. The Archbishop's assistance was immediately sought, and he also received a telegraphic communication from Cardinal Mercier asking for support in an appeal to Lord Curzon. Since the attack appeared to be a prelude to an Anti-Christian demonstration and trial of the Patriarch, the Archbishop raised the matter in the House of Lords on March 20th. He informed the house that the Pope had also made an appeal on behalf of the Patriarch when appealing on behalf of the Archbishop Cieplack and his clergy. Nothing could be done, and the unfortunate Archbishop and Monsignor Boutkevitch were condemned, to death. The Archbishop's sentence was commuted to ten years solitary confinement, but that upon Monsignor Boutkevitch confirmed. Persecution now reached its peak and was extended to all religion. By April, 1923, the Chief Rabbi informed the Archbishop that he would be ready to co-operate "in any measure which the heads of the Christian Churches might deem it necessary to take for the vindication of religion and religious principles in the face of the persecuting atheism of the Government of Soviet Russia."

The Archbishop now decided to launch "the most weighty protest that religious leaders in England could devise." On April 13th, 1923, this was done. The protest, when it appeared, made a considerable stir and evoked a certain amount of criticism. The personal letter of Mr. Asquith to the Archbishop, which is printed on page 1081 and gives his reasons for not taking part in the protests, is somewhat surprising coming from a man of high intelligence. The Soviet Government continued to plead injured innocence in the matter of persecution. On May 14th, 1923, the so-called Supreme Church Council of the Russian Church, in reality the faction known as the "Living Church" under Bishop Antonine, addressed a statement to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to it no answer was made.

The Patriarch Tikhon was unexpectedly released on June 27th, having made a documentary recantation which was received with mixed feelings and surprise. The Patriarch resumed his authority and the "Living Church" faction collapsed. That the Patriarch was released was as Dr. Bell points out, in part "due to the great volume

of foreign protests which the recent executions had created, and to the belief that if the trial of the Patriarch were to proceed and the supreme penalty to be imposed, the Soviet Régime would be still further discredited abroad. It was also due, and perhaps in no small degree, to the strength of the British protests and the powerful and sustained advocacy of Archbishop Davidson."

On the occasion of the Patriarch's death April 8th, 1925, "the only tribute sent by a religious body outside Russia . . . was a wreath placed by the coffin of the Patriarch, bearing the name, and witnessing to the sympathy, of the Archbishop of Canterbury."

Chapters LXVIII and LXIX deal with "The Archbishop and Constantinople" and "The Orthodox Church" respectively. Dr. Bell notes that since 1837 the relations between the two Churches had developed beyond recognition and from the time when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Church of England had been a comparatively unknown quantity; both were now well-known and the prestige of the Archbishop very considerable. The various circumstances connected with the War had, however, contributed much to this result. In connection with the peace Conference the mission of Dorotheos, locum tenens of the Ecumenical Patriarch, is recorded and his efforts to secure better conditions for the Eastern Church as regards the Turk. But the Statesmen at Paris were too busy with the Treaty of Versailles to give much attention to the matter. The failure of American co-operation made things more difficult and although in December, 1919, the Archbishop "raised the whole question of the sufferings of the Christian populations in the House of Lords, and called attention to the promises of His Majesty's Government that they should be set free from the dominion of the Turk," nothing definite emerged or could be accomplished. When in 1920 report of a fresh massacre in Cilicia was received and another Anatolian war broke out, fresh appeals poured in upon the Archbishop. The Archbishop again did all he could. Dorotheos again visited Paris and came to London. He was much depressed by the condition of Christians under the Turk. On the second occasion of a visit to Lambeth, he presented the Archbishop with a gift from the Holy Synod of Constantinople, in token of the fraternal feeling and good-will of the Orthodox Church. The gift took the form of an enkolpion which had been made for the Patriarch Joachim III and which had been worn by five Patriarchs in virtue of their office. The strain imposed upon Dorotheos by his mission proved too much and he fell ill and died on March 18, 1921, in London. Dr. Bell points out that he was "the first occupant of the Patriarchal See of Constantinople to come to the West since the Patriarch Joseph attended the Council of Florence in 1439." The Archbishop attended the memorial service

at the Greek Church, Moscow Road, and "for the first time in history the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated by reading the Gospel in English at funeral rites in the Greek Church in Bayswater."

