

The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW, DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

VOL. II. NEW SERIES. NOS. 3 AND 4.

WINTER, 1952-3

PUBLISHED FOR

The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association

BY

THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.

7 TUFTON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W. 1

2/6 per copy. 10/- per year post free.

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THE CHRISTIAN EAST

VOL. II. NEW SERIES. NOS. 3 AND 4.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

BEFORE the spreading from Rome to the rest of the Christian world of the observance of the Winter Solstice (Natalis Dies Invicti Solis) as the feast of the Nativity of the Sun of Righteousness, Epiphany had been the feast alike of the Birth, of the Baptism, and of the First Miracle of our Lord. And so it remains with the Armenians. Elsewhere in the East, when December 25th was accepted for Christmas, January 6th became the festival of the Baptism—at once the Manifestation of the Trinity, and the hallowing of all nature in the Hallowing of the Waters. We publish here a translation of the great Prayer of St. Sophronius which forms the climax of this service in the Orthodox Church. In the West, the celebration at Epiphany of the Coming of the Magi appears to go back at least to St. Leo. The Baptism is relegated to the Octave: and even that observance is lost in the Anglican Calendar. But there are indications of an early Western observance of the Feast approximating to the Eastern. Fr. Boone Porter, a priest of the American Episcopal Church now reading for a research degree at Oxford, contributes a preliminary essay on this subject, which may have more importance than meets the eye for the understanding of our divergences, especially in regard to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Alexandria

The Rt. Rev. F. F. Johnston, Anglican Bishop in Egypt, attended the Millenary Celebrations of the Greek Patriarchal Library as the representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On Sunday, November 16th, 1952, he was present at a Doxology in the Patriarchal Church of St. Saba; the same evening he attended a Reception and Sacred Concert and on November 18th he represented His Grace at the Foundation of an Institute of Oriental Studies.

The messages sent by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were much appreciated and were incorporated in a Book of Messages, a copy of which Dr. Mosconas, the Patriarchal Librarian, assured the Bishop would be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Millenary was celebrated amidst great enthusiasm on the part of the Greek community and aroused considerable interest generally.

The following is the letter sent on this occasion by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Archbishop of Mareotis, Athanasios, President of the Committee of the Millenary

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 1,

5th March, 1952

BELOVED BROTHER IN CHRIST,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 14th. With great

pleasure I learned from it that this is the year of the millenary of the famous Library of the Patriarch of Alexandria. This brings to mind how, long before 952, Alexandria was an illustrious seat of learning graced by great Fathers of the Church at whose feet we still sit in gratitude and appreciation.

It is a miracle, for which we thank God, that the Church of Alexandria was able in the Tenth Century to light a beacon of learning in the dark world of that day. To keep it glowing for ten whole centuries is a remarkable achievement which reflects eternal credit on many faithful guardians of the treasures of learning. When we recall the great dangers you have been in, twice already during this century, especially in the last war, we give special praise to the protective hand of the Almighty. We in the Church of England, then, most gladly join with you in a heartfelt *Te Deum Laudamus* for the preservation of the priceless books and documents you have guarded for so long.

Looking to the future, I pray that your celebrations will proceed smoothly and happily and I assure you most warmly of my blessings on the work of your Library to promote sound learning in the Church, based on the wisdom of the Fathers and their followers.

I am,

Your sincere brother in Christ,

Sgd: GEOFFREY:

*Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate
of All England and Metropolitan*

THE RIGHT REV. ATHANASIOS,

Bishop of Marcotis,

President of the Committee of the Millenary of the
Library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria

Antioch

In publishing, as promised, an account by the Rev. Harold Embleton of the visit of the Metropolitan of Aleppo, we should express our appreciation of the great contribution to the success of the visit made by the writer, in hospitality and other ways—as also of the part played by the Central Office of Information.

The impression of sincerity, ability and spiritual force created by this young Archbishop—he is only 38, of Lebanese village provenance—is fully borne out by his record, both as Priest in Rio de Janeiro, where he was mainly responsible for the building of an Orthodox Church, and since his elevation to the see of Aleppo. We hear of his patronage and encouragement of the Orthodox Youth Movement working for a renewal of spiritual life in the Patriarchate of Antioch, especially in the Lebanon—several members of which have become known to us in this country while studying at the Russian Theological Institute in Paris in the last few years. Our guest, who had his theological education at Halki, visited Athens on his way to England.

Jerusalem

Good comes out of evil. It seems that the sufferings shared during the last tragic years have brought about a real reconciliation between Arabophone populace and Greek hierarchy in the Jerusalem Patriarchate; and that our old friend, the Patriarch Timotheos, has, in spite of his illness, played no small part in this. Co-operation between the two contrasted, but we trust no longer conflicting, elements is resulting at long last in the opening of a small seminary for the training of Orthodox clergy, Greek and Arab, at the Monastery of St. Demetrius in Jerusalem. This is excellent news. Our heartiest congratulations, good wishes and prayers go to all concerned. Jerusalem is a nerve-centre for Christendom, and no one can tell what great good for the Universal Church may grow from small beginnings there.

Greece

The information here given concerning the cession of Church lands in Greece may lead us to reflect back on events of no little importance in our own history and that of many other national Churches.

An Agreement was signed on September 18th, 1952, between the Church of Greece and the State for the cession by the former of wide areas of monastic lands—mainly pastures—which will be used for the settlement of landless peasants and small stockbreeders. Under the agreement four-fifths of the arable lands belonging to the Church and two-thirds of the pastures will be ceded, the Church receiving in part compensation a certain amount of urban property belonging to the Government, mostly in Attica. The agreement was signed on behalf of the Church by the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece and on behalf of the Government by the Ministers of Finance and Agriculture.

Mgr. Spyridon, Archbishop of Athens, in a statement issued after the signature, said that the Church was glad to be able to fulfil the promise given three years ago in reply to the appeal made by the King and to come to the assistance of many thousands of peasant families who would be settled on the monastic lands ceded to the State.

In this connection it is interesting to recall that in 1923-4 as a result of the evacuation from Asia Minor, the Greek Government found it necessary to expropriate against payment a number of large estates throughout the country, which included a considerable acreage of Church property.

As regards the lands belonging to the monastic establishments on Mount Athos these properties, as they were under the nominal control of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, were not expropriated but were taken over on long term leases and refugees settled on them.

No further expropriation since that date has taken place until the agreement of September 18th, 1952. The Church lands now taken over are chiefly marginal lands consisting of pasturage and low grade arable land.

In "Ekklesia" for October 1st, 1952, the Archbishop of Athens publishes his introductory statement to the agreement between Church and State for

the transfer of Church lands to unpropertied artisans. He emphasizes four points:

1. The material advantages accruing to the Church.
2. The fact that the agreement, for the first time, was arrived at not by "appropriation" by the State but by mutual consultation.
3. This imposes an obligation on the Church both to see that the landless are settled and that the land is properly exploited to the good of the community.
4. The assistance rendered by the Bishops of Corinth and Larisa, as well as by M. Tsatsos and the Minister for Economic Affairs, M. Mestikopoulos.

The Archbishop is satisfied that both ecclesiastical and communal interests have been served by a satisfactory end to long negotiations.

Yugoslavia

On December 10th last, speaking to the Council of Christians and Jews in London, the Archbishop of Canterbury voiced—as we think he was bound to do—the fears and scruples which many of us have felt in regard to the treatment of religious bodies in Yugoslavia, especially in view of the proposed visit of Marshal Tito to this country. He did it in the least provocative way possible, with no suggestion of a threat, advising against action by deputation, and content to leave the Foreign Secretary to find the most tactful way of making known to the Yugoslav authorities the feeling in this country. Even so, no one with knowledge of the traditional attitude of Orthodox Churches in such matters will be surprised at the Patriarch Vikentije's statement in reply. This is not an unfriendly statement. It even seems to suggest that, on the *lower* levels of the administration, some ground may have been given for the Archbishop's reference to "a pressure" on the Serb Orthodox Church "which in the last few months has become increasingly hostile." But it asserts that on the *higher* levels there has been a steady improvement. And it ends by insisting that "our friends can do the most for us by . . . allowing us to settle our affairs ourselves."

We publish both the relevant portion of the Archbishop's speech, and the extracts from Tanyug (the official Yugoslav News Agency) giving the gist of the Patriarch's statement and Foreign Minister Kardelj's comments thereon. The issues here raised are of primary importance. And it seemed worth while to invite an independent historian to discuss some of the general principles involved. Mr. George Kitson Clark, Fellow of Trinity College, and University Lecturer in History; at Cambridge, kindly consented to do this, and we are glad to be able to publish the result.

There is, of course, to be expected here a marked contrast between the Roman Catholic reaction to the problem and that of an Orthodox Church. The supernational organization of Rome makes external protest almost inevitable, although the results may be disastrous for Roman Catholics within the countries concerned. But the Patriarch Vikentije's attitude is the result of a lesson which the Orthodox have been learning ever since

the Church in the Mazdean Persian Empire found it expedient to adopt Nestorian heresy in order to distinguish itself clearly from the Church of the Romans; or since the Orthodox overrun by the Arab conquests recognized that the survival of their Church required of them loyalty to their Muslim overlords, and not to the Christian Emperors in Constantinople. It would be of great value if some Orthodox scholar could give us a full historical account of the unfolding of his Church's attitude in these matters.

Finland

The Bishop of Sheffield visited Finland in the course of the summer and, after an interval of five years, renewed his contact with the Orthodox Church there. This Church is in a lonely position. They have refused to come under the umbrella of the Patriarch of Moscow, and Constantinople is a long way off. They do keep in contact, however, with the Institute in Paris. The general position of the Church is much more stable than it was five years ago. The Lutherans have been friendly and relationships are good. They are faced with the difficulty, of course, of having many small groups of Orthodox country folk scattered all through Finland, some of whom may gradually drift into the Lutheran Church.

They are still handicapped by a shortage of books in their Theological Seminary.

St. Sergius' Theological Institute, Paris

We enclose a brochure received from the Orthodox Churches Aid Fund, with an urgent appeal for funds for the Institute. We fully endorse all that is said therein as to the importance of the Institute for all Christendom, and the very great work that it has accomplished over the last quarter of a century both in preserving an enlightened Orthodoxy in the Russian Emigration, and in familiarizing the West European world with Russian Orthodox thought not by any means confined to one school. We trust that the pan-Orthodox character of the Institute, stressed in the brochure, may be still further developed as time goes on, both in the staff and in the students. While it is, of course, desirable that none of us should allow the Institute to be his only window upon the Orthodox world, a very important window it must remain. Our debts to it are incalculable. We are glad to publish in this issue a paper by a student of the Institute, Herr Martin Jordan—a German whose Christian faith was restored by his experience of the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine during the War, and who himself joined the Orthodox Church two years ago.

The Ecumenical Movement

Professor Zander has produced a book, *Vision and Action: the Problems of Ecumenism*. And Fr. George Florovsky (also a Professor at St. Sergius' Institute until he went to America to become Rector of St. Vladimir's Academy in New York) has written a review of it in no uncertain terms. We publish this because it seems to us of great importance that it should be known that there are Orthodox whose active participation in the Ecumenical Movement has a very different *rationale* from that of Professor Zander. Will the latter be able to explain himself in such a way as to

modify some of Fr. Florovsky's criticisms? It should be taken into account that some of the offending statements expound only one side of a dichotomy, and the reviewer does not quote the balancing statements on the other side. At the same time, it is precisely this propensity to Hegelian dichotomies which appears to us one of the weakest points in the book. And we find it hard to understand how an Orthodox writer can loyally say (p. 30) that the one Christian Church *does not exist!*

One sentence in the review appears to us pivotal, so that on its justice or injustice the verdict on the book must depend: it is where Fr. Florovsky states, "It is precisely this spirit of *penitence* that is missing in the book we review."

We believe in outspokenness in such matters. But nothing said here diminishes the genuineness of our welcome to Professor Zander, who by the time these notes are published will be in this country again on a lecture tour which he has undertaken under the auspices of the Fellowship of SS. Alban and Sergius. Many will remember with gratitude his exposition of Orthodox worship when touring this country before the War in the company of the Choir of the Institute.

PRAYER OF ST. SOPHRONIUS OF JERUSALEM FOR THE HALLOWING OF THE WATERS AT EPIPHANY

O TRINITY, supreme in being, goodness and godhead; all-powerful, watching over all, invisible, inapprehensible; Artificer of the intellectual essences and the rational natures; innate Goodness; *Light unapproachable that lightest every man that cometh into the world*; shine on me too, thy unworthy servant: lighten the eyes of my intellect, so that I may dare to raise in hymns thy measureless beneficence and power. May the prayer be acceptable that I offer for the people here standing; so that my faults may not hinder the presence here of Thy Holy Spirit. But allow me uncondemned to cry to Thee and say even now, O Thou exceeding Good: We glorify Thee, O master man-loving, Almighty, King before all worlds: we glorify Thee the Creator and Artificer of the Universe. We glorify Thee, O Son of God Only-begotten, who art from Thy Mother without father, and from Thy Father without mother. For in the previous Feast we saw Thee an infant; but in this present we see Thee in Thy fulness, our God made manifest, perfect of perfect God. For to-day the time of the Feast is upon us, and the choir of Saints makes Church with us, and Angels keep feast with men. To-day the Grace of the Holy Spirit, in form of a dove has descended upon the waters. To-day has dawned the Sun that sets not, and the world is illumined with the Light of the Lord. To-day the moon with those bright rays is brought together with the world to exceeding brightness. To-day the luminous stars with the gladness of their shining adorn the world of men. To-day the clouds drop rain of righteousness from heaven upon mankind. To-day the Uncreated accepts the laying on of the hands of His creature. To-day the Prophet and Fore-runner approaches the Master; but stands before Him in trembling, seeing God's condescension unto us. To-day the springs of Jordan are changed

into healings by the Advent of the Lord. To-day with sacramental streams all Creation is watered. To-day the sins of men are washed away by the waters of Jordan. To-day Paradise is opened unto men, and the Sun of Righteousness illumines us. To-day the bitter water, as with Moses for the People, is changed to sweetness by the Advent of the Lord. To-day we have been released from the old lamentation, and as the New Israel have been brought through to safety. To-day we have been redeemed from the darkness, and are illumined with the light of God-knowledge. To-day the mist of the world is dispersed by the Epiphany of our God. To-day all Creation is lit with torches from above. To-day the error is brought to nought, and the coming of the Master builds for us a road of Salvation. To-day things above keep feast with things below, and things below converse with things above. To-day the sacred and great-voiced assembly of the Orthodox exults. To-day the Master presses to Baptism, that He may lead up manhood to the height. To-day the unbowed is bowed to His own servant, that He may set us free from slavery. To-day we have earned the Kingdom of Heaven. For the Lord's Kingdom shall have no end. To-day earth and sea have shared between them the joy of the world, and the world is filled with gladness. *The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee and were afraid; Jordan was driven back, beholding the fire of the Godhead coming down bodily and entering into it. Jordan was driven back, contemplating the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove, and flying about Thee. Jordan was driven back, seeing the Invisible seen, the Creator incarnate, the Master in form of a slave. Jordan was driven back, and the mountains skipped, beholding God in flesh; and the clouds gave their voice, marvelling at Him who was come, Light of Light, Very God of Very God: seeing to-day in Jordan a festival of the Master, and Himself engulfing in Jordan the death of disobedience, and the sting of error, and the bond of hell, and bestowing on the world Baptism of Salvation. Wherefore I also, thy sinful and unworthy servant, rehearsing the majesty of thy wonders, constrained with fear, cry to Thee in compunction: Great art Thou, O Lord, and marvellous are thy works, and no word will be sufficient to sing of thy marvels (thrice). For thou by thy volition didst bring all things from nothingness into being, and by thy might dost hold together the Creation, and by Thy Providence disposest the world. Thou from four elements didst fit together the Creation, and crownest the cycle of the year with four seasons. At Thee all the intellectual Powers tremble. The sun sings thy praise, the moon glorifies Thee, the stars intercede with Thee, the light obeys Thee, the depths shudder at Thee, the fountains serve Thee. Thou didst stretch out the heaven like a curtain. Thou didst establish the earth upon the waters. Thou didst wall about the sea with sand. Thou didst pour out the air for breath. Angelic powers minister to Thee. The choirs of the Archangels worship Thee. The many-eyed Cherubim and the six-winged Seraphim, standing in a ring and flying about Thee, veil themselves in fear of Thy glory unapproachable. For Thou, being God within no line contained, and without beginning, and inexpressible, didst come upon earth, taking*

the form of a slave, becoming in the likeness of men. For Thou didst not bear, O Master, in the bowels of Thy mercy, to behold the race of men usurped by the devil, but didst come and save us. We confess the Grace, we proclaim the Mercy, we hide not the benefaction. Thou didst set free the generation of our nature: Thou didst hallow a virgin womb by Thy birth. All Creation sang Thy praise at Thy Epiphany. For Thou, our God, wast seen upon earth, and didst move among men. Thou also didst hallow the streams of Jordan, sending down from Heaven Thy All-Holy Spirit, and *brakest the heads of the dragons* that had their holes therein. *Therefore do Thou, O Man-loving King, be present now too by the descent of Thy Holy Spirit, and hallow this water* (thrice), and give unto it the grace of Redemption, the blessing of Jordan. Make it a fount of incorruption, a gift of hallowing, loosing of sins, defence against diseases, deadly to demons, to the adverse powers unapproachable, filled with angelic strength; that all who draw from it and partake of it may have it for cleansing of souls and bodies, for healing of passions, for hallowing of houses, for every service suitable. For Thou art our God, who by water and Spirit didst renew our nature which was grown old with sin. Thou art our God who didst drown sin by water in the time of Noah: Thou art our God, who through the sea didst set free from slavery of Pharaoh the race of the Hebrews by Moses: Thou art our God, who didst *cleave the rock in the wilderness, and the water gushed out, and the streams overflowed*, and Thou didst satisfy Thy people when they were thirsting: Thou art our God, who by water and fire, at the hand of Elijah, didst deliver Israel from the error of Baal. *And now also, Master, do Thou hallow this water by Thy Holy Spirit* (thrice). Give to all who touch it, are anointed with it, or partake of it, hallowing, blessing, cleansing, and health. *And save, O Lord, thy servants, our faithful Kings* (thrice), and keep them under thy protection in peace. Subdue under their feet every enemy and foe: grant them their requests that are for their salvation, and life eternal. Remember, O Lord, our Archbishop N. and all the Priesthood, the Diaconate in Christ, and every priestly order, and the laity standing round, and those our brethren who for reasonable causes are absent: and have mercy upon them and us, according to Thy great mercy: that by means of the elements, and of angels, and of men, and of things seen, and of things invisible, Thy All-Holy Name may be glorified, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

DISMISSAL HYMN OF THE EPIPHANY

Thy Baptism in Jordan stream, O Lord
 Revealed the worship of the Three-in-One.
 The Father's voice in witness from above
 Named Thee beloved Son.
 And, bodied as a dove,
 The Spirit sealed the sureness of that word.
 O Christ, God there made manifest,
 The world that lightenest,
 Glory to Thee.