The Turkish situation now became worse and the Archbishop addressed a long letter to Lord Curzon on the prospective withdrawal of French troops from Cilicia. Lord Curzon replied to the effect that he was much distressed and would do what he could. In 1922 Archbishop Davidson received a most remarkable appeal concerning the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Patriarch Germanos V had resigned before the Armistice; the election of a successor had been put off in view of the hope that a Treaty would be concluded between the Allies and the Turks defining the rights and boundaries of Greek and Turk. A delay of three years in which nothing emerged quickened the desire that the throne should be occupied. The Greeks at Constantinople were pro-Ally and supported M. Venizelos, those at Athens were unfavourable to the Allies. The Metropolitan Meletios had been exiled. He was a strong Venizelist. The choice of an occupant for the Œcumenical throne fell upon Metropolitan Meletios, who accepted. The Greeks at Athens challenged the election and its validity. The news of the election was communicated to Archbishop Davidson, also the information that Meletios wished to come to England. It was a remarkable thing indeed that "The Patriarch-designate of Constantinople" should "desire to state the Canonical and regular character of his election" to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the same time as Meletios arrived in England Chrysanthos of Trebizond, who represented the dissenting party arrived for the purpose of stating to the Archbishop why they regarded the election as uncanonical and void. Dr. Davidson was unfortunately ill and had to depute Dr. Gore, then Chairman of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, to pay his respects to both Prelates. The Archbishop was naturally most anxious not to intervene and his caution was confirmed by Foreign Office advice. However, he appears to have taken a lively interest in so unique an event. Since the Archbishop was at the time laid up in bed he could see neither Meletios or Chrysanthos. To Meletios it was explained that the Archbishop's illness was not merely diplomatic but genuine. He was much disappointed. Apparently his trouble was how to get to Constantinople, as the Greeks would not grant facilities of travel through Greece and the Turks seemed equally inclined to impede his journey. Could the British Government help him? The Archbishop was informed of this, as also of his account of the election, likewise that of the opposition. Eventually the Archbishop recovered sufficiently to see Meletios on January 19, 1922.

ARCHBISHOP DAVIDSON 59

Meletios, who had seen various people in England, explained his case and indicated his intentions should he be able to reach Constantinople. On January 26 the Archbishop saw the Metropolitan of Trebizond, who explained his side of the question, and suggested a special Synod at Jerusalem where under theegis of a British administration the matter might be determined. The Archbishop intimated that he could not possibly intervene, but that he desired to understand fully the case as a whole. The Metropolitan said they did not wish for intervention, but, that as the connections between the English Church and themselves were so cordial, he thought the Archbishop should be most fully informed and he assured him that when peace came they would do all they could to strengthen the already existing friendship between the Churches. Meletios was able, owing to the removal of difficulties, to reach Constantinople and was enthroned. He at once telegraphed to the Archbishop his desire to advance the fraternal relationship between the two Churches. To this the Archbishop replied in a suitable telegram.

The Archbishop now became busy with matters relating to Christian minorities in the near East, and he pressed the claims of the Armenians both upon M. Poincaré and Mr. Lloyd George.

Then came the terrible affair of Smyrna. M. Venizelos visited the Archbishop, October 17, 1922. M. Venizelos expressed himself most fully with regard to the situation and urged upon the Archbishop the appalling difficulty of providing for a million and a half destitute and homeless people. He appealed for assistance on humanitarian grounds.

The Archbishop promised to use all the influence he could but pointed out the immense difficulty. As a consequence the All British Appeal was launched, and the Archbishop kept in touch with the work of relief. In 1922, November 20, the Lausanne negotiations for the Turkish Peace began. The Turkish delegation demanded the removal of the Œcumenical Patriarchate from Constantinople. Meletios at once communicated with the Archbishop, who addressed a telegram to Lord Curzon at Lausanne; later he sent a further telegram to Meletios expressing the view that "The continuity of the Patriarchate in Constantinople is profoundly important to the whole Christian Church." This telegram produced a profound effect and assisted the representations of Lord Curzon at Lausanne. A compromise was suggested by which, while allowed to remain in Constantinople, the Patriarchate "should exercise no political or spiritual jurisdiction in Turkey." This was impossible for the Patriarchate, and again the Archbishop protested to Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon, having reassured the Archbishop, directed the British delegate to make a strong declaration,

and the Turkish delegates gave in. "Lord Curzon and the Archbishop won."

Meletios sent a message of thanks that the movement to expel the Patriarchate had been defeated. The treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24th, 1923.

Though the Patriarchate had been saved, it was obvious that Meletios could not remain. His position would have been full of danger and indeed quite impossible. Venizelos urged him to resign. On July 10 he left Constantinople for Mount Athos, and in November his abdication became public knowledge.

Chapter LXIX shows very clearly the results of the great advance made since the early days with regard to the relationships between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. 1920 marked the arrival of a delegation from Constantinople to confer with the Committee of the Lambeth Conference. In 1921 the results of Professor Komenos study of Anglican Ordinations became known. The Semi-official Anglican statement on "Suggested Terms of Intercommunion" appeared the same year. In 1922 Meletios "nominated Archbishop Germanos to be Metropolitan of Thyatira and his representative to the Archbishop of Canterbury, resident in London." August, 1922, saw the Declaration of the Validity of Anglican Orders, *i.e.*, their parity with that of certain other Churches who had maintained the Catholic Hierarchy. This was officially communicated to the Archbishop. The circumstances which led up to the publication of this important Declaration are given fully on page 1105 of this chapter, as also the record of the important Declaration of Faith made by a considerable body of Anglicans for presentation to the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Declaration despite much controversy, was not without its effect, and was initiated by the effort of Canon J. A. Douglas.

The text of the Patriarch of Constantinople's communication concerning Anglican orders will be found on page 1106. The Patriarch of Jerusalem expressed his agreement with the Constantinopolitan Declaration.

The Archbishop, Dr. Bell points out, never invited any expression of opinion from the Orthodox in the matter of Anglican Orders, his policy in this matter was identical with that maintained toward Rome. "He was especially concerned to rejoice because other Churches were led to acknowledge what had always been true." The Declaration was communicated to Convocation, and the Archbishop was careful to point out that before it could become binding upon all the Orthodox Churches, it would have to be accepted by them severally or be approved in a General Council." Further it did not mean intercommunion but must be regarded as preparing the way for future advance. On pages 1108-1110 will be found an account of the Popescu affair, and on pages 1111-1112

correspondence relating to the request of M. Noli, head of the Southern Orthodox Albanians, with regard to the consecration of a Bishop. A full account is given of the main facts which marked the growing rapprochement, between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches when the one thousand six hundredth anniversary of the Council of Nicea was celebrated in Westminster Abbey. At the actual service, which took place on St. Peter's Day, 1925, the Archbishop preached. To the celebration nearly all the ten autocephalous churches sent delegates, among whom were the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria and the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem. The Nicene Creed was recited after it had been said in its Western form by the Patriarch of Alexandria with the omission of the filioque according to Orthodox use. Chapter LXXV deals very fully with the Assyrian Church and the difficulties of the Assyrian Christians.

The Archbishop was continually engaged upon this problem from 1920 to 1927 and throughout the course of those years he gave to it his sympathy and unstinted care. On page 1225 will be found an interesting little account of the wise way in which Archbishop Davidson dealt with a somewhat difficult problem relating to the Coptic Church.

Sufficient has now been said to show Archbishop Davidson's very real and wide interest in the affairs of the Eastern Church as well as his readiness and skill in dealing with the many problems which it raised of a Semi-Political character. That he desired and laboured to promote the cause of Unity is obvious, and though to some it may seem that he acted always with extreme caution, yet it may be that time will show that he was more than justified in so proceeding.

We venture to hope that this very inadequate sketch of the material dealing with the Orthodox Eastern Church in these two volumes of the Archbishop's Biography may encourage the possession of them as well as their most thorough study. There can be no hesitation in affirming that they are indispensable to those who are both interested in and anxious for the Unity of the Church of God.

IVAN R. YOUNG.

A RUSSIAN RULER AND SAINT: VLADIMIR MONOMAKH.

By E. N. C. SERGEANT.