THE METROPOLITAN OF ALEPPO'S VISIT

The Most Rev. Elia Mouawad, Metropolitan of Aleppo, paid a visit to Great Britain from 1st to the 15th August, 1952, at the invitation of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association. He arrived by air from Athens on Friday, 1st August, and was met at Northolt by the Rev. H. M. Waddams (on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations) and by the Rev. H. Embleton (assistant to, and representing, the Rev. Austin Oakley, General Secretary of A. & E. C. A.), whose guest he was for the first weekend.

On the Saturday, after paying courtesy calls on the Lebanese and Syrian Legations, he was entertained to lunch by the Dean of Westminster, was shown round the Abbey, and attended Evensong in choir. On the Sunday he was present at the Holy Communion at St. John Baptist's Church, Wimbledon, before going on to the Liturgy at the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom, at which he presided. On Bank Holiday Monday His Grace was taken by car to Canterbury, where he was the guest of the Chapter at lunch, attended Evensong in choir, and was entertained to tea by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Fisher in the Old Palace. On Tuesday morning he left Wimbledon for Cambridge, stopping *en route* to attend Mattins in St. Paul's Cathedral. During this weekend he was able to meet and talk at length with the Rural Dean of Wimbledon, one or two of the parochial clergy, and several laypeople, and thus to catch a glimpse of life and movements in the Church of England at the parochial level.

During His Grace's visit to Cambridge, where he stayed at King's College with the Rev. H. M. Waddams, he was able to visit several colleges; he attended Evensong in King's College Chapel and dined at High Table in St. Catherine's and King's.

Thence to Ely, visiting the Land Settlement Scheme *en route*, where he was entertained to lunch by the Bishop of Ely and visited the Cathedral. From there he returned to London. Friday, 8th August, was taken up entirely by a visit to the Conference of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius at Abingdon.

The next day, the Metropolitan went by train to York, where he was the guest of the Dean and where he had lunch with the Archbishop of York on the Monday. On the Tuesday, he toured Messrs. Rowntrees chocolate factory and had lunch with the Directors before returning to London.

For the remainder of the second week the Metropolitan was based on London, and made trips to Windsor, Oxford, Hampton Court, Lambeth Palace and the British Museum. On the 14th August His Grace was present at the Serb Church Reception in honour of the Metropolitan Nikolai Velimirovic. On 15th August the Metropolitan of Aleppo left Northolt to return to Beirut.

It will be appreciated that the fortnight's visit to England was an arduous one. Apart from the amount of travelling he had to do, he had also the strain of meeting and conversing with very many of our countrymen, from the Archbishops down, in (to him) a foreign language; but

although English was the least fluent of his five languages, he was too modest about his command of it. In field and factory, in city and village, in Cathedral and district church, the Metropolitan managed to see a microcosm of English life and thought, both civil and ecclesiastical. For this the Association is deeply indebted both to the Council on Foreign Relations (and particularly to the Rev. H. M. Waddams and the Rev. W. H. Macartney) and to the Central Office of Information (especially to Mr. R. W. Montford).

The Metropolitan admitted that all he had seen had caused him to change many of his preconceived ideas about the Church of England; and although some of his criticisms would have brought a blush to some of our English faces, on the whole he went away with a real admiration of, and affection for, our Church. He looked forward to a greater interchange between Anglican and orthodox theological students, and to more conferences between Anglican and Orthodox clergy and theologians, whereby the gulf between our two Communion might be narrowed and eventually bridged. "The Protestants" had no unity, and so with them it was impossible for the Orthodox Church to have any real relations; but "the Church of England was not 'Protestant' but in its own position": there was a danger in her having too close a contact with "Protestantism." At the same time the Metropolitan saw a danger in the "Romanism" in a section of the Church of England; "the Church of England should strive to build up and defend her own tradition."

The visit of the Metropolitan of Aleppo from the ancient Patriarchate of Antioch was yet another manifestation of the fellowship which has been built up slowly but surely between Anglicans and Orthodox, for which we humbly thank God and to which our Association is dedicated. "One Lord, One Church, One Faith" . . . Amen.

HAROLD EMBLETON.

CONDITIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Extract from the Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury about Marshal Tito's forthcoming visit to England: together with the full text of the comments on it made by the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and also the comments of the Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Government—Edvard Kardelj—upon the Patriarch's speech, translated from "Tanyug," the Official Yugoslav News Agency.

[From a Correspondent]

" . . . But there is one matter of public interest, indeed of public concern, on which I desire to make some comments. I refer to the approaching visit to this country of Marshal Tito.

"The recent improvement in relations between Yugoslavia and the United Kingdom is something of which we may all be glad. In a world riven by strife as ours is, any developments which bring us into closer and more friendly contact with another country are to be welcomed; and this is particularly true of Yugoslavia for whose people the British people have

a long standing admiration and affection. Many still remember the glorious deeds of the Serbs in the first World War, and it will be long before we forget the great *coup d'état* of the 27th March, 1941, which brought Yugoslavia into the war on the side of the allies at a time when our fortunes were at a very low ebb.

"We hope that the forthcoming visit of Marshal Tito to this country will be an earnest that the good relations which at present exist between the Governments of our two countries will continue and increase and will contribute towards the peace and goodwill among all nations for which we pray. But it is necessary to say that our goodwill can hardly be secured or maintained so long as the Christian traditions of the peoples of Yugoslavia are being subjected to severe attack by governmental action. It is essential for good relations that the Yugoslav Government should fully recognize and carefully protect that freedom which in theory it permits to all religious bodies in its land so long as that freedom is legitimately employed.

"The Serb Orthodox Church has for some time been subjected to a pressure which has in recent months become increasingly hostile. The Government is, of course, avowedly anti-religious and therefore unsympathetic. But every principle of civilized order forbids that a Government should so interfere in Church affairs as to frustrate the proper freedoms of the Church and to compel its leaders and its members along the ways thought to be most acceptable to the State authorities. The Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia is no doubt more politically suspect in the eyes of the Government: it has not only been under the same kind of continuous pressure for a long time, but has been suffering active, open and severe persecution. Numbers of its clergy are in prison and its leaders are subjected to vicious attack in the Press. In a different field I understand that the British and Foreign Bible Society which has had freedom, subject only to severe financial conditions, to sell Bibles is threatened with the likelihood of having that freedom severely curtailed or indeed abolished in the near future.

"Such facts as these cause British people to be highly critical in their attitude to the Yugoslav Government, and all Christians to be acutely and bitterly aware of the sufferings imposed upon their Christian brethren by that Government. So long as this remains true, it obstructs the development of any real friendship between our two countries. It is necessary that Marshal Tito should be made aware of the fact that this feeling is very strong and very widespread here. I do not doubt that the Foreign Secretary will make him fully aware of it, and he will know best how to do it. And I am at present satisfied that the best thing is to leave him to do it rather than proceed by deputation. I sincerely hope that the Yugoslav Government will decide to right these wrongs, if not out of any sensitiveness or conviction of their own, yet as a contribution to international comity and understanding. For such action would beyond doubt have a heartening effect on British public opinion and would bring encouragement to all who are seeking to restore a stable and just civilization. It is right that I

should say so much here. For the very purpose of this Council¹ is to combat all forms of religious and racial intolerance wherever they exist."

To-day Vikentije Prodanov, Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, expressed reservation in connection with the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. G. Fisher, made on December 10th at the Council of Christians and Jews in London when he spoke on religious conditions in Yugoslavia and dealt with relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the State.

"I deeply regret having to make this reservation," stressed the Patriarch in a statement published to-day in *Borba* and *Politika*. "No one authorized or asked His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury to discuss the relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the State at the annual meeting of Christians and Jews in London. Besides this we consider that neither the time nor the occasion have been suitably taken to discuss these matters. I shall not go into details, but I think that the answer imposes itself and that this will be realized in Great Britain," declared the Patriarch Vikentije Prodanov.

The Patriarch underlined that relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the State in Yugoslavia are characterized by gradual and steady improvement. "The Serbian Orthodox Church hopes that these relations will be gradually normalized. It always endeavoured on all occasions and at all times to be useful to the people and to satisfy national requirements. Churches full of people in Belgrade and in the interior of Yugoslavia are a proof of freedom of religious activity and of freedom of exercise of religious rites and festivities at which representatives of the Church of England have often been present," said the Patriarch, "show that religious life in Yugoslavia was developing on the whole normally."

The statement further says that there are some disagreements with lower bodies of the administration in the interior of the country who, perhaps owing to exaggerated "zeal," incorrectly apply the regulations, or owing to the fact that individual priests do not give sufficient attention to the new regulations of the Yugoslav authorities. However, both the higher Church and higher State authorities are endeavouring to smooth out inconsistencies. The Patriarch pointed out the fact that a great number of Orthodox priests were taking part in the political, cultural and economic life of the people. The State gives the Church subsidies and has concluded an agreement on social insurance with which the Church has been relieved of the anxiety over the payment of Church pensioners.

In conclusion the Patriarch stressed that the State not only did not prevent contact between the Orthodox Church and other Orthodox Churches and Christian Churches abroad, but helped in this connection, which is well known to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"I consider I must specially emphasize also that the Serbian Orthodox Church has never in the past requested for a mediator between herself and the State authorities and is not doing so now, nor will do so in the future.

¹ The Council of Christians and Jews.

Our friends, if they wish us well, can do the most for us by leaving us in peace and allowing us to settle our affairs ourselves," concluded Patriarch Vikentije Prodanov.

"Tanyug"—December 16th, 1952

Foreign Minister Edvard Kardelj told the Assembly Foreign Policy Commission to-day that the Vatican had nominated Stepinac as Cardinal because it wanted to provoke Yugoslav public opinion and the Yugoslav Government and to prevent the State and a good part of the Catholic clergy from settling relations.

After having stated that Stepinac's nomination was part of the anti-Yugoslav campaign incited by the Vatican abroad in connection with Marshal Tito's visit to Britain at the invitation of the British Government, he referred to Patriarch Vikentije's reaction to the statement made by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"The statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the persecution of both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Yugoslavia had the aim of proving to world public opinion that in Yugoslavia the Church is persecuted generally. However, the statement of the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Vikentije Prodanov, had added pure wine to the glass in a way that merits congratulations. With his statement, the Patriarch had demonstrated his patriotism towards the State and a feeling of responsibility for his country, for which the leading Catholic hierarchy was never prepared or was not allowed to be by the Vatican. In this way the statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury had demonstrated that the Vatican was the initiator of an anti-Yugoslav campaign, and that the Vatican was that factor which did not want normalization of the position of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia.

Having emphasized that, owing to this situation, the Yugoslav Government was compelled to undertake more determined measures to clear the situation up in the country and abroad in this respect, Kardelj said that all churches in Yugoslavia are open and full, which proves that anti-religious propaganda in Yugoslavia has not been so active, and that no one is prevented from going to church, preach from the pulpits, teach religion in the churches. The churches publish religious literature. The Catholic bishops hold conferences from which they even sent sharp resolutions to the Government.

"Tanyug"—December 18th, 1952

A NOTE ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I have been asked to contribute these notes on the express grounds that I have no special knowledge of conditions in Yugoslavia, and must therefore necessarily discuss the matter as an issue of general reference without relation to the special circumstances of the problem in hand, or to statements of fact which are likely to be contested. Such a discussion of the matter may be unduly abstract, and its results may be commonplace; but

I attempt it in the hope that even the rehearsal of commonplaces may help to clear the mind.

The general problem involved is one with which we in this century are, alas, painfully familiar. It is this: What ought to be the attitude of Christians towards another country in which it is known or suspected that all fellow-Christians, or members of one particular Christian denomination, are either under persecution or, because they are Christian, enjoying less than their just rights as citizens? The natural reaction to such knowledge, or such suspicion, is generous and spontaneous: it is to protest at once, as publicly as possible; to try to urge one's own government to protest, and, obviously, to try to prevent it from entering into friendly relations with the government which has been accused. And the instinct which makes one wish to do all these things is one to be respected: to be respected, but possibly to be controlled: for it is possible that none of them may be the wisest and best actions in all possible circumstances. Apart from anything else, it must always be remembered that public protest, and in particular the denial of friendly relations, is most likely to prevent one's own country from having any influence whatever over the government of the country which has been accused: and in addition to this there would appear to be other circumstances to be taken into account before one can be certain what will be the results of such protests for the very people on whose behalf they are made.

The first of these is the need to gain accurate knowledge of local conditions. This is not easy. It is not easy nowadays to know precisely what is happening in many foreign countries, or what has happened, or the nature of what is likely to happen. It is even less easy to realize what may be the significance of a particular event in its local context. This does not of course mean that morality is ambulatory—that right and wrong change with latitude and longitude. Obviously an act of oppression or injustice remains an act of oppression or injustice wherever it is committed. But these matters are seldom without their reference to secular politics, and they are often coloured by past history of which those who frame the protest may be ignorant. As a result, what may seem in one country to be a natural protest against simple oppression may appear to the nationals of another country, and particularly to its government, to be an illegitimate attempt to interfere in their domestic politics in order to favour one party against the rest and against the state, and to be obviously directed towards some deep-seated objective in secular politics, which has in fact never crossed the minds of those who framed the protest three thousand miles away.

And this leads directly to what is perhaps the most important consideration of all. The primary object of such protests should be to improve the lot, or secure the safety, of those who may be suffering. This must be more immediately important than the general vindication of the moral law, and should transcend the simple human desire to indulge in the pleasures of moral indignation. Unless one's own government is in a position to interfere with crushing effect in the affairs of the accused country, and

more than that to continue to exercise an active surveillance over its administration, it is not at all impossible that the actual results of a public, and particularly an official, protest will be to worsen the lot of those on whose behalf it has been made. They will have become the clients of a foreign government: their activities will be the more suspect, and when opportunity serves it will be taken to cripple them still further. Nor, it must be confessed, is this attitude completely unreasonable; for it must be remembered that one of the most normal gambits of an aggressive foreign policy has been the claim to protect an oppressed group in another country against a government which it was desired to undermine.

Possibly in this context the tragic history of the Armenian nation in the last half of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century ought to be rather carefully taken into consideration; not of course that I wish to suggest that conditions in modern Yugoslavia are likely to be comparable in any way to conditions in the old Turkish Empire; but I would claim that history at least urges caution on those who wish to express violent, but necessarily intermittent and possibly inoperative, sympathy in favour of a particular group in another country.

These are practical considerations. Behind them seems to be a more general point of principle. It is probably the duty of a Christian Church to accept, and to attempt to collaborate with, the government of the territory in which it finds itself, if it is at all possible to do so. I believe that this has been a principle which the Orthodox Church has normally adopted under very difficult conditions on the general grounds that the government which they had to accept represented, however imperfectly, the principle of order. It is difficult for those who have been brought up in the much easier conditions of Western Europe to accept this. To us a government seems to be illegitimate if it falls short of our minimum requirements of just administration, or is the government of foreigners, or at least denies to men the ultimate expectation of working out their own destiny. Where these conditions are absent we have been apt to canonize rebellion, and to believe that any Christian Church ought to do the same. But in the last resort, in conditions which the security of our recent history does not make it easy for us to envisage, it is not the primary duty of any Christian body to secure any of these excellent secular objects; its primary duty must be to administer the sacraments, and to teach the truths of religion to the faithful; and it must not take action which will lead it to be impeded in its task. The principle is not easy to apply; it has been the source of many bitter heart-burnings, many most difficult moral dilemmas; but it probably means that the Christian Church in any given territory must make its own terms with the government of that territory if it possibly can, and that foreign critics who attempt to disturb these terms accept a very serious responsibility indeed. It is therefore probably not desirable to interfere with any agreement there may be between the Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia and the government, though we must pray that such an agreement will be a satisfactory one.

This does not mean that black must ever be called white, or wrong

right. Perhaps the greatest danger to the morality of the world comes when we cease to call things by their proper names. Persecution, injustice, denial of reasonable civil liberties remain the evil things they are wherever they occur. If, for example, the present government of Yugoslavia is persecuting, or denying justice or spiritual liberty to, the Roman Catholics in Dalmatia or Croatia, it is very important that no man should be led by any political or diplomatic consideration to deny the fact; though in this matter it is still important to remember the practical considerations which were urged earlier on. In particular we need to know the facts more fully, and we want a criterion by which to judge them.

Indeed the whole matter would be easier to handle if its theory had been more systematically worked out, particularly in relation to the conditions of the twentieth century. What is needed is careful thought on the problem of what are the minimum conditions which any civilized government ought to concede to the religious bodies within its borders. The subject must be the duties of a civilized, not of a Christian, government, since many of the governments of the world nowadays are not Christian, and the rules should be universal and not simply a claim of privilege for Christians, still less for the members of any particular Christian denomination. The appeal must be to general principles of natural justice, which the Church may endorse, as it does endorse the natural principles of justice and humanity, but which will be valid for those who are not Christians. But emphasis on universals might in the last resort be more useful than spasmodic protests on particular instances which too often suggest, however unjustly, ulterior political motives, or are perhaps also liable to the suspicion, again possibly unjust, that men claim for their friends abroad a liberty which they would not grant to their opponents at home if in any way they could possibly avoid doing so.

It is not perfectly clear what these principles should be, at least in the socialist and semi-socialist states of the modern world. Presumably they would include the right of any man to entertain and propagate any sincerely held opinion without danger to his liberty or (what is now very important) his chance of employment and advancement in the state service: they must include the right of any Church to perform its spiritual functions without interference, and the right of parents to enable their children to be educated in their own beliefs: and this last right is going to be a very difficult one to guarantee in a world where most of the resources of a country, and all its facilities for education, are in the hands of the state. Any state clearly must have the power to put certain restrictions on the exercise of these rights in the name of public order and the common peace. This is an old problem, but it needs restatement. One point however is perfectly clear. No state can be expected to connive at its own destruction, and no government will give liberty to Christian leaders if they will seem to use it for teaching treason, or to serve as the agents of a secular foreign power. But perhaps it should be made clear that Christian principles by themselves are not likely to enjoin either domestic revolt or intrigue with a foreign secular power as part of the religious duties of the faithful.

G. KITSON CLARK.

LITURGY AS THE CONFESSION OF THE CHURCH

by MARTIN JORDAN

BEFORE entering on this subject it is necessary to explain certain terms. As is known, the word "liturgy" has several meanings. In Eastern Tradition the term "liturgy" means, in the first place, exclusively the eucharistic service. In Roman Catholic usage the term indicates a certain area within the religious life, the lawfully constituted territory of the "sacramentalia" and the canonical "hours." Outside this sphere of liturgical services, there is the wide territory of semi-liturgical devotions. Here, then, the word "liturgical" covers what the Russians mean by "*ustavnaja sluzhba*." Finally, sometimes one uses the word "liturgical" or "liturgy" in a far wider sense—liturgy as denoting the whole religious life of the Church. Here I shall take the last usage: liturgy, simply as the religious life of the Church. We must understand that the centre of this life is necessarily the Eucharist; and the pattern of this life is based principally on the laws of the Church; on the liturgical patterns—which the Russians call "*Ustav*."

The subject "Liturgy and Doctrine" * seems to me to admit several interpretations. First of all, one could think generally about the doctrinal substance of liturgical texts and actions. How far is our service, with all its biblical, historical and hagiographical readings, with the rich material of its prayers and hymns, in a certain sense a school? Certainly, this is an interesting and complex question, but it would lead us too far. On the other hand, we can also express our subject "Liturgy and Doctrine" as a wish to clarify the relation between the doctrinal and the liturgical element in the life of the Church. So we would have to clarify the relation between word and sacrament, proclamation and prayer, catechesis and baptism, preaching and Eucharist. The problem of how to preserve the balance between these two elements is a most fruitful subject of study, as is the closely related theme of their interrelation one to another in the day-to-day life of an ordinary parish. But I think we can make a still deeper approach to the question contained in our subject "Liturgy and Doctrine." I should like to try to demonstrate this as follows:

In St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 3) we find two definitions of the Church. In the first chapter we read that the Church is the Body of Christ, which means the fulness of Him, who fills everything everywhere with His Presence. And in the fifth chapter we find the Church as the Bride of Christ.

As the body is the complement of the head, so are we, as members of the Church, the fulness of our all-embracing Head, Jesus. We are His Body: "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ" (Gal. iii. 27). And it is one Bread which we eat, the true Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore we are one Body. As members of the Body of Christ we have to carry out Christ's Plan in the world. We have to speak His Word to the world. We have to give place to Him, who is

* The general subject of the second part of the annual conference of the Fellowship of SS. Alban and Sergius (1952), at which this paper was read.

speaking through us. Only then can we claim for ourselves as men the right to speak to the world as the Church, as members of the Body of Christ, as instruments and agents of the Divine Head passing on His Word—not our own—to our brothers.

This is the meaning of the Church: "Ye shall be witnesses unto me" (Acts i. 8). But the Church is not only the Body, she is also the Bride of Christ. She is not only the passive mouthpiece by which He speaks. As the Bride she can say as it were her personal "Yes" to His Word, to the Word of Her Bridegroom. The Church is not only enabled to proclaim, but also to confess. As Bride she finds herself face to face with Her Lord and Bridegroom. He speaks to Her and is waiting for Her "Yes." The possibility is given to the Church of frankly saying "yes" in her own strength in reply to God's call through Christ—not more and not less than a modest but clear "yes": "Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God" (St. John xi. 27). This is the content of the Church's confession. This possibility of saying "yes," this possibility of answering Christ is given to the Church by the Holy Spirit: "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 3). "When the Comforter is come . . . the Spirit of Truth . . . he shall testify of me" (St. John xv. 26). "He will glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you" (St. John xvi. 14).

The Church as the Body of the Lord extends the proclamation across the world: "The kingdom of heaven is near" (St. Matt. iii. 2). But at the same time, as the Bride, in whom and through whom the Spirit is giving answer to the Word, she is speaking her "yes" to the message. The Spirit and the Bride say: "Come, . . . Amen, come Lord Jesus" (Rev. xxii. 17-20). Through the Spirit our answer is made possible, the response of the creature to the direct approach of the Creator. Through the Spirit and only through the Spirit is made possible our confession and our prayer: ". . . the spirit assists us in our weakness; . . . and pleads for us with sighs that are beyond words . . ." (Rom. viii. 26). Our prayer is only prayer, when it is a partaking of the sighing of the Spirit, a praying together with the Spirit. Our confession is only real confession when it happens in the Spirit and through the Spirit. Similarly, our proclaiming only becomes the real proclamation, when it is Christ our Head who speaks through us. Christ it is who proclaims, the Spirit who prays and confesses. Only by keeping this in mind can we have a right attitude towards the life of the Church, towards her proclaiming and confessing, her doctrine and devotion, her service and her liturgy.

We cannot separate Christ from the Spirit, the Spirit from Christ, the Church as the Body from the Church as the Bride, the Word of Christ *through* the Church from the Word of the Spirit *in* the Church. The unity of this "face to face" is ultimately founded on the unity of essence of the Three Persons in the Holy Trinity and even so—now in this context here—on the unity of the Second and the Third Persons of the Holy Trinity—of the Son and the Spirit—of the Word and the Paraclete. Even in this unity remains, nevertheless, the real "face to face," the real tension which is

founded on the two Hypostases—of Word and Paraclete. And in this tension lives the Church of the Spirit.

The life of the Church, her Ministry, her Magisterium and her Priesthood, her Doctrine and her Liturgy are only comprehensible to us, if understood in the midst of this tension. All the Church's proclamation of the Message of the Kingdom of God, is the Word of Christ through us; all the Church's action is in the same way confession by the Holy Spirit, responding to and affirming the Word of God addressed to us.

The Church is founded by Christ at the Last Supper (but realized at Pentecost). Let us say, the Church, according to her very essence, is properly speaking nothing else than the extension throughout space and time of the Table of this Meal of Jesus with His disciples. If one takes this one and final Eucharistic Meal out of the Church one takes her all. This corresponds with the end of the silent prayer spoken by the priest after the Thrice Holy in St. Basil's Liturgy: ". . . he hath left us, as memorials of his saving Passion, these Things which we have spread forth according to his commandment. For when he was about to go forth to his voluntary, and ever-memorable, and life-creating death, in the night in which he gave himself for the life of the world, he took bread in his holy and stainless hands, and when he had shown it unto thee, his God and Father, he gave thanks, blessing it, sanctifying it, and breaking it, he gave it to his holy Disciples and Apostles . . ." It is just this that Christ has left until His Second Coming in Glory, until the accomplishment of the Kingdom of God (St. Matt. xxvi. 29).

Eucharist means thanksgiving, means proclamation, is confession, is prayer. In the very centre of our thanking, proclaiming, confessing, praying, there is the fact of salvation (*Heilstat*) of God through Christ: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. xi. 26). The Liturgy puts these words into the mouth of the Lord Himself: "This do in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye do proclaim my death and confess my resurrection." In ancient formulæ of the Liturgy the congregation made the response: "We proclaim Thy death and confess Thy resurrection." And also according to our formula there is in the centre the Anamnesis, the remembrance of the Cross, of the Sepulchre, of the Resurrection on the third day, of the Ascension, of the Second Coming in Glory.

We cannot understand Christ outside the Church nor the Church without Christ her Head. But there is no other Church, but the one actualized in the eucharistic congregation, the realized Community of our Lord's Supper. Apart from the Eucharist we cannot understand Christ, His Death, His Resurrection, Ascension and Coming Again, the Kerygma of the Church, her Message, her Doctrine.

The Eucharist is the stone of offence and rock of stumbling: "Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder" (St. Matt. xxi. 44). He who finds offence in the Eucharist can understand nothing at all, he finds the whole

life and action of the Church incomprehensible: he cannot understand her proclamation nor her confession nor her prayer. All these things are only meaningful in relation to the Eucharist.

The proclamation of the Church takes place in obedience to her Head Jesus Christ: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations" (St. Matt. xxviii. 19). This commandment was given to the Apostles, and we, the Church of to-day, *hic et nunc*, can do no more nor less than the Apostles, i.e., to fulfil this commandment. The preaching of the Church is still, to-day in the twentieth century, identical with the preaching of the Twelve Witnesses of the first century, and will remain so in future centuries until Christ's Second Coming.

This is the meaning of the word "paradosis": the Church passes along from generation to generation no more and no less than the same message which was entrusted to her in the year of the Death of Christ, of His Resurrection, His Ascension and the Descent of the Spirit. This has happened ἐφ'ᾧπαξ, once for ever. And this message, the teaching of the Apostles has been laid down in the Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles, i.e., in the twenty-seven Canonical Books of the New Testament. We know that "there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world could not contain the books that should be written" (St. John xxi. 25). We know that the Apostles taught not only by letters and writings, but even more by the spoken word. We know that we cannot understand the New Testament otherwise than in the context not only of the time in which it was composed, but first of all, in the whole ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις (Apostolic Tradition). We know also what the Apostle says in the Epistle to the Galatians (i. 8): "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

The Apostolic Teaching, the Church's Teaching, remains always one and the same.

The confession of the Church has found its expression in her symbolism and her dogma. The symbolism and the dogma of the Church are proclaimed to the Church by the Holy Spirit Himself, by means of the Ecumenical Councils. It is not ultimately decisive whether a majority or a minority of so-called church members accept or reject a particular council. One question is ultimately decisive: is this or that decree of a council the word of confession which the Holy Spirit gives to us to utter? The Truth is the Truth, whether it is proclaimed from a centre invested with juridical authority or not, and whether it is accepted by a majority of churchmen or not. As we only understand the Gospel in the context of the whole oral and written Kerygma, so we cannot understand otherwise the symbolism and the dogma of the Church. Particularly, in the context of the whole patristic writing, and not only of those facts which, empirically seen, led to the fixation of this or that dogma, but even of those decrees which the Church made later on, based on already fixed dogmas. An example is the decree against the Roman "*Filioque*" which was made

without convoking an ecumenical council, because dogmas were already in existence.

Is the whole history of the Church and her whole patristic literature a commentary on the dogmas of the Ecumenical Councils? If this is so, then these dogmas constitute the central path from which we must take our position in relation to this or that feature of church history or patrology.

The confession of the Church which finds its expression in its symbolism and its dogmas is the response of the creature to the Word of its Creator, and the "Yes-Word" of the Bride to her Bridegroom, neither more nor less than this: "Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (St. Matt. xvi. 16). The Truth is given to the Church once for all, ἐφ'ᾧπαξ, in the Apostolic Preaching: and also the response of the Church can always be only one and the same: the modest "Yes" of the Bride through whom the Spirit speaks: "Yea, thou art the beloved son of the Father, in whom he is well pleased" (St. Matt. iii. 17). Only the verbal form of language—and really only this—can be influenced from time to time by local and temporal circumstances. The confession of the Church of Antioch in the first century, the confession of the Church in Russia and the confession of the Church of Greece in the twentieth century, is one and the same "Yes-Word" of the Bride, even when it is uttered here in Latin or Slavonic and elsewhere in Greek.

Gospel and Dogma, the New Testament and the Decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, the Kerygma, the Proclamation, and the "Homologia," the Confession, of the Church, are in their written and oral expression two matters of fact, two factors, which the Holy Spirit has placed in the midst of the Church. Christ it is, who speaks in the Church through the Spirit. Christ and the Spirit. They are the only Infallibles in the Church. We all are exposed to the possibility of error and sin. Christ it is, who puts on our unworthy lips the words of proclamation, confession and prayer. Christ it is, who leads us as members of the Church again and again into the inescapability of decision (*Ausweglosigkeit*), into the "aporia," that we have to make our choice: either to confess or to renounce, to say "yes" or to say "no," to assume or to repudiate; to remain in Christ and by the Holy Spirit in the Church, or not. Fixedly the Lord puts the question to us: "Will ye also go away?" (St. John vi. 67).

Evermore implacably the Spirit urges the Church to the exclamation: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (St. John vi. 68–69). With certainty the crisis happens, with certainty are we under judgment to be the Church or not. The message and the confession of the Church are two touchstones which the Spirit has put into the very midst of our life. But there is yet a third factor to be considered, that is the prayer of the Church, her Liturgy.

Among Orthodox churchpeople—please excuse this doubtful expression—there are to-day two different and opposed opinions which are dominant concerning the Liturgy.

The one runs as follows: Our rites are Dogma Incarnate in which

somehow the whole Truth of right belief took substance. The other makes a clear distinction between dogma and rite, between the Eternal Truth and its occasional way of becoming expressed in the Church. Dogma only is unchangeable, the rite as such can be modified or developed in each situation according to choice.

The first view has found its clearest manifestation in the identification of liturgy with dogma incarnate in the schism of the Russian Old Believers. The second view one can find in the several contemporary attempts at liturgical reform. These are fundamental questions which are of decisive importance for the future development of our practical church life. We are called therefore, not simply to repeat the phrases to which we have become accustomed, as follows: "Liturgy is incorporated dogma," or, "liturgy is the temporal-relative expression of the Eternal Absolute Truth," but we are called anew to think about what liturgy as such, properly has to be, and what it actually is. As we have already seen, the liturgy is the prayer of the Church in the Holy Spirit and through the Holy Spirit, and this prayer is in the same way proclamation and confession. In the centre of the liturgy is the Eucharist, the Thanksgiving. Before God and all the world we make known the mighty works of God, from the Creation of the World until the Second Coming we proclaim the Death of Christ and His Resurrection.

Liturgy is proclamation and confession, because it is not to be separated from Holy Scripture, the first written composition of the Apostles' Kerygma and from the confession of the Church which has found its expression in her symbolism and her dogma. Let me give only a few examples: The preaching of the Gospel had its beginning with the message "The kingdom of God is at hand," and the Eucharistic Liturgy begins with the same exclamation: "Blessed is the kingdom of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

A liturgy without Scripture-reading would be unthinkable, i.e., without reading the gospel and the epistle. A liturgy without psalmody would be likewise unthinkable. Special portions of the Gospel, e.g., the Beatitudes, are central in our praying and singing, for there is scarcely a eucharistic liturgy without the Beatitudes being sung. And not only this: let us take the silent prayers and the exclamations of the priest during the Liturgy, and consider them more precisely; we shall be surprised how many biblical words, longer quotations and single phrases from the Gospels, from the Epistles, and from the Historical, Teaching, and Prophetic Books of the Old Testament we discover there. To such an extent are our liturgical texts permeated by dogmatic motives that I do not need to dwell further on this point. I must only mention that the relation between dogma and liturgy is not restricted to the mere recitation of the Creed at Baptism and the Eucharist. Let us take only the following liturgical song, one of those which has the significant name "Dogmatikon": (Tone 8) "The King of Heaven, because of His Love towards Mankind, hath appeared upon earth and dwelt among men: for He was incarnate of a pure Virgin, and come forth from her through that Incarnation, the Only Son, twofold in Nature

but not in Person. Wherefore, proclaiming Him, in very truth, perfect God and perfect Man, we confess Christ to be our true God: Whom do thou implore, O Mother Unwedded, that He may have mercy on our souls."