CENTURIES of Tsarist decadence have rendered strange and almost unthinkable the idea of a great Russian Ruler and Saint. Yet such a one was Vladimir Monomakh. Sir Bernard Pares calls him "the King Alfred of Russian History."¹ Mirsky describes his main characteristics as "a simple piety, an honest sense of duty, and lucid common sense."² Fortunately for us Vladimir some time before his death at Kiev in 1125 composed a special "Instruction" for his children. From this we learn much of his life in twelfth-century Kiev and of the influence for good or evil of the reigning Prince.³

"Before all," says the Prince, "have the fear of God in your hearts and give alms liberally. This is the beginning of all good." Then he goes on to relate how he had come to write the "Instruction." Envoys had arrived from a number of neighbouring princes to try and persuade him to attack another prince against his sworn oath not to break the peace, and threatening him if he refused. But Vladimir would not join them and dismissed the envoys. Feeling sad at heart, he had opened the Psalter at random and come on the words: "Why art thou so heavy, O my soul; and why art thou so disquieted within me?" etc. This had made him ponder much and he had determined to set down his reflections, so that, as he modestly said, if they were pleasing to any man, he might take them into his heart.

"Understand, my children," he continues, "how merciful and most merciful is God, Who loves men; we are sinful and mortal, and if anyone does us harm we are eager to destroy and shed blood. But the Lord, the Ruler of life and death, suffers our sins in which we are sunk, and many times in the course of our life, as a loving father to his children, now punishes us, now draws us to Himself. And the Lord has shown us how to overcome our enemy the devil; by three good things we can free ourselves from him and overcome him—by repentance, by tears and by almsgiving. So you see, the command of God is not impossibly difficult, my children. By these three things you can free yourselves from your sins and not deprive yourselves of the kingdom of heaven. And I implore you not to be

¹ In his *History of Russia*, page 35.

² *History of Russian Literature to 1881*, page 12.

³ Slavonic text and Russian translation in *Dopetrovskaya Literatura*, by Alferov and Gruzinski, pp. 46 and 417 in 8th edition. This is a very important book.

idle and forget these three things, for they are not burdensome. I am not referring to the life of hermits or monks or even to rigorous abstinence, practised by a few outstanding people. Even through slight effort we can obtain the grace of God." It is a great pity these wise words were so much neglected. The split between the "perfect" life of the ascetic and the "permitted" life of the man in the world was one of the fundamental causes of gradually increasing unbelief in Russian life.

After a lyrical passage about the wonderful providence of God in nature, Vladimir proceeds: "When the Lord softens your heart, weep for your sins, saying: 'As Thou didst have mercy on the woman that was a sinner, the robber and the publican, so have mercy on us, O Lord.' Do this both in the church and at home when you go to bed. Don't miss one night and according as you are able bow low to the ground. . . . And even when seated on your horse, if you have some free time and don't know any other prayers, say over and over again to yourself: 'Lord, have mercy,' instead of thinking idle thoughts; this is a very good prayer."

Vladimir lays great emphasis on helping the poor, the orphan and the widow, and warns his children against swearing falsely by the cross, and says bishops, priests and religious must be treated with great respect and adequately supported, so as to receive their prayers. Then he discusses humility—one of his favourite subjects: "The chief thing is, do not have pride in your souls. We must always say: 'we are mortal, to-day we live but to-morrow we shall be in the grave, and everything which Thou hast given us, Lord, is not ours, but Thine, and Thou hast only entrusted it to us for a short time.' Do not collect possessions on earth—this is a great sin."

But Vladimir does not concern himself merely with the practice of devotion. Detailed instructions follow on how to look after the house. The ruler must superintend everything himself so as not to be disgraced in the presence of guests by the inefficiency of the servants. So, too, Vladimir explains how a prince must conduct himself during a campaign—how he must rely on no one, but himself look after the food supply and post the sentries, and how he must sleep fully armed so as to be ready for the enemy at a moment's notice.

In the final part of his "Instruction" Vladimir shows how he has carried out the things he tells his children to do. He has travelled far and wide through the perilous Russian territory—to Rostov, Smolensk, Brest, Pereyaslav. He has repeatedly wrought havoc in the ranks of the heathen Polovtsi. He has fought with wild beasts, stags, elks, wild oxes, wild boars, and barely escaped with his life.

He finishes with the fine words: "You, my children, and all who

shall read this, do not judge me ; for I am not praising my own bravery, but I want to glorify God and His mercy to me, in that He preserved me, a sinful and wicked man, for so many years from the danger of death, and made me, a sinner, not behind-hand in the deeds of manhood. . . . God's care for us is better than man's."