To forward the understanding of the Liturgy as proclamation and confession, as an expression of the Doctrine of the Church, we must put it into the context to which it belongs by origin, that is into the context of the apostolic and dogmatic tradition of the teaching of the Church. This is important, otherwise we can become hopelessly confused and lost in the great sea of liturgics.

How often do we notice in our days that the exact biblical and dogmatic background of liturgical texts becomes forgotten, and they are handed over to spontaneous individual interpretation. Only one example for it: the Mother of God in the Liturgy is no more and no less than the Virgin Mary of Nazareth of the Gospel, and the "*Theotokos*" of the Ephesine Dogma. Only when separated from this organic unity and delivered up to the spontaneous interpretations of a brooding aestheticizing and philosophizing individual is it possible that the Church's devotion to Mary should be made something like Goethe's cult of the "Eternal Feminine."

Yet another note, lest we lose ourselves in this shoreless sea of spontaneous and even dreadful misinterpretations of liturgical texts: We must distinguish between liturgical texts in which we have to do with poetical, figurative language, and those in a strict dogmatic language. Obviously here is not the place to enter into the problems of sophiology which move Russian religious thought nowadays. Without allowing myself to judge this problem as such, I want only to note that dogmas and historical facts which have been supposed to be connected with sophiology have only very little relevance to it. This could be proved by means of the more profound critique indicated above.

Another example: In church prayers the following words are found addressed to the Mother of God: "Thou good earth." At first sight it should be clear that this is only a metaphor. Moreover, this image is derived from St. Irenæus of Lyons (the soil, from which Adam was made was virgin). Unfortunately on the basis of this passage attempts have been made mystically to identify the Mother of God with the Earth. It is strange that only the image of the earth, and not any of the other numerous possibilities, is treated in this way. These are likewise used as symbols for the Mother of God: "Golden Censer" and "Closed Door."

But coming back to the point at issue: The Liturgy is the word of confession and prayer which the Spirit speaks by the Church, a fact which the Spirit has put in the midst of the life of the Church. From the above statements one could conclude that liturgy is dogma incorporate and is the crystallized deposit of absolute Truth. But this last conclusion would be premature.

The Canon of the New Testament is already fixed; the Creed and the dogmas of the Church once for ever defined. This does not mean that new ecumenical councils would not be possible occasionally. But that which is once dogmatically fixed is established once for ever. But such an

established shape does not exist for the Liturgy. There is no ideal Mass formula. There is an abundance of possible forms: but there is not any shape in the Church which could claim to be in all its details once for ever the shape of the Liturgy.

In a certain sense there has been and there will be such a shape. It was in existence the night the Lord was betrayed, and will be in existence on the Day of the Lord's Second Coming, when He will drink with us from the vine anew in the Kingdom of His Father. In the meantime we are in the era of the Church, the time of innumerable concrete eucharistic gatherings of the Church. Each of these gatherings is according to its substance identical with the First Eucharistic Meal, the Night of the Betrayal. The bread and the wine are taken, thanks is given over them, the bread is broken, the bread is given to eat and the wine to drink.

In each eucharistic gathering the Death of Christ is proclaimed and His Resurrection is confessed. Each eucharistic gathering is directed towards the Day of the Second Advent of the Lord. Each eucharistic gathering is the proclamation, confession and prayer of the Church, is the Word of the Spirit through the Church. But at the same time the Eucharist, here and now, is happening in the concrete congregation. There does not plainly exist any abstract liturgical shape, there is no church outside the eucharistic community gathered here and now. Always round the Lord there are gathered individual men with their concrete needs and petitions. Therefore liturgical life in its ritual, but not in its dogmatic aspect, is subject to particular and temporal local conditional variations.

"Of Thy mystic Feast to-day, O Son of God, receive me as a partaker." This is what we must consider: The Supper of Jesus Christ in relation to us to-day. The substance of the Liturgy has been completely misunderstood by any one who wants to canonize once for all the Mass formula with all its details.

For example: (a) The custom, inconceivable but common in the real Church to-day, of conducting (as a result of some historical events) morning prayers in the evening. (b) Catechumens who do not exist are turned out of the Church.

The Liturgy is the Word of the Holy Spirit through us; but this Word is always the same. It is happening, however, *in actu hic et nunc*. Because of this fact and because the participants in the Liturgy are real men, even certain liturgical errors are not excluded. According to a saying of St. Cyprian of Carthage, there are possible customs which have no truth, for they are not more than an ancient error and must be removed. Situations of a "dreadful liturgical dualism" are possible: The Lord present in the Bread and in the Wine—sinners before Him who eat and drink His true Body and His true Blood to their own condemnation. Here the word of prayer of the Holy Spirit is found on lips of unworthy men and in the same way on the same lips words of vanity, of little faith, or even of blasphemy.

The Liturgy is always happening *hic et nunc in actu*. Again there is no room for liturgical free will of any kind. The liturgical forms in our

Church of to-day are in a certain sense simply indispensable for us, like the New Testament and the Creed of the Church. Even if it were theologically possible to substitute this or that other religious shape, yet this does not mean that this must be practically realized.

There exists a wrong attitude to the external liturgical shape, finding its expression in this way: that the once given traditional shape, even if it has already lost its significance to-day, is considered as an untouchable sanctuary. An example is the *ektenie* of the catechumens, or far worse, the morning prayers in the evening, which never had any reasonable sense.

But there exists also an overemphasis on the outer shape, which finds its expression in just the opposite way. This is seen when men attempt to evade religious facts, as they confront us to-day, in order to restore some forms of the past. An example is seen in the experiment of creating several Orthodox national rites in the twentieth century.

We have always to start from the point that the Liturgy is an indispensable fact, as we see it in the Church of to-day, and that the author of this fact is the Holy Spirit Himself above all others, and He takes the first place. We know that the Word which the Holy Spirit utters in the Liturgy has not yet found its last crystalline expression, and also that this will not be found until Christ's coming again.

Nevertheless, we hear in and by the Liturgy the unutterable groanings of the Spirit, in which we members of the Church are called to be partakers. The Liturgy in its real present shape is therefore chiefly a fact, before which we can only stay in deepest humility and veneration. Our task is not restoration and reformation only for the sake of secondary reasons concerning the question of liturgical renovation. Only particular liturgical questions may be discussed in our times.

If the Liturgy is the Word of the Spirit through the Church *hic et nunc*, then it depends upon all that is said and done, that has real meaning here and now. And all that which only has historical importance must subside and recede. But at the same time we must be critical of ourselves. I believe, in the Orthodox Church of to-day, there is something needing to be reformed in the liturgical life. But, I think, these are small matters, and often not what one usually supposes. Also here we have not to forget the old sentence: "*Homines per sacra reformandi sunt, non sacra per homines.*"

And yet another point: As we have seen, the New Testament cannot be understood without its context of the "paradosis," nor the dogmas without their context of church history and patristics. Also we cannot understand the liturgical texts without the context of ascetical literature. There is no spiritual, ascetical life without the Liturgy; and no liturgical life whose fruit would not be ascetical and spiritual life. With regard to the question of how the service has to be conducted, we are advised not only by the liturgical books, but also by the ascetical literature of the Church. We are not able to separate the Liturgy from life, nor life from the Liturgy. Even the hermit, practising the Jesus prayer perhaps, is only a special case in the liturgical life of the Church.

With reference to the above I will add briefly: a revision of liturgical forms has to grow from the very centre of the life of the Church to-day which is given to her by the Holy Spirit and preserved by Him through all generations. So we must listen to the Voice of the Spirit, testified by the means described above and corresponding with the Church as it exists to-day. This is so essential that we have no right to mingle our own doubtful human desires and ambitions with the Voice of the Holy Spirit who alone gives witness by His Church to the Risen Christ in whom alone His Church confesses to Mankind, to us, our hope of eternal salvation.

MARTIN JORDAN.

THE EUCHARIST AND THE ANGLICAN CHRYSOSTOM

by H. BOONE PORTER, JR.

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"THE parallel . . . has more than once been observed between St. Chrysostom and our own Bishop Taylor: and it is good for the Church in general, and encouraging for our own Church in particular, to notice such providential revivals of ancient graces in modern times. . . ."

So wrote the holy priest who started the Oxford Movement, Father John Keble, and the "providential revival" of grace which he urges us to notice continues to have both interest and importance. The seventeenth century Divines, of whom Bishop Jeremy Taylor was one of the greatest, bound Anglicanism for ever to those principles which continue both to guide and to characterize our Church. To them we owe the Anglican insistence on incarnational theology, the apostolic ministry and sacramental grace, as is well known.

What is less well known, however, is the way in which the great Divines revived the sacramental theology of the ancient Fathers, and incorporated this tradition into the thought and life of our Church. It was a rather extraordinary achievement to take the teaching of the Greek Fathers, formulated a dozen centuries before, at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean, and to actually bring it to life as a constructive and creative force in English spirituality.

Believing with Keble, that this is both good and encouraging to notice, I should like to present at least a taste of this brilliant and remarkable theology. St. John Chrysostom is as typical of classical Greek theology as is Blessed Jeremy Taylor of classical Anglican theology, and their teaching on the Holy Eucharist is an excellent example of their thought.

There is no more beautiful sentence on the Liturgy in the whole English language, than what Taylor says in *Holy Living*:

"When the holy man stands at the Table of Blessing, and ministers the rite of consecration, then do as the Angels do, who behold, and love, and wonder, that the Son of God should become food to the souls of His servants; that He who cannot suffer any change or lessening should be broken into pieces and enter into the body to support and nourish the

spirit, and yet at the same time remain in Heaven while He descends to thee upon Earth; that He who hath essential felicity should become miserable and die for thee and then give Himself to thee for ever to redeem thee from sin and misery; that by His wounds He should procure health for thee, by His affronts He should entitle thee to glory, by His death He should bring thee to life, and by becoming a Man He should make thee partaker of the Divine Nature."

Chapt. IV, sect. X

No comment can add to the beauty of this passage, but it is well worth noting how permeated it is with the thought of the Greek Fathers. Even for the word *priest*, Taylor directly translates *holy man* from the Greek term. Typical of the Fathers is the easy and unselfconscious mixture of dogmatic theology, references to the events of the Incarnation, and practical pious exhortation. It closes with the great note of St. Athanasius: God became Man to make man divine. I should especially like to point out allusions to the heavenly character of the Liturgy. We worship with the Angels.

This is a leading idea which Taylor elsewhere develops at length. But we may consider a brief passage from *The Worthy Communicant*. This latter is reminiscent of the previous quotation, but derives so much from a passage in Chrysostom that the two can be considered in parallel.

Taylor

"When the holy man reaches forth his hands upon the Symbols and prays over them and intercedes for the sins of the people, and breaks the Holy Bread and pours forth the Sacred Chalice, place thyself by faith and meditation in Heaven, and see Christ doing in His glorious manner this very thing which thou seest ministered and imitated upon the Table of the Lord."

The Worthy Communicant,
chapt. VII, sect. I.

Chrysostom

"When thou seest the Lord sacrificed and laid upon the Altar, and the priest standing and praying over the Victim, and all the worshippers empurpled with that precious Blood, canst thou then think that thou art still among men and standing upon Earth? Art thou not, on the contrary, straightway translated to Heaven? . . . And this all do through the eyes of faith."

On The Priesthood, Book III,
sect. IV.

Bishop Taylor is directly inspired by St. Chrysostom's magnificent outburst, but consider how skilfully he paraphrases. Chrysostom is exalted and poetic, but not so specific. Taylor wants his reader to understand that he is not discussing any vague, general spiritual realities, but that he is referring directly to the things one sees in one's church on Sunday morning. The Liturgy is not heavenly because it is beautiful and remarkable, but because it really does present to God, here and now, the same Sacrifice our Saviour is pleading for us in Heaven. "Both Christ in Heaven and His ministers on earth actuate that Sacrifice." (*The Office Ministerial*, sect. V.) Beneath Taylor's stately prose is the firm doctrinal consistency of a man who endured years of Cromwellian persecution for refusing to relinquish or renounce the Catholic priesthood.

Secondly, we may consider another great note in classical Anglicanism, which as it appears in Bishop Taylor, was likewise largely derived from St. Chrysostom. This is the conception of the unity—yes, even the identity—of Christ's Sacramental Body and His Mystical Body. Both comment on 1st Corinthians, X, 17:

Taylor

"Christ is our Head, and we the members of His Body, and are united in this mystical union by the Holy Sacrament; not only because it does symbolically teach . . . but even by the blessing of God and the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Sacrament. . . . And therefore it was not without mystery that the congregation of all Christ's servants, His Church, and this sacramental Bread, are both in Scripture called by the same name: this Bread is the Body of Christ, and the Church is Christ's Body too; for by the communion of this Bread all faithful people are confederated into one Body, the Body of our Lord."

The Worthy Communicant,
chapt. I, sect. IV.

Thirdly, both bear witness to the Church's constant affirmation of the moral and social obligations imposed by the Christian sacramental life.

Taylor

"Fail not at this solemnity, according to the custom of pious and devout people, to make an offering to God for the uses of religion and the poor, according to thy ability. For when Christ feasts His Body, let us also feast our fellow members, who have a right to the same promises and are partakers of the same Sacrament."

Holy Living, chapt. IV, sect. X.

These few samples are enough to show how vivid and stimulating the Greek Fathers can be, and also how effectively and constructively the Anglican Divines applied their teaching. There is much that is modern in the early Fathers, and the continental reformers often quoted them. But the great Anglican Divines showed that a truly patristic theology can only exist within the living framework of liturgical and sacramental tradition.

Chrysostom

"We are that self-same Body. For what is the Bread? The Body of Christ. And what do they become who partake of it? The Body of Christ. Not many bodies, but one Body."

Commentary on 1st Cor., chapt. X.

"The Scripture is wont to give the name of 'Flesh' to the mysteries of the Eucharist and to the whole Church, calling them the Body of Christ."

Commentary on Gal., chapt. V.

Chrysostom

"Art thou making a remembrance of Christ and despisest thou the poor? . . . How can it be other than unworthily when one neglects the hungry? . . . Let us nourish Christ; let us give Him drink; let us clothe Him: these things are worthy of that Table."

Commentary on 1st Cor., chapt. XI.

The glory of patristic theology is its synthesis of reasoned doctrine, Holy Scripture, sacramental life, and practical piety. It is the achievement of the great Divines that they transplanted and transposed this synthesis into Anglicanism, so as to embrace the Western theological tradition, the King James Bible, the Prayer Book, and a modern practice of piety. Such a book as *Holy Living* deserves a permanent place in Anglo-Catholic devotional life, not merely because it is intrinsically better than most modern manuals, or even because it was written by a confessor's hand, but because it, and some other books, like it, played a role of permanent historical importance in the formulation of the traditions of our Church. They took the principles and ideals of Anglican theology, and shaped them into a living practice of spirituality and devotion. Through English Catholicism, thus reformed, martyrs and confessors, hosts of ordinary people, and countless sinners, have been "confederated into one Body, the Body of our Lord."

THE THEOPHANY RITES IN THE WEST

THERE is no more striking difference between the piety of East and West than in regard to the Feast of Theophany. In the East, the commemoration of Christ's Baptism and the hallowing and distribution of water is one of the best loved rites of the whole year. In the West, on the other hand, Epiphany is above all the feast of the Magi presenting their gifts at Bethlehem.

If we look beneath the surface, we will indeed find many allusions to Christ's Baptism in the Western rites. Westerners themselves, however, will be very much surprised to learn that even the hallowing and distribution of the water has had a place in the Western tradition.

Let it be understood at the outset that the hallowing of the water is a baptismal rite. Throughout the ancient Church, Baptism was administered mainly on Easter Eve, but from early times the East also had a second occasion for administering it—the feast of the Saviour's own Baptism.

This Eastern custom was followed in some parts of Gaul. Just as Easter Baptism had its season of preparation, Lent, so the Epiphany Baptism developed a preceding period of penitence and training in Gaul. With the universal adoption of December 25th as the Feast of the Nativity, the old season of pre-baptismal training became altered into a period of preparation for Christmas—the period now known as Advent. Orthodox who have visited Anglican churches during the month before Christmas will recall the many allusions to St. John the Baptist which occur during the Advent services.

In the early Middle Ages, both in the East and in parts of what is now France, Epiphany remained a time for the solemn administration of Baptism. In both the East and Gaul, the hallowed waters of the baptismal font were distributed to the people to take home.

Surprisingly enough, the custom was still flourishing in some parts of Gaul in the time of Charlemagne, much to his distress. He was eager to impose the strict observance of the Roman rite, which at that time only

permitted public Baptism at Easter and Pentecost Eves. Yet in some quarters the Epiphany Baptism was so cherished that it was locally incorporated into the Roman rite. An order was composed for performing the ceremonies according to the "Roman" usage!

Ordo Romanus XV (Andrieu's numbering) provides as follows for the opening of the feast: "When, therefore, the Nocturns and Matins have been performed, they next go to the fonts, with candles and thuribles, singing the *Te Deum* (the hymn of St. Ambrose). This finished, they begin the litany, that is, 'O Christ, hear us,' and the rest. When that litany is done, immediately the bishop blesses the fonts. After the blessing, he puts chrism into the fonts making a cross, and with his hand he sprinkles some of the same chrism into all the fonts (another text has it: he sprinkles all the people). This done, all the people take a blessing of this water, each one in their own vessels, for sprinkling not only in their homes, but also in their vineyard, fields and fruits. Then the presbyters and deacons take off their shoes, . . . step into the fonts, . . . and baptize the children . . ." (*Ordines Romani*, Michel Andrieu edit., v. III, pp. 110-12.)

This document was composed in Gaul in the third quarter of the eighth century. Its description of the baptismal rites is but a series of quotations from the directions for the old Roman baptismal rites in *Ordo Romanus XI* (Andrieu's *Ordines*, v. II, pp. 444-5). The distribution of Baptismal waters, which in the East was done at the Theophany, seems to have traditionally been done at Rome on Easter Eve.

During the Middle Ages, the solemn ancient rites of public Baptism at the liturgical times were generally given up throughout Christendom, and children were baptized individually whenever convenient. In the East, this left the hallowing of the waters at Theophany to stand alone as a special rite, separate from Baptism. Likewise in the Latin rite, the font is hallowed on Easter Eve even if no Baptisms occur. It will also be noted how closely the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel in the Prayer Book relate to Baptism on this day. It is a cause for rejoicing that nowadays a number of children are baptized on Easter Eve in some Anglican parishes.

But when was the hallowing of water at Epiphany abolished in the West? There is reason to believe that traces of it never entirely vanished from the Latin rite. The Roman *Rituale* still contains an order for "Blessing Homes on Holy Saturday." What is this? The priest is directed to take blessed water from the baptismal font and to sprinkle it in the house to be blessed. Is there anything analogous on Epiphany? Yes, there is also an order for "Blessing homes on Epiphany." The *Magnificat* is sung, prayers are said, and the house is blessed with incense and holy water. (Ordinary holy water is not taken from the font, but is blessed with prayers not entirely unrelated to the baptismal rite.) In some places this ceremony is perhaps still performed.

In the West to-day, Epiphany forms the conclusion of the Christmas Feast, much as Pentecost concludes the Easter Feast. References to Christ's Baptism and likewise to the Miracle of Cana, have not, however, been abandoned. In the Church of England, the Gospel at the Eucharist on the

Epiphany refers to the Magi, but at Matins Christ's Baptism is commemorated; at Evensong it is the Miracle of Cana. On the Sunday following, the Gospel at the Eucharist is closely related—the finding of the Boy Jesus in the Temple. The next Sunday, the Miracle of Cana is thus commemorated again. There are similar arrangements in other parts of the Anglican world. The American Prayer Book gives a chronological order to this whole series of Eucharistic Gospels. Epiphany Day, it is the Magi; the first Sunday after, Christ in the Temple; the second Sunday, Christ's Baptism; and the third Sunday, the Wedding at Cana.

In conclusion, the question may be raised whether any Western Christians may ever again adopt the hallowing and distribution of water at Epiphany. The answer is, I think, clear. This ceremony will only win its way into new lands if it is presented in its true and ancient context: the solemn administration of Holy Baptism. If the normal administration of this Sacrament once again becomes confined to special liturgical seasons—and some Anglicans hope it will—it will doubtless inspire appropriate expressions of piety; more than this cannot be said. All Christians, however, must shoulder the responsibility of proclaiming anew to the modern world the full meaning of Christian Baptism. It may well be that a new emphasis on the Theophany will be part of this task.

H. BOONE PORTER.

THE OFFICE OF PREPARATION AND THANKSGIVING FOR HOLY COMMUNION ACCORDING TO THE ORTHODOX RITE¹

THE composition of an office of preparation for the Holy Communion and thanksgiving for reception would appear to be comparatively modern. In the early days of the life of the Church, any set prayers, let alone a formal arrangement of such, would be out of the question; indeed we know little of a felt need for such, while the fervour of new converts acted as a leaven of the whole Christian life. In all probability, in the East at any rate, the source of a set preparation, as so much else in the liturgical and ascetical life, was monastic. The Religious would prepare with great care and over a considerable period, for the increasingly rare occasions in the year when Communion was made. This becomes clear when the Office of Reception (*Metelêpsis*) of Communion is looked into more carefully. First of all, the development of thought and belief about the Eucharist, reaching a height in the fifth and sixth centuries, but going back much earlier, stresses the awe and mystery that surrounded the celebration of the Divine Liturgy and the reception of the Holy Gifts. This is particularly prominent in the Byzantine religious world. Earlier, for instance in the West, in the fourth century, the teaching of St. Ambrose of Milan, no doubt traditional since he entered ecclesiastical life comparatively late in life, suggests another line of thought. This is the bridal theme, a more radiant and

¹ Service of Preparation for Holy Communion. Greek text with a rendering in English. Printed for private circulation, London 1931, 6d. (obtainable at the Faith Press and the Greek Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom, Bayswater, W. 2).

altogether more confident context, in which the Christian finds in Communion with our Lord, the Bridegroom of the Heavenly Supper and Feast, the fulfilment of joyous spiritual union. This fertile range of ideas does not appear to have established itself even in the West. Counter-Reformation Offices of Preparation and Thanksgiving, when so much of this work as used to-day was prepared, know little of it.

The Office of Preparation, to be found in the usual books of Orthodox devotion, the "Great Orologion" or "Book of Hours," the Holy Synopsis or "Compendium," and attached to copies of the Divine Liturgy intended to be used by the clergy in church, presents a form generally already familiar to Anglican church people. In substance it consists of a preparatory office to be used the night before of a short "Canon"—troparia and Theotokia, arranged acrostically for each letter of the alphabet. On the day itself the office consists of three psalms (23, 24, 116 v. 10ff. in the English Prayer Book Psalter enumeration) and ten prayers of supplication, leading up to the devout ejaculations immediately before the act of Holy Communion.

These ten prayers are of great beauty and variety of expression. Those that bear the names of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom and St. John Damascene, are addressed to our Lord and are conspicuous for their sense of unworthiness in approaching the divine and terrible Mysteries of His Body and Blood; a continual calling on His Mercy and a mentioning of the many examples of sinners approaching our Lord, the cleansing Fountain of Life and Immortality in the Gospel and the need for the prayers of the Saints. They are prefaced by a significant "Didactic Rhyme" which strikes another characteristic note in the approach to Communion:

"Thou, O man, about to receive as food the Body of the Master,
In fear approach, lest thou be scorched; for It is fire.
And, drinking the Holy Blood unto Communion,
First be at peace with those who afflict thee,
Then with courage receive the mystic Food."

Here is expressed a pregnant truth that finds its completion in the great poem of St. Simeon the New Theologian, in the seventh Prayer. The source of the metaphor is in all probability the great vision of Isaiah and the live coal from off the cleansing heavenly altar placed on his lips by the seraph. But along with that is the manifestation to Moses of the Uncreated Light in the Burning Bush that was unconsumed. The miracle that turns the consuming flame into the dew of Grace is peculiar to the Hesychiast tradition that culminated in the teaching of St. Gregory Palamas:

"At once I fear and I rejoice,
And I who am but straw
Receive the Fire:
And—strange Miracle—
As with dew I am besprinkled
Even as the Bush of old,
which unconsumed did burn."

Yet another great theme of this office of preparation is the emphasis upon

deification of the redeemed Christian, body and soul by participation in the divine Mysteries. Christian grace does not merely deliver man from sin: it is the working out of the process of sanctification by the indwelling Holy Spirit, which is to have its end in participation in the divine nature. *Thêosis*, or the divinization of the complete human being, body and soul, has always been a triumphant note of patristic and Orthodox teaching. The Reception of the Holy Communion is an essential element in the realization of the gift of immortal life. Finally, there is the fitting and congruent place of the Mother of God, the Saints and the "Bodiless Ones" (the Holy Angels) in the service of the Divine Mysteries and in their powerful advocacy and presentation of the prayers of Christians, still in this life, before the throne of Grace. St. Simeon the Translator expresses this with beauty and power in his prayer of thanksgiving after Reception:

"As suppliants I bring to Thee all those whom Thou hast made holy:
The leaders of the angelic Powers:
Thy Fore-runner, Thine enlightened Apostles,
And further, Thy pure and spotless Mother.
The prayers of these receive, O merciful Christ,
And make Thy servant a child of light."

The small booklet issued privately and referred to at the beginning of this article is a simplification of the entire Office as found in the official books. As the reception of Holy Communion increases in frequency among the Orthodox, some abbreviation of a long office is doubtless necessary.

A.O.

A HESYCHAST IN THE MAKING

I HAVE been urged to publish more of the Answers of Varsanuphius and John—the key figures in that *milieu* from which I published "An Idyll of the Monks of Gaza" in our last issue. And it seemed best to publish the first set of letters—those to John of Beersheba—together with the Preface set before the whole collection by the original editor, a nameless monk of the Cenobium, who had himself seen Varsanuphius on the one occasion when the latter, to assuage the doubts of a brother who suspected that the unseen "Great Old Man" was a figment of the Abbot, came out of his cell and washed the feet of the brethren. This editor did his work well, giving us the letters as he found them, with the minimum of introductory explanation to each letter. The tantalizing gaps in the story presented to us, and the frequent repetitions, are inevitable in this type of literature, and assure us of its genuineness. There is sufficient continuity in the series before us to give us the thread of the story of a soul's progress, although we have no clear indication of the lapse of time.

The correspondence with John of Beersheba* appears to be the earliest in the collection—for the first letter shows us Abbot Seridus being told how he is to do the work of "secretary" to the Great Old Man. Its beginning may be dated somewhere around A.D. 525. It begins with John still a

* The 3rd Letter shows that he is *not* to be identified with John, the "Other Old Man," the writer of this letter, who, though taking no further part in this particular correspondence, is responsible for something like it.

prominent member, if not Abbot, of a community at Beersheba, aspiring to the hesychastic life at the Gaza Cenobium. Apparently between Letters VI and VII he comes to the Cenobium, and immediately finds himself in a position of some responsibility there. The second instalment will show him permitted at last to fulfil his desire of enclosure in a recluse's cell, and something of his temptations and stumblings in that life. The series breaks off as it were fortuitously, leaving us with the picture of one who is set on the road, but has still a long journey ahead of him.

We can hardly hope to publish the complete works of Varsanuphius and John (about 850 letters) in the *Christian East*—with an instalment similar to this in every issue, it would take about nine years! But the fifty-four letters which make up this first set give a fair sample of the whole work, containing much which is found again and again elsewhere in the collection—the refusal to impose a definite “Rule of Life”: the identification of the entry on the recluse life with the “Mounting of the Cross”: the call to become “Brothers of Christ”: the rousing of the Jesus asleep within us. Occasionally we have glimpses of liturgical order, as when Letter XXIV gives us the Scripture Readings for two successive days. Frequently we see something of the conditions of life in the Cenobium and the world around—the sun-dried bricks used for the monastic buildings in the Gaza plain: the journey to Egypt by sea in search of ἐργόχειρον. Not a few words unknown elsewhere are added to our Greek vocabulary—e.g. the unexplained “λευκάδοις” of Letter XXII.

I have adopted the use of italics for the questions and editorial pieces; for Scriptural quotations (which are not always exact); for unexplained words like “*leucada*,” and for certain words which I have adapted from the Greek in despair of a true translation (e.g. *noetic* and *æconomically*), or which I have used in their original sense as truly representing the Greek, although their common use has changed for the worse (e.g. *condescension*).

D.J.C.

Letters and Answers of two Spiritual Old Men living in a Cenobium in the country round Gaza, called that of the Abba Seridus, sent by way of the hegoumen, to wit the same Abba Seridus, who also ministered to them: and their names were Varsanuphius and John.

PROLOGUE

We beg those who read this book to accept with gratitude, reverence and faith, the things written therein, and rather to study to come by grace of Christ to imitation of the life and good actions of those who spake them. For having trained their own life long time according to God by endurance and faith, and, as the Apostle says, striven *lawfully*, and in all things followed in the way of the holy fathers, they became worthy of so great grace-gifts from God. But when we are intending to read the things written in this book, we ought to know that some of them were spoken to anchorites, and some to those in cenobia, and others to those in choir, and others again to priests and Christ-loving laity: and some to younger men or novices, some to men already advanced in age and exercised in the habit, and

others to men approaching the perfection, of virtue, as each was suited to hear. For the same teachings are not suited to all. For as in the ages of the body there are different foods for the sucking child, for the adolescent, and for those advanced in age, so also in regard to the ages of the spirit. Often also they answered having regard to the infirmity of the thought of the questioner, coming down *æconomically* to his level, so that he should not fall into despair—as also we find in the *Lives of the Old Men*. And we must not receive as a general rule the things thus said by way of *condescension* to particular people, having regard to their infirmity, but at once distinguish that certainly the answer given by the saints was adjusted to the questioner. For it happens also that such a one, being roused to wakefulness one day by the prayers of the saints, should come to a condition that befits monks, and should then hear again the things which behove him.

And I beg you in the Lord to remember also in your holy prayers my lowliness who by God's help have delivered here to writing these answers, for the profit of those who read them in the fear of God: that the words of the saints may not be to me for judgment, but I may be protected by their prayers and yours, now and unto the day of judgment: Amen.

I. Answer of the Great Old Man to the Abba John from Beersheba, when he had asked to come and live with them in the Cenobium.

It is written in the Apostle, “*That He which hath begun a good work in you will Himself also complete it until the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.*”¹ And again our Master said to him who came to Him, “*If any man renounces not all that he hath, and his family, yea and hates not his own soul also, he cannot be my disciple.*”² But it is possible for God to fulfil upon us the saying, “*Behold now what is good and what is pleasant, but that brethren should dwell together.*”³ But I pray that thou mayest attain the measure written of in the Acts, that “*As many as had properties sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet.*”⁴ And I, knowing that thy purpose was according to God, said to our beloved son Seridus, who after God protects us from men—and we hope unto God that he will also protect thee with us—“*Receive brother John with much love, and do not hesitate at all: for two years ago God revealed to me that he will be coming here, and that many of the brethren are going to be gathered to us: and I kept this revelation until I should learn what the Lord is doing: now then that the time is fulfilled, I have also declared it to you.*” And since thou hast reckoned that I should provide thee something from what I wear—lo, in the presence of the brother I have taken off the cowl from my head, and sent it to thee by him, saying, “*Give it him, and bring me another instead*

¹ Phil. i. 6.

² Luke xiv. 33 and 26.

³ Ps. cxxxiii. (cxxxii.) 1.

⁴ Acts iv. 34.

of it." Keep this then until thine end. For it is going to protect thee from many ills and trials. Do not give it then to any. For it is a blessing of God from my hands. And study to complete thy work, and to acquit thyself of every commitment as we acquitted ourselves: and settle with us, with freedom from care, giving thy time to God.

And I, Seridus, tell thee a wonderful thing. For as the Old Man said this, I considered in myself, "How can I hold these things to write them? If the Old Man had wanted, I could have brought here the ink and the paper, and heard word by word and written it down." But he knew what I was thinking, and his face shone like fire, and he said to me, "Go, write, be not afraid, until I tell thee ten thousand words, to write, neither too much nor too little, to the very letter; the Spirit of God lets thee write it: and not if thou wilt, but He guides thy hand how thou shalt write them with coherence.

II. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same, indicating to him the divers afflictions that should come upon him, and the bodily infirmity, and what progress of soul should come from these, and what blessedness thence:—*

Say to brother John, *Stablish thy heart firm as a hard rock*⁵—I mean the *noetic rock*—to be able to hear what I am about to say. Give heed then to thyself, lest hearing this thou be uplifted in thy heart, and fall away from the spiritual promise. For swelling pride has ruined many even of those who had attained the measure. But prepare thyself for thanksgiving in all things, having heard the holy Apostle saying, "*In all things give thanks.*"⁶ Whether then *in afflictions* or *in necessities* or *distresses*, or *in infirmities* and *bodily labours*,⁷ in all the things that come upon thee give thanks unto God. For I hope that thou too art to come into His rest. For *we must through many afflictions enter into the Kingdom of God*.⁸ Doubt not then in thy soul, and let not thy heart faint in anything, but remember the Apostolic saying, "*Though our outward man perish, yet our inward man is renewed from day to day.*"⁹ If then thou endurest not the sufferings, thou canst not come unto the Cross. But if thou bearest in the first place the sufferings, thou enterest into the haven of His rest, and livest in quiet henceforth in much freedom from care, having thy soul firmly stablished and cleaving to the Lord through everything, guarded in faith, rejoicing in hope, made glad in love, preserved in the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity. And then the saying is concerning thee, "*Let the heavens be glad and let the earth rejoice.*"¹⁰ For this is the care-free life of the man of God. For the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost rejoice at the salvation of thy soul, my beloved brother.

⁵ 1 Sam. ii. 1 (Is. l. 7).

⁶ 1 Thess. v. 18.

⁷ 2 Cor. vi. 4; xii. 10.

⁸ Acts xiv. 22.

⁹ 2 Cor. iv. 16.

¹⁰ Ps. xcvi. (xcv.) 11.

III. *Answer of the Other Old Man to the same when he had asked that he might meet him:—*

Tell the brother—Forgive me for the Lord's sake, that I desire to see thee, but for the sake of the others' conscience I do not find freedom. But I congratulate thy love at the promises sent thee from the holy Old Man. And blessed art thou to have been counted worthy of these.