Vladimir had his weaknesses, and on at least one occasion was guilty of treachery towards the enemy,¹ but the twelve years he reigned in Kiev were one of the brightest periods in Old Russian history. Makary, Metropolitan of Moscow, says of Vladimir : " He loved God with all his soul, tried to observe the commandments of God, and had continually in his heart the fear of God."²

It is a relief to turn from nineteenth-century Russian life, with its agonized uncertainties as in Tolstoy, its terrible sense of evil as in Dostoievsky, its feeling of desperate inferiority and decadence as in Turgenev and Tchekhov, and come face to face with a calm, efficient, confident statesman and soldier like the Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, with his profound faith in God and his keen zest in life.

In the Soviet Union to-day a high level of practical efficiency, rich enjoyment in living and care for the poor and the weak are dominant characteristics. And in numerous politically loyal and enthusiastic workers and peasants a deep religious faith is united to these qualities. God grant that this type of Russian, the type of Vladimir Monomakh may spread and flourish !

¹ *Dopetrovskaya Literatura*, 8th edition, page 46.

² *Istoria russkoi tserkvi*, 3rd edition, Vol. ii, page 296.

Eastern Church Books.

THE CHURCHES OF EASTERN CHRISTENDOM. From A.D. 451 to the present time. By the Rev. B. J. KIDD, D.D., Warden of Keble College, Oxford. Demy 8vo. 552 pp. 12 photographs. Cloth 15s.

PROPHETS, PRIESTS, AND PATRIARCHS. Sketches of the Sects of Palestine and Syria. By SIR HARRY LUKE, C.M.G., B.Litt., M.A. Demy 8vo. 144 pp. with coloured frontispiece. 28 illus. and maps. Cloth 6s.

CEREMONIES AT THE HOLY PLACES. By SIR HARRY LUKE. With five illustrations in colour from the paintings by Philippa A. F. Stephenson. Crown 8vo. Cloth 2s. 6d. Paper 1s. 6d.

THE RELATIONS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES WITH THE EASTERN ORTHODOX. By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D. 204 pp. Price 12s. Popular edition. 3/6.

A DICTIONARY OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH. By Dr. R. LI. LANGFORD-JAMES. Price 7/6.

WHO'S WHO IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By Rev. W. C. PIERCY. 7s. 6d.

LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF RUSSIAN CHURCH HISTORY. By Dr. W. H. FRERE, BISHOP OF TRURO. Price 7/6. Popular edition, 3/6.

THE REDEMPTION OF ST. SOPHIA. By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D. Introduction by BISHOP GORE. Fourth Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

THE CHURCH AND FAITH OF ARMENIA. By Dr. ABEL ABRAHAMIAN, Armenian Vartaped in London. Price 2s. 6d. paper.

ASSYRIAN CHURCH CUSTOMS AND THE MURDER OF MAR SHIMUN. By Lady SURMA D'BAIT MAR SHIMUN. Price 3s. 6d. paper.

THE BAQUBAH REFUGEE CAMP. By Brigadier-General H. H. AUSTEN. Paper, 2s. 6d.

THE SPIRITUAL REBIRTH OF EUROPE. By BISHOP NICKOLAI VELIMIROVIC. 2s. 6d. paper.

CYPRIOTE SHRINES. By SIR HARRY LUKE. 2s. 6d. paper.

PICTURES OF RUSSIAN WORSHIP. By Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, 1s. 3d.

DEATH'S RIDE IN ANATOLIA AND ASIA MINOR. By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D. 6d.

THE ENGLISH AND ARMENIAN CHURCHES. By HAROLD BUXTON. 6d.

INTERCOMMUNION WITH THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH. By the Rev. Dr. W. A. WIGRAM. 6d.

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM. Translated by the Rev. F. G. BRIGHTMAN, M.A., from the Greek and collated with the Slavonic. 2s. 6d.

THE SEPARATION OF THE MONOPHYSITES. By the Rev. Dr. W. A. WIGRAM. 7s. 6d.

THE ALL-NIGHT VIGIL OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH. Translation edited by the REVS. B. TIMOTHIEFF, B.D., and V. THEOKRITOFF. 1s.

FAITH PRESS, Ltd., 7, Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

MACKAYS LTD., CHATHAM, ENGLAND.