IV. *When a trial had been stirred up for the monks of the place where the Abba John was living before he came to the Cenobium, and trouble was going to be stirred up there when he was there, the Great Old Man foreseeing this in spirit, wrote to him thus:—*

Write to brother John—Behold I send thee three testimonies from the power of God and from the Scriptures of the Holy Ghost, in which I awaken thy mind to vigilance of God, and to understandings of the Holy Ghost, that thou mayest know concerning the present time, what it is. The first testimony is this: God said by the Prophet Isaiah: "*Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers and shut thy doors a little, until the Wrath of the Lord be overpast.*"¹¹ The second testimony is this: "*Come out from among them and be ye separate, and touch no unclean thing, saith the Lord, and I will receive you and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be to me sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.*"¹² The third testimony: "*Look how ye walk, not as unwise but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.*"¹³ But I say to thee, run to the things set before thee, and complete thy work swiftly, remembering thy Lord who says, "*No man having put his hand to the plough and turning back is fitted for the Kingdom of heaven*"¹⁴; and the "*Let the dead bury their dead, and come thou and preach the kingdom of Heaven.*"¹⁵ For I look to thy quiet life which awaits thee in Christ Jesus our Lord.

V. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the Abbot when he was grieved that the Abba John was so long in coming, and thought as a result that he was not coming:—*

Be not disheartened, my child, nor grieved about our brother. For even if he is absent in body, yet he is present in spirit and is with us continually. For he is our twin soul, and no man separates him from our love from now and unto the end of the world.

VI. *Letter of the same Great Old Man written to the same Abba John when he was carrying out in his own country certain requirements for the Cenobium, and was troubled by bodily warfare:—*

Write to the brother—While thou art outside, performing thy labour according to thy power for God and for the souls of the brethren, or rather

¹¹ Is. xxvi. 20.

¹² 2 Cor. vi. 17–18.

¹³ Eph. v. 15–16.

¹⁴ Luke ix. 62.

¹⁵ Ibid., 60.

for our own refreshment and quiet and for thine—for if the brethren are refreshed and protected by means of us, we also by means of them find the perfect quiet, and there is fulfilled upon us the word that is written, "*A brother aided by a brother is like a strong and fenced city*"¹⁶—cut short all relationships and occasions that thou hast whilst thou art yet without, and allow no occasion, nor relationship with any, dragging thee backwards. For if thou art not thus, thou settlest not in perfect quiet. For so we also did. If therefore thou dost this, I hope that thou wilt settle in perfect quiet. For indeed, with God's help, thy lot falls with us, and thy portion with us unto the end of the world. Let none learn at present what we are writing to thee. Perform then thy labour, and if the matter prosper before thee, give thanks to God, and pray to Him. For this is the "*In everything give thanks.*" And let us not neglect to pay our thanksgiving to God, like him about whom thou once toldest the parable, that he used to go to pray in the Church that food might be managed for him, and somebody met him once saying, "Breakfast with me to-day, and then go and pray," and he said, "I am not going: for that is what I was going to ask from God." But as for us, whether we find or no, let us pay our thanksgiving to God. But see to it that thou carry *the dying of Jesus in thy body*¹⁷ through everything.

VII. Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same when he was about to go with the brethren to collect material for handiwork, and was afraid of the desert character of the country. And a reminder to be watchful against the bodily warfare that troubled him: and a promise of God's assistance towards the withdrawal to them that he was working for:—

Say to him who has been called by the divine purpose from on high, to dwell with us not only in this world but also in the world to come, our true brother and twin soul John—Our Master Christ said to His disciples, "*Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall to the ground without my Father who is in Heaven. But the very hairs of your head are numbered. Fear not therefore. Ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.*"¹⁸ Take heed therefore unto thyself with vigilance, to set God before thee continually, that concerning thee also the prophetic word may be fulfilled, "*I foresaw the Lord before my face continually: for He is on my right hand, that I may not be moved.*"¹⁹ Stretch out therefore thy hands from thy whole soul to the things which are set before thee, and meditate upon these continually, so that thou mayest hear the voice of God saying to thee, "*Behold I will send my angel before thy face, who will prepare thy way before thee.*"²⁰

¹⁶ Prov. xviii. 19.

¹⁷ 2 Cor. iv. 10.

¹⁸ Matt. x. 29-32.

¹⁹ Ps. xvi. (xv.) 8.

²⁰ Matt. xi. 10.

VIII. The same, having wearied himself considerably, and found no handiwork, was grieved, and surprised how the angel had not been sent for succour according to the word of the Old Man. For he did not understand that this had been said to him with a view to the quittance of his withdrawal. And for this cause the Old Man wrote thus to him:—

Write to the brother—As long as the ship is at sea, it expects dangers and the onset of winds. But if it reach the haven of quiet and of peace, it has no more fear of dangers and afflictions and the onset of winds, but is in calm. So also thy love—so long as thou art with men, expect afflictions and dangers and the onset of *noetic* winds. But when thou attainest the things that are prepared for thee, then shalt thou be without fear. But in regard to what I said before, that our Master said, "*Behold I will send my angel before thy face*"—sent he was. But in regard to thy not finding handiwork—God said in the Mosaic book, "*For this cause He led thee about and chastened thee and suffered thee to hunger in that terrible wilderness, to know what was in thine heart.*"²¹ Understand the things I say to thee, and labour steadily and without doubting, beloved brother.

IX. Letter of the same Great Old Man to the same when he had gone away on business of the Cenobium, and had become heedless because of the great affliction he had found therein:—

Write, my child, to our brother John salutation in the Lord from me and thee and our brother John, and say to him—*Faint not at the tribulations*²² and the bodily toils which thou endurest, labouring for us and our Cenobium. For this also pertains to "*laying down one's life for*"²³ the brethren. And I hope that great will be the reward of this labour, and as God set Joseph to feed his brethren in famine in Egypt, so also He has set thee to succour the Cenobium, with our child Seridus. And I say to thee the Apostolic word to Timothy: "*Thou therefore, my child, be strengthened in the grace of the Holy Spirit.*"²⁴ For I am looking to thy quiet, how it is about to come, and I rejoice with thee in the Lord. For as long as thou livest outside, thou art bound to find affliction and bodily labour. But when thou attainest to the haven of quiet, thou findest refreshment and peace. For our Master cannot lie, who says, "*I will give unto them in this present world an hundredfold, and in the world to come life everlasting.*"²⁵ Eagerly therefore labour, my brother, that thou mayest find the more love and refreshment. For before the ship reaches the haven, it is beaten and tossed by the waves and billows. But if it reach there, it is found henceforth in great calm. Consider what I am saying, and keep it: for may the Lord give thee understanding in all things.²⁶

²¹ Deut. viii. 2-3; xxxii. 10.

²² Eph. iii. 13.

²³ John xv. 13.

²⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 1.

²⁵ Mark x. 30.

²⁶ 2 Tim. ii. 7.

X. Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same, when a stone had fallen on his foot and caused him much pain and disheartenment:—

To the beloved brother John in the Lord, greeting. According to the labour of thy body for our sake, and the crushing of thy spirit for God's sake, may our Master God fill thy soul, my beloved, with the good things of heaven *an hundredfold*. Observe what is written to thee from me, brother, and hide it with thyself. For I will cause thee to hear heavenly joy from our Master and God. For in the name of the Holy Trinity I find that thou art joint-heir of my grace-gifts that are given to me from God. And I am expectant that step by step thou wilt speedily attain to them. For there is the man who for labour according to God speedily attains *unto his rest*²⁷: and there is again the man who attains to it for his humility. But I hope that thou wilt have both these, when wrath has died out of thee, anger being choked from thy heart: and then is fulfilled in thee the word that is written—“*Look on my humility and my labour, and forgive me all my sins.*”²⁸ And since I have said that step by step thou attainest, observe the Gospels, how and how often Christ gave the grace-gifts to His Disciples, concerning healings and castings out of demons, for the perfection speaking to them concerning remission of sins—“*Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted.*”²⁹ If then for thy labour for God He will remit thy sins, this is the measure which I wish thee to achieve. But if thou readest in the letter words hard to understand, ask thy twin soul and my beloved son, Seridus, and by the grace of God he will explain to thee what is hard to understand. For I have prayed God for him concerning this also. Thou therefore, O man of God, ceaselessly run the way that is prepared for thee, so that with joy thou mayest reach that haven of Christ which we have reached, and hear that voice full of joy and of life and of exultation saying to thee, “*Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of the Lord.*”³⁰ Mayest thou rejoice in the Lord: mayest thou rejoice in the Lord: mayest thou rejoice in the Lord. The Lord shall keep thy soul and body and spirit from every evil, and from every diabolic opposition, and every disturbing imagination. The Lord shall be thy light, thy protection, thy way, thy strength, crown of rejoicing, and everlasting help. Give heed to thyself: for it is written, “*And what is gone out of my lips I will not set aside.*”³¹

XI. Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same, counselling him to call to mind continually the things written to him for his profit and the establishment of his heart:—

Solomon said about his parents: “*Who taught me also, and said unto me, Let our word stand fast in thy heart.*”³² So I also say to thee, brother,

²⁷ Heb. iii. 18, etc.

²⁸ Ps. xxv. (xxiv.) 18.

²⁹ John xx. 23.

³⁰ Matt. xxv. 23.

³¹ Ps. lxxxix. (lxxxviii.) 34.

³² Prov. iv. 4.

Let my words stand fast in thy heart, and meditate continually all that is written to thee from me; as God said by the mouth of Moses—“*Thou shalt bind them upon thy right hand, and they shall be unmoved before thine eyes continually; and meditate them when thou liest down and when thou risest up, and when thou walkest in the way and when thou sittest in thine house.*”³³ Show then these same in perfection of works. And my God shall be with thee unto the ages. Amen.

XII. The Same enjoined a work upon a brother. And as he did not do it quickly, he rebuked him. And when the brother was grieved, he thought he would not say anything at all to any of the brethren any more. And in regard to this the Old Man informed him thus:—

Say to brother John, This time is soft, and thou wilt have much labour to find in this present time a man having a firm heart. But hold the word of the holy Apostle when he says, “*Reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine.*”³⁴

XIII. When some building was being done in the Cenobium, he, as he was skilled in this, fixed the measures of the work. And without his knowledge some of the brethren, supposing they would be doing a good thing, added to them and somewhat spoilt them. And when he was vexed, and grew tired of them, the Old Man informed them thus:—

Say to brother John, who is of one mind with us—Many are the things written to thee from me by the hand of our true and beloved child, who from his whole soul loves us three equally in perfect love. And all these I write not of my own will, but of the command of the Holy Spirit, and all for profit and correction of soul and of the conscience of thy inner man, but for affliction and chastening of thy body, and contrition of thy heart. First give heed against the spirit of *accidie*: for it begets every evil and shifty matter. For if I write to thee the temptations I have endured, still I say unto thee that thine ears cannot bear it—but perhaps neither the ears of any other at this present time. But I hope that thou wilt attain thereunto: and not only so, but that thou hast to see them with thine own eyes, and be redeemed from them by grace of Christ through faith. Why does thy heart faint with growing tired of Christ's sheep? Or dost thou not know what a headache the good teacher endures from the children until they pass the test? And this that thou hast heard from me the Apostolic saying, “*Reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine*”—hear, and give heed to what I say to thee. Long-suffering is mother of all good things. Observe how Moses chose for himself *rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.*³⁵ Therefore when there troubles thee a thought from the demon in regard to any man, say to the thought with long-suffering, “*Did I become subject to God in order that I might enslave others?*” and it will

³³ Deut. vi. 7–8; xi. 18–19.

³⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

³⁵ Heb. xi. 25.

cease from thee. Run steadfastly and mightily, remembering my words—or rather, the Lord's words—that thou also mayest overtake us in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen. So be it: so be it.

XIV. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the Same because he took it heavily when he heard that one of the brethren, as in disparagement of him was saying, "And who is this man, or where does he come from, that he is so distressed?"—*

Say to the brother—As Michael contended about the body of Moses,³⁶ so do I strive on thy behalf until thou be set free from the old man. For the Jews murmured about the Saviour, saying, "Is not this the son of Joseph? Do we not know his mother and his brethren?"³⁷ Take these things to heart, and endure unto the end.

XV. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the Same when he was not yet clear of this same disheartenment:—*

Say to the brother—I remember the prophecy of the holy Prophet Jeremiah when he says, "Who will give waters to my head, and to mine eyes a fountain of tears, and I will weep for this people day and night?"³⁸ For I was expecting to feed thee on solid food, and I see thee again needing milk. Look what is written, "And cleanse thou me from my secret faults."³⁹ Look lest the evil dragons steal thee, and shoot into thee their venom: for it is deadly. For no man ever corrects the good by an evil: for he is overcome by the evil. But he corrects the evil by the good. See therefore, thou standest in the lists. It is thy duty to fight with beasts like the Apostle at Ephesus.⁴⁰ For he was boasting after conquering the wild beasts. Thou hast been cast into the turmoil of the sea, to endure many dangers, and to strive together against the billowing of the waves. And so when thou hast conquered with the help of God, thou wilt enter with us into the haven of calm, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is the glory unto the ages. Amen.

XVI. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same when he was going to be vexed against the brethren at the spoiling of the bricks which had been brought about by the rain. For he attributed this to their own indolence. And foreseeing that he was also going to blame the Abbot about this, he cautions him beforehand, and rouses him up to secure his thoughts, reminding him also of the true love which the Abbot had for him, that with such a reminder he might thrust away the contrary thought:—*

Do me a charity, my child, and make haste to bring paper and ink, and leave aside the business for which thou art come up, and write to brother John, in the first place, greeting from me. For he is being worked on to

³⁶ Jude 9.

³⁷ Luke iv. 22; John vi. 42, etc.

³⁸ Jer. ix. 1.

³⁹ Ps. xix. (xviii.) 12.

⁴⁰ 1 Cor. xv. 32.

trouble others and be troubled by them. And say to him—Mayest thou rejoice in the Lord, my brother. If many are the waves of the sea, is there none who will rouse Jesus from sleep, that He may rebuke the winds and the sea, and there may be calm for us to understand and to worship⁴¹ Jesus? If all things are vain and temporary, why is our heart worked upon through them to become forgetful of the Gospel saying, "What shall a man be profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"⁴² Learn, my brother, that if a man distress another whether by word or by deed, afterwards he himself is distressed an hundredfold. And often have been written to thee from me the words of the Scripture of the Lord to be long-suffering in all things,⁴³ and to give heed that thy will be not mixed with anything. But if thou send me the question with my beloved son Seridus, who is ever distressed when he sees thee distressed, study to make accurate account with thy thoughts, lest they should ever shoot deadly venom into thy heart, so that thou shouldst be led astray, thinking the gnat a camel, and the grit a stone, and the man is found having the beam and giving heed to the mote.⁴⁴

I write to thee as to my own soul. For I know that thy heart is able to rejoice at these things. For it is said, "Reprove a wise man . . ." ⁴⁵ et seq. And thou knowest how I have thee in the Love of Christ, brother. I hope that thou art nigh to be carefree henceforth from earthly matters, and to be found occupied in the spiritual work of the fathers. For my Lord Christ will not put me to shame when I am praying Him day and night for thee.

XVII. *Question of the Same to the same Great Old Man:— I know, Father, that these things come to me because of my sins, and that I am senseless and the cause of ills. But he who brings me to this distress is the Abbot, because he is careless, and overlooks matters, and they are spoilt by his fault, and I cannot bear it. But what shall I do? For I answer the thoughts, and I do not receive power. And forgive me that "Once have I spoken, but to the second time I will not add."⁴⁶ But I marvel how that fervour of love which I had for the brethren is grown cold. And pray for me for the Lord's sake.*

Answer:—

Brother, remember that the Lord said to His own Disciples, "Are ye also without understanding?"⁴⁷ I wrote to thee saying, "Make accurate account with thy thoughts." If thou hadst toiled to make accurate account, thou couldest have learnt that the essence of what thou hast just written to me I had written to thee before, and there was no need for me to write. But all the same I will add to thee in answer to thy questions. Thou calledst thyself a sinner, and in thy deeds thou didst not hold thyself so.

⁴¹ Matt. viii. 26; xiv. 33.

⁴² Matt. xvi. 26.

⁴³ 1 Thes. v. 14.

⁴⁴ Matt. xxiii. 24; vii. 3.

⁴⁵ Prov. ix. 8.

⁴⁶ Job xl. 5 (xxxix. 35).

⁴⁷ Matt. xv. 16.

For he who holds that he is a sinner and the cause of ills, does not contradict any, does not fight, is not angry against any man, but holds all to be better than himself and more intelligent. And if thy thoughts mock thee that thou art thus, how do they move thy heart against those who are better than thou? Give heed, brother: it is not the truth. For we have not yet attained to hold ourselves sinners. If any one loves him who reproves him, he is a wise man. But if any one love and does not do what he hears from him, this is rather hatred. If thou art a sinner, why dost thou blame thy neighbour and bring him in cause, saying that it is through him that the distress is come to thee? Dost thou not know that each man is tried by his own conscience, and it is this that gives birth to his distress? And this is what I wrote to thee about the brethren, "Let them not show thee a *gnat* as a *camel*," etc. But pray rather that ye may be fellow-partakers in the fear of God. But as for thy calling thyself senseless—search out, and thou wilt find that it is not thus. For if thou firmly holdest it to be so, then neither hast thou any right to be angry, not being able to distinguish whether a matter has fallen out well or ill. For the senseless man is called a fool. And the senseless and foolish is interpreted "saltless." And how shall the "saltless" season and salt others? See, brother, that we are mocked, and speak with our mouth only, and our deeds show it. But when we make answer to the thoughts, we do not receive power, since first we accept to condemn our neighbour, and the power of our spirit is enfeebled, and we bring our brother in cause when we ourselves are to blame. If thou holdest that everything is in the hands of *God who showeth mercy*, and not of him that willet nor of him that runneth,⁴⁸ why dost thou not understand, and love thy brother with thy whole heart, in perfect love? For how many have desired us Old Men, and have run, and it was not granted them! And he sat still, and God sent us to him, and made him our true child.

But as for thy saying, "*Once have I spoken*," etc.—if thou fight to obtain, thou art blessed. For it has not been given to all. And about the other thoughts—refer to God every thought, saying, "God knows what is profitable," and thou wilt be refreshed, and little by little there comes to thee power to endure. And do not completely cut off speaking. But and if thou speakest and art not listened to, nor findest favour in thy word, be not grieved: for it profits thee rather. But in regard to thy marvelling—perfect love is without falling, and he who obtains it remains in its fervour, enclosed in Love to God and to his neighbour. But in regard to the prayers of which thou wrotest at the end—thou oughtest to be satisfied with the word I wrote to thee, that night and day I pray without ceasing unto God concerning thee. So this also it was superfluous for thee to write. Thou hast therefore from me food according to God for a long time. Persevere, and *wait patiently for the Lord*, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory unto the ages. Amen.

XVIII. Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same when he asked

⁴⁸ Rom. ix. 16.

whence come warmth and coldness, and the hardness of heart, and about the bodily warfare:—

About warmth and coldness—it is clear that the Lord was named *fire*, warming and setting on fire *hearts and reins*.⁴⁹ If it be so then, the devil also is cold, and from him comes all coldness. For if it were not so, how does He say, "*Then shall the love of many wax cold*"?⁵⁰ What is the "*Then*" if it is not "in the times of the adversary"? Therefore if we perceive coldness, let us call upon God, and He comes and warms our heart unto His perfect Love, not only towards Him but also towards our neighbour. And from the face of His warmth the coldness of the hater of good is banished. For if he has dried up the fount of the tears of thy heart, and moistened thy underbelly, yet do thou feast the Lord *in thy house*,⁵¹ and He will dry up this last, and cleanse the fount of tears for the flowing of the *noetic* water. He who desires to come to the fear of God, comes by patience. For it says, "*I waited patiently for the Lord, and He inclined unto me and heard my calling*"; and what? "*And he brought me up out of the horrible pit, out of the mire and clay*."⁵² From such a pit we can understand also the hardness of heart.

If therefore thou desirest, obtain and thou art saved, in Christ Jesus our Lord.

XIX. Answer of the Same Great Old Man to the Same about Long-suffering:—

Say to the brother—I wrote to thee about long-suffering, and now I say to thee: Our Master God said to His own Disciples, "*Behold I have given unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you*."⁵³ Become therefore like Job, "*drinking up scorning like water*."⁵⁴ Understand these things, and meditate upon them continually.

XX. Answer of the Same Great Old Man to the Same when he asked, "*If the Lord has given 'power to tread on serpents and scorpions,' how then is it that I am stirred?*" :—

No one who has received "*power to tread on serpents and scorpions*" is hurt any longer or mastered by them. Search out therefore thy heart in regard to every matter. If it can stir thy heart even for a moment, learn that thou art still far from receiving power against these. And be not careless for thyself, lest the time forestall thee: but whatever thing thou seest coming to pass (why should I speak about the things of the world, since they are passing away? But I speak about fearful things, whether in heaven or on earth), set God and the Judgement before thine eyes, and that we have but a little time to spend in this world. And make meekness

⁴⁹ Deut. iv. 24; Ps. vii. 10.

⁵⁰ Matt. xxiv. 10, 12.

⁵¹ Luke xix. 5.

⁵² Ps. xl. (xxxix.) 1–2.

⁵³ Luke x. 19.

⁵⁴ Job. xv. 16; xxxiv. 7.

to rest in thine heart, remembering Christ the sheep and guileless lamb, how many things He endured, though He was guiltless,—insults, scourgings, and the rest:—but we, since we are guilty also, why are we stirred against our neighbour, when he has done us no wrong? Remember that “*Love vaunteth not itself;*” but “*suffereth long;*”⁵⁵ etc. And pray to attain to what is set before thee, that thy labour may not be in vain. Cleave therefore without doubting to the Christ who loves us. To him be the Glory unto the ages. Amen.

XXI. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the same when he had it in mind not to enjoin anything on any man, but to define for himself some clear matter, that he might have care for it and it only:—*

Brother, as I write to thee the more, so do thou the more study to understand the things written to thee from me, and do not set them aside. For they are spoken in understanding and settled condition of soul. Thou knowest, brother, that whoever does not bear insults, does not see the Glory, and whoever does not lay aside bitterness, does not taste the sweetness. Thou hast been given into the midst of the brethren and of affairs to be fired and proved. For gold is not proved except by fire. Set thyself absolutely no ordinance—for it will bring thee into warfare and anxiety—but approving what fits each time in the fear of God, and doing *nothing* at all *in contentiousness*,⁵⁶ but doing what thou canst to be alien from anger, and *becoming a pattern*⁵⁷ profitable to all, not judging nor condemning any, but admonishing them as true brothers. And rather love those who try thee. For I too was often loving those who tried me. For if we understand, such as these bring us to progress. Set then no ordinance upon thyself. Become obedient and humble: and require of thyself every day: for the Prophet also signified the *daily* rule when he said, “*And I said, Now have I begun*”⁵⁸; and Moses, “*And now O Israel.*”⁵⁹ Do thou also therefore keep the *now*. But and if there arise necessity for thee to enjoin something upon any man, prove thy thought: if it is going to issue with stirring of thy heart, though it seem to thee profitable, hide it under thy tongue, remembering at once Him who said, “*What shall a man be profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?*” But learn this, my brother, that every thought that has not in the first place the calm of humility, is not according to God, but is manifestly the very righteousness of the left-hand. For our Lord comes with calmness, and all the things of the adversary with vexation and stirring of anger. Though they seem to put on *sheep’s clothing*, learn that *inwardly they are ravening wolves*.⁶⁰ From their vexation they are made manifest. For He says, “*From their fruits ye shall know them.*”⁶¹ May God grant to you all to understand, so that ye may not be led astray into their righteousness. For

⁵⁵ 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

⁵⁶ Phil. ii. 3.

⁵⁷ 1 Tim. iv. 12.

⁵⁸ Ps. lxxvii. (lxxvi.) 10.

⁵⁹ Deut. iv. 1; x. 12.

⁶⁰ Matt. vii. 15.

⁶¹ Ibid. 16.

*All things are naked and opened*⁶² unto Him. Do thou therefore, beloved, do everything that is prospered in thy hands, setting the fear of God before thine eyes, and giving thanks to Him. For His is the glory and the honour and the might and the power unto the ages. Amen.

XXII. *Answer of the same Great Old Man to the Same, having encouragement, and recalling him to spiritual gladness from the disheartenment that had come upon him in divers manners:—*

Write to brother John a spiritual address gladdening his heart in Christ Jesus our Lord: and say to him—Since “*Like as the hart longeth after the water-brooks,*”⁶³ so thou longest after us—yet not as we after thee—so “*I could no longer forbear,*”⁶⁴ as the divine Apostle Paul said, and have written to your love these things spoken from me, or rather from God. May thy vine bear fruit, grapes trodden and making spiritual wine to gladden the afflicted soul. May thy land bear plentifully good seed like that which was *sown in good ground and brought forth some an hundred-fold, some sixty, some thirty.*⁶⁵ And may the spiritual fire be heated in thy heart continually, whereof our Master Christ said, “*I am come to send fire upon the earth.*”⁶⁶ And *may the peace of the Lord rule in thy heart,*⁶⁷ according to the Apostolic word. And may thy palm-tree be exalted in its own *leucada*, as David says, “*The righteous shall flourish like a palm-tree.*”⁶⁸ And mayest thou be cleansed from anger and wrath, those dread passions, like the perfect saints, in whom the stirring of these appears not at all even for a moment. And may the Lord vouchsafe *thy soul to be lodged*⁶⁹ in guilelessness and meekness, so that thou mayest be a nursling of Christ, a guileless sheep. And mayest thou follow our tracks like a clever tracker. And mayest thou overtake our rule as a good inheritor of our grace-gifts. And may thine eyes *see God*, as one who is *pure in heart.*⁷⁰ And mayest thou be long-suffering in tribulations, as one who has reached to the Master’s precept which says, “*In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.*” And mayest thou attain that invincible Love which brings those who have obtained it into the royal courts, and makes them brothers of Christ. If then *thou sufferest with Christ, that thou mayest be also glorified with him; if thou diest with him,*⁷¹ that thou mayest be *raised up with him*⁷²; neglect not the treasure that is set before thee. For still thou hast not grasped its meaning, what it is. But when thou attainest the perfect quiet, then thou shalt know it, and wonder at the gift of Christ, *how unsearchable are his ways.*⁷³ For whiles thou art with men thou canst not grasp these things.

⁶² Heb. iv. 13.

⁶³ Ps. xlii. (xli.) 1.

⁶⁴ 1 Thess. iii. 5.

⁶⁵ Mark iv. 8.

⁶⁶ Luke xii. 49.

⁶⁷ Col. iii. 15.

⁶⁸ Ps. xcii. (xc.) 12.

⁶⁹ Ps. xxv. (xxiv.) 13.

⁷⁰ Matt. v. 8.

⁷¹ Rom. viii. 17.

⁷² 2 Tim. ii. 11; Col. ii. 12.

⁷³ Rom. xi. 33.

But when thou art sitting care-free like us, then thou graspest these things whereof we have spoken. For I pray God night and day that where we are, there thou mayest be with us of one accord, in the unutterable joy of the righteous, and in the everlasting light; that thou mayest find thy portion in the promise promised to the saints, where "*Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that love Him.*"⁷⁴ Have strength in the Lord. Mayest thou rejoice. Amen.

[To be continued]

REVIEW

VISION AND ACTION by L. A. Zander, with an Introduction by the Bishop of Chichester. Translated from the Russian by Natalie Duddington. Victor Gollancz Ltd., London 1952. P. 224. 18/-.

In a brief review it is obviously impossible to state adequately all doubts and objections which even a cursory reading of this book cannot fail to provoke. A closer examination of the argument only increases the initial embarrassment. It is a very personal book. In no way is it typical of the Orthodox position. It is, in a sense, "a voice from the East," but what this voice has to tell is neither "Eastern," nor "Orthodox." The author has been trained and reared in a certain particular tradition, and his treatment of the "Ecumenical Reality" is heavily coloured by his peculiar convictions. One may question whether these convictions are compatible at all with the basic tenets of the Catholic Faith. One may ask further, whether the new conception of "Ecumenism" sponsored by the author is compatible with the main principles of the historical "Ecumenical Movement." In fact, the author does not seem to take much interest in the problems either of "Faith," or of "Order." He chooses to dwell beyond dogmas, canons, or rites. "Ecumenism," as conceived by the author, is "essentially mystical." It is not concerned with "external events," nor is it interested in historical achievements. "The unity which is its aim is a unity of love, unrealizable in any historical form, but promised in the life of the world to come" (44). In this sense, ecumenism is "an anticipation of the kingdom" (222). Ecumenism is essentially paradoxical and meta-logical. "Ecumenism is possible only in spite of logic, or, rather, independently of it" (38). Historical planning is disavowed and discouraged. Even theological discussion is discouraged: such an exercise in "comparative theology" only stiffens the schism. "This work can scarcely be called ecumenical" (210). No "healing of the schism" is possible in history, nor should it be attempted at all. "Historical interpretation of ecumenism is only possible on the basis of historical optimism and faith in progress (at least in ecumenical progress)." The author disbelieves in the possibility of any ecumenical advance on the level of history. One is invited to indulge in a sort of an "eschatological" vision, and there is no call to a sober and responsible action. One may hesitate: is not this "vision" rather a

romantic dream? "The eschatological interpretation, on the other hand, is independent of all historical failures. The prospect of "always be divided" is not terrifying for it; the whole history of the Church is the history of divisions and cannot therefore be regarded as a kind of preface to the still unwritten book on unity; the historical tragedy of Christianity is an inevitable condition of sinful humanity—and it is this sinful reality that is the object of eternal transfiguration and of future *parousia*" (45). The author obviously overlooks the fact that "visible unity," and precisely "unity in the faith," is one of the marks of the Church according to the New Testament teaching, and that the Church had been intended by Christ to be "the pillar and the ground of the truth." There is no question of an "inevitable" progress, but rather of a bounden duty, and of an impending and positive task. It is interesting to compare the author's statements with what has been recently said by another writer on Ecumenism, whose book appeared almost at the same time as the one we discuss. It is a Norrisian Prize essay by William Nicholls, *Ecumenism and Catholicity* (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London 1952). Comparison is pertinent, as both writers start from the same "experience" and have the same background (W.S.C.M.). Only Mr. Nicholls obviously has had a wider theological training and more of ecclesiastical sense. Accordingly he states: "Division amongst Christians is not a necessary consequence of their historical existence. Since Christ, sin and history are not to be equated. . . . Sin in Church history is a fact, even a permanent fact, but it is not inevitable. . . . The ecumenical movement is the renewal of the consciousness that this state of affairs is scandalous and utterly abnormal. Its inherent drive towards unity in history, however conceived, is its movement of repentance" (Nicholls, pp. 54–55). It is precisely this spirit of repentance that is missing in the book we review. "Divided Christendom" is taken to be an inevitable and ultimate fact of history. Nothing can be done about it at all. On the whole, a very peculiar sort of "Ecumenism" is advocated, which has very little in common with the actual Ecumenical endeavour of Christian Churches. The driving power of this endeavour has always been a desperate search for "Christian Reunion." It was a search for a "common mind." Whether this goal can be attained in history, and whether it can be attained by the means and methods adopted in the Ecumenical Movement, is another question. In any case, the main preoccupation of the Ecumenical Movement was always with the Unity of the Church. Now, it is precisely this preoccupation that is disavowed by the author. He advocates a "Unity without Union," i.e., Unity in dis-Union, or in dis-agreement. No agreement can be ever reached on a historical level, and therefore all attempts at agreement are pointless and futile, and even dangerous, from the author's point of view. The author is very eloquent in his plea against "proselytism," which he identifies with "conversion." Everybody should stay in the confession in which he happened to be born or brought up. "A necessary postulate of ecumenical reality" is, according to the author, not only abstention from "proselytism" (in the current and pejorative meaning of the word), but also from theological argument altogether, as the latter is no more than a

⁷⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 9.

subtle form of spiritual violence or pressure. "In practice it means that, although I see that my brother is erring, I make no attempt to disabuse him of his errors and to set him in the way of truth" (113). Disputes about faith are "merely a kind of game of chess" (110). All this is described as one of the finest achievements of "ecumenical love." Is it not rather a drastic example of a "stony insensibility," of a complete lack of love both to the "erring brother," and to the Catholic Truth? The author protests that his attitude is "neither compromise nor relativism," but just a normal *modus vivendi*, "i.e. a conscious attitude of freedom and tolerance towards all Christians, which is essential to ecumenical life" (118). Strangely enough, he expects to build on this foundation an "ecumenical communion." He extends indefinitely the scope and range of this peculiar "communion." He wants to include "Liberal Christians" and to make "ecumenical communion" available for all who "want to be Christians and to be called so," regardless of their actual convictions about Christ. The only question should be asked: "Do you profess to be Christian, do you want to bear Christ's name?" And again: "Do you want to be in communion with other Christians, do you feel somehow connected with 'other sheep which are not of this fold' but also follow Christ?" An affirmative answer to these very vague questions, in the opinion of the author, would be quite sufficient "for being received into ecumenical communion" (176ff.). The author is dissatisfied with the limitations imposed on the membership in the Ecumenical "organizations": Christ to be acknowledged as God and Saviour. The "basis," doctrinal and discriminative, is obviously indispensable for an organization, but it only shows that no organization can cope adequately with the ecumenical reality, as the author conceives it. "We have no right to exclude from the grace of Christ those who love Him, even if merely in the sense of being attracted by His image and of taking a 'scientific' interest in Him" (71). "However much the Christians might err about Christ and differ among themselves, His very name is the bond which, stronger than steel, links them with the disciples who in Antioch first called themselves Christians." He waves away a natural objection that obviously the same name may be used in different senses, and exclaims pathetically: "As though human frailty or foolishness could annul or weaken the power inherent in God's Name. As though the Name did not live and act of itself, apart from its right or wrong interpretation" (136 and n. 2). On the other hand, "the name 'Christian' indicates that which is most essential in man: the direction of his will, the highest spiritual value recognized by him, the object of his love and service" (179). There is some obvious confusion in these statements. The author is probably consistent, from his own point of view. Of course, "ecumenical communion," based as it is in his interpretation on the principle of equality of all conflicting doctrines (and the author frankly admits that they are conflicting, if only on the plane of "logic"), would be immediately disrupted if its members dare to go beyond indifference. But does it not simply reveal the initial fallacy of the whole scheme? "Direction of the will" cannot be independent of the conception one has of "the object of his love," and

therefore cannot be the same if these conceptions contradict and exclude each other. It is obviously not the same to believe wholeheartedly what is professed in the Nicene Creed, and to take "a 'scientific' interest" in a Galilean prophet. Can the "direction of the will" be the same in both cases? Would the author include in his "ecumenical communion" people like the famous pastor Kalthoff who wanted to continue his ministry in a Christian community, while denying that Jesus ever lived? Kalthoff was prepared to call himself "Christian," in some sense. And why exclude then from the projected "ecumenical communion" those advanced Jews who not only took "scientific interest" in Jesus, but were prepared to consider Him as one of the greatest moralists of the Jewish race (e.g., Claude Montefiore or J. Klausner)? A friend of mine, a prominent theological professor, suggested to me on one occasion that the true difference between a certain "Christian liberal" and a Rabbi was that the Rabbi was consistent and the alleged "Christian" utterly inconsistent. But the author goes much further than "tolerance" may require. He suggests that, after all, divergent conceptions being about the "same" reality, all of them are partial revelations of Christ Himself. Not only there are certain grains of Truth in all of them, but ultimately it is Christ Himself who manifests Himself in this chaos and confusion of human misinterpretations. "Divided Christendom," with all its historical internecine strife and disruption, turns out to be an authentic "Revelation," or simply a new "*Christophania*." "It really is a revelation: in it our spiritual eyes really open to the vision of the hitherto invisible image of Christ in the Christians" (207). This new "Ecumenical revelation" overshadows everything that can be discovered in the historical dimension, on "the phenomenal plane of the Church's existence," as the author puts it (201), i.e. in the "institutional" Church, in dogmas, rules, and rites. Everything becomes a genuine "image" of Christ. One only has to acquire a new vision, "independently of logic." One may suggest: and independently of truth also. One may wonder, whether St. Athanasius and Ernest Renan really spoke of "the same Christ." The author suggests actually that the Pantocrator of the Byzantine ikon and Ude's Galilean are "images" of the same Christ (208). A prominent Russian philosopher of the last century tells in his memoirs that in his boyhood he lost the faith and on one occasion intimated to his mother that he "respected Jesus." The mother, not yet acquainted with the new "ecumenical postulate," burst into tears. For her it was a blasphemy. In the new "ecumenical" interpretation it was but one of the legitimate expressions of the Christian discipleship. It seems, however, that the old unsophisticated lady knew better, what was Christianity. It is difficult to see how can one be "Christian," if all dogmas, canons, and Dominical institutions are deliberately rejected and set aside as "human accretions" or even as "superstitions." Plurality of interpretations is a poor escape. Of course, in the "ecumenical communion" advocated by the author one has to reason "independently of logic" and look at things without discerning them. But many readers of the book will be unable to "sacrifice their reason," and to dilute their faith. They may consider the

offer of a *sacrificio del intelletto* just as an act of pressure and violence. Their protest will probably never reach the author who would take refuge in "the Paradoxical" and convict his opponents of "confessional rigidity" of spiritual shortsight, or blindness. The question still remains: how could an "ecumenical communion" be built on the shifting sands of human opinions? The author actually speaks of this "communion," to which one may belong in spite of an utter dissension in the matters of belief with the other members of this singular "Society," which is not a closed one. And this "Society" (the author himself writes the word with a capital "S," although he puts it in inverted commas) possesses a deeper insight into the ultimate Mystery of God than all "institutional" Churches, or denominations, can ever attain, being imprisoned in the narrow limits of "dogmas, canons, and rites" (211),—"Churches" in plural, because for the author "one Christian Church" (and one is deeply moved by his suicidal frankness) simply "does not exist" (30). The author seems to cherish his acquired membership in this new "Society" more than his "confessional loyalty" to that "Church" in which he happened to be baptized (just by the accident of his being born in an Orthodox family in Russia). Of course, he is not going to transfer his "confessional loyalty." One should stay wherever one happens to be. He would even praise the distinctive ethos and promote the distinctive contribution of "his own Church"—one of the many existing. All "confessions" ultimately reflect the same "mystery." Yet, he would exclude all "confessional" features from his prayer for Christian Unity. This prayer would be insincere unless all who join "completely renounce their confessional ideals." Unity should know no limitations. "But this liberation of prayer from all concrete content, from all church imagery, means rising to spiritual heights accessible only to a few" (156). This prayer is bound to be "apophatic," and probably not a prayer of the Unity of the Church, as it is impossible to conceive a "church" without any concrete features. The real difficulty is created for the author by the phrase that "there should be one fold and one shepherd." There would be an obvious ambiguity if Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants joined in the recitation of this phrase, because they would interpret it differently. "The ambiguity is not inevitable, for at great spiritual heights, where the air is rarefied and the pull of the earth is scarcely felt, we may be able to pray for unity as such, apart from its confessional interpretations" (157). It is not clear at all why the author is embarrassed by the "ambiguity" of words at this point, while he acquiesced so easily with it in any other connection. Why he was not upset by the fact that the "Name of Jesus" obviously had not the same connotation for an Orthodox and for "Liberal Christians" (at least, should have a different connotation). In any case, it is not clear what he makes of this scriptural phrase "One fold." Obviously, it refers to history, and not just to the "spiritual heights accessible only to a few." The author is concerned with a very particular problem which he unfortunately mistakes for the main problem of Ecumenism, namely with the problem of Ecumenical Encounter. It is a real problem, but it can be adequately grasped only in a historical

dimension. It is true that the Ecumenical Movement has created a "new atmosphere" in inter-Christian relations (20). People of various confessional loyalties and backgrounds are brought together and are compelled to face each other. The practical problem which inevitably arises is this: what is the meaning of this gathering together of disagreeing Christians and what should they think and do about each other, just as individuals? Our author has no hope of reconciling the divergent opinions and systems of belief. At the same time he is impressed by the friendliness of the encounter. Ecclesiastical barriers are insuperable. As there are many divergent systems, none should regard itself as the only true or consistent (24ff.). The argument is rather lame. Of many answers to the same question one may be true, in spite of the existence of other answers. The author chooses another way to meet the challenge of disruption. "My church is naturally regarded by me as the true Church—this is implied by my belonging to it; and, being the true Church, it is unique. But this does not give me the right to condemn other churches" (91). The real question is not what is "natural" to me, but what is true. The author unnecessarily complicates the problem by spurious presuppositions. In his interpretation, "faith," i.e. "the primary intuition," is "radically different from processes which we call knowledge" (126). Accordingly the "notes of the Church," *notae Ecclesiae*, "can never be objects of knowledge" (129). In other words, the Church can never be identified. One may have personal preference or assurance, and yet in no case can one objectively substantiate one's claim. The only solution is then "to seek for communion (between the rival confessions or churches) on paths that are not sacramental or canonical" (47), without rejecting those churches "as sacramentally canonical organizations." One has to cut across the existing confessions and start a new "ecumenical communion." Nevertheless, in a lengthy chapter on "The Problems of Ecumenism," our author deliberately chooses precisely the *notae Ecclesiae* as the headings under which he describes and analyses the new "Ecumenical Reality" (119–202). And finally he comes to the conclusion that the true key to the Ecumenical problem is "the idea of a single Christian world—Christendom." It is a metalogical idea and "does not form part of any ecclesiological doctrine and cannot be logically justified." Christendom is apparently identical with the alleged "ecumenical communion," or the new and open "Society." In any case, what cannot be accomplished in the categories of the Church ("one Church" does not exist) is accomplished in the categories of "Christendom" (which is one). "Christendom" replaces the "Church." "But since Christ knows those who want to be His disciples, and since His disciples, though disagreeing about everything else, are one in their desire to be faithful to their Master, *tota Christianitas* is a reality" (224). One should remember that this desire "to be faithful to the Master" can be expressed in any way one may select: from confessing Christ as "God and Saviour" to describing Him as a sentimental Galilean preacher or an unsuccessful Apocalypticist. One may well doubt the "reality" of *one* Christendom, based on such a foundation. How much is left of the true

Historic Christianity in this startling interpretation? A special chapter deals with "the presuppositions of Ecumenism" (understood in the author's sense). They are classified under four headings. First, there are "historical presuppositions." The main tension is not between the "Catholic" and "Protestant" attitudes, but between "the East" and "the West." In other words, the ultimate tension is not on the plane of faith or doctrine, but rather on the plane of cultural psychology. There is here a dangerous confusion. This "presupposition" simply abolishes the possibility of any sound Ecumenism. Christian Unity is simply impossible, since the East and the West must diverge. The historical excursus of the author is utterly poor (55ff.), just antiquated platitudes. The unity of a cultural "universe of discourse," contrary to what the author says, was broken not in the third century, but probably only in the eleventh, if not in the thirteenth. St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome were no less "Hellenistic" in their intellectual outlook than their "Greek" contemporaries, and in the spiritual formation of St. Augustine Platonism obviously played a greater role than "Roman Law," as again the true key to Aquinas's system is Aristotle, and not the *Pandects*, and one should not forget the Greek background even of Anselm. One should not forget that "Roman Law" was codified in Byzantium, under Justinian, and, on the other hand, Rome itself was thoroughly Byzantine up to the times of Charlemagne, if not even later. The antithesis of "West and East" belongs more to polemical and publicistic phraseology than to a sober historical thinking. For a millennium at least there was *one* world, in spite of all schisms and tensions, and tension between "East" and "West" at that time was by no means stronger than certain internal tensions in the East itself. Augustine in any case was closer to Origen than, on the other hand, Theodore of Mopsuestia to Cyril of Alexandria. Obviously, it was not a tension between "the Greek" and "the Latin," but between theological conceptions, which in no case can be simply reduced to cultural or simply psychological factors. Again, the Reformation certainly was a greater break, even psychologically, than the split between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East. The "Unity of the West" is grotesquely exaggerated by the author. "The East can think of the West only as a whole" (74). Yes, but only when "the East" loses the true and theological perspective and mistakes itself for a "Greco-Slavonic type" of Christianity. Unexpectedly, the author suggests that Western Christians may understand Orthodoxy better if they study "innumerable sects," obviously outside the fold of the Church (75). He seems to mistake "the East" for "Orthodoxy." "Historical morphology" is a cheap substitute for a theological analysis. The author suggests that the only legitimate starting point for an "ecumenical conversation" can be found "in the depths of mystical experience, in prayer and direct knowledge of God" (19). Is it not rather in the historical Revelation, as recorded in the Scripture and attested by the consensus of the "Church Universal," that a true Christian conversation takes its start and foundation? In the second place some "logical presuppositions" are mentioned, of which the most important is "Confessionalism." It is not clear at all why it is a "logical pre-

supposition." What is contended is very simple. Divisions are to be taken as they exist, and no denomination should be "denied." "The idea of the sinfulness of division must be considerably modified" (86-87). Next, in the third place, come "psychological presuppositions." Under this heading an important postulate of the new "ecumenism" is brought in. "Ecumenism" is described as "love for heretics" (99ff.). Obviously, "heretics," as persons, cannot be excluded from the universality of Christian love, the test of which is "love for enemies." In this sense there will be no difficulty for a conscientious Christian to love his "erring brother," as there was no difficulty for the Crucified Lord to pray for the crucifiers. But the author has something different in mind: he wants to love "heretics" precisely for their heresy, i.e., for those distinctive features which separate them from the rest of the Christians, in order to rejoice in the fact that even heresy does not estrange people from Christ, if only they invoke His name in some sense. "Holiness" is possible in heresy no less than in the Church: "unorthodox, separated from the Church, but genuine holiness by the grace of God" (189). One may come to the conclusion that the Church is not "necessary for salvation." And, finally, come "ethical presuppositions," i.e. the thesis of the non-permissibility of conversions. Many readers will put this book away with a shudder and in despair. As it stands, it is a treacherous and misleading book. If it was meant to be an introduction into Ecumenism, it is precisely a wrong guide. In fact, it is the most anti-ecumenical book recently published, much more so than any hostile attack on Ecumenism. It denies the very possibility of an ecumenical action. It destroys the presuppositions of the Ecumenical work. The Ecumenical Movement, however great and ominous are its shortcomings, was inspired by a noble vision of a noble goal: The Unity of the Church. It is but true that the way is not yet found, and the goal is still variously conceived or mis-conceived. But now it is suggested that there is no goal, and should be no goal. "Since unity is not an external event but an inner achievement, it cannot be made the purpose of systematic work" (220-221). An exhilarating sign of the recent times is a recovery of a deeper understanding of the Church. No notice of this theological achievement, which is also an immense spiritual advance, is taken in the book under discussion. The author was not interested in the "ecclesiological aspect" of Ecumenism. He does not say anything about the recent study of the doctrine of the Church in the Ecumenical Movement. In this respect his book is a reactionary book; it takes us back—into the mists of a Romantic revivalism. It is a most untimely book, in an age when one is living, as has been aptly said, "in the midst of uncertainties and on the edge of an abyss." It is a common feeling of an overwhelming majority of Christians that the only hope for the world lies in the recovery of a "common mind." We live in an age of a rapidly growing disintegration. The Church has an immediate responsibility for the crisis. In this new interpretation of "Ecumenism" the historical task and vocation of the Church is dangerously obscured. There is no sense of tragedy in the book. Tragedy is smoothed by a "mystical," or, rather, dreamy interpretation. "Ecumenical suffering," of which the author

speaks (220), is not a true suffering. It is a romantic suffering which one enjoys. "Pain is always a sign of life" we are told. Surely, but it is first of all a sign of disease to be cured. Cure for a disrupted Christianity will never come by the way of interpretation. To all these *reveries* there is but one sober and responsible answer, a categorical "No." Unfortunately, this book has been favourably received in many ecumenical quarters. How could it happen that expert Ecumenical leaders failed to identify its obvious anti-ecumenical ethos? *Caveant*. . .

GEORGE FLOROVSKY.

Columbia University.

P.S. Some minor points must be added. A fantastic date is given on p. 22. On p. 163 "Russian schism of the 18th century" should be "17th." The quotation from the "Russian Catechism" (122) is inaccurate: "the law of God" is omitted. "Kata olos" (194) is a misprint. The quotation, or rather reference, on p. 196 (and n. 2) is wrong: the quoted phrase is not on the given page.

REVIEWS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED

Sobornost, Series 3, No. 12.

Eastern Churches Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 7.

Proche-Orient Chrétien, Tome II, Fasc. III.

Irénikon, Tome XXV, 4th trimestre.

Gregorias Palamas (Saloniki), October-November, 1952.

Orthodoxia (Ec. Patriarchate), January, February, March, 1952.

Theologia (Athens), July-September, 1952.

Aktines (Athens), monthly.

Zoe (Athens), January, 1953.

Nea Sion (Jerusalem), July-September, 1952.

The Orthodox Life (Russian, U.S.A.), every two months.

Le Messager (Paris), Action Chrétienne des Etudiants Russe, 2 monthly.

One Church (Russian, U.S.A.), monthly.

Catholica Unio (Roman Catholic) (Fribourg), monthly.

The Star of the East (Syrian Church of India), monthly.

The International Review of Missions, January, 1953.

The Ecumenical Review (World Council of Churches), quarterly.

Oriente Christians (Roman Catholic, Madrid), monthly.

Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift (Berne).

Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, No. 4, 1952.

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We are glad to be able to promise for our next issue a reply from Professor Zander to Fr. Florovsky's review of his book.

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THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES AID FUND

Formerly The Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund

GREAT EASTON RECTORY,
DUNMOW, ESSEX.

DEAR SUBSCRIBER,

In February, at a meeting of the Council and Executive, it was agreed to change the name of the Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund and substitute for it "The Orthodox Churches Aid Fund". It was also agreed that the social work that the Fund supported in the years before the War should be handed over to the Inter-Church Aid Department of the World Council of Churches and our main task should be the support of St Sergius Institute, Paris: any surplus money to be devoted to helping poor Orthodox parishes.

St Sergius has from the initiation of the Fund been a first charge on our resources and in early days the Anglican Churches gave more than any others to its support. But the years of the War affected the income of the Fund and we could only maintain our payments to St Sergius by drawing on our reserves. Reserves are now exhausted and we have a bare £300 in our current account.

The Committee in Paris responsible for drawing up the budget counts on a contribution of £1000 from Britain, for the tremendous rise in the cost of living in Paris has falsified all its calculations. **Never in the whole history of St Sergius Institute has there been so acute a financial crisis. Unless we can quickly raise £1,000 there is imminent danger that St Sergius will have to close its doors.**

Such an event would be tragic as the prospects have never been brighter. St Sergius is no longer a purely Russian institution: to quote the Rector, "it is a pan-Orthodox institution." Russian students have for some years past been a minority and to-day the non-Russian students constitute roughly two-thirds of the students. They come from countries as far apart as Syria and Finland. St Sergius has made good the claim of Dr John R. Mott that "it is one of the indispensable institutions of Christendom." It has been the principal source of the theological contribution made by the Orthodox to the Ecumenical Movement: relieved of its financial anxieties and assured of a regular income from America and England, it can go forward with plans that will enable it to become a school of knowledge of Orthodoxy for the Western world. Members of the Church of England have a great opportunity to play a decisive part in its development.

Your subscription or donation now may make all the difference to the continuation of this vital work.

It would be a great encouragement if you would fill in the seven years' Covenant Form enclosed and post it to the Treasurer, Canon Widdrington at the address given above.

Signatures:

THE BISHOP OF LONDON	THE REV. FRANCIS HOUSE
BISHOP HAROLD BUXTON	THE REV. CANON P.E. T. WIDDRINGTON
THE REV. H. J. FYNES-CLINTON	THE REV. OLIVER TOMKINS
THE REV. H. M. WADDAMS	SIR FRANK WILLIS

This is a special opportunity for subscribers to pay a tribute to the great work for the Fund of Canon Widdrington as this is the last time he will be responsible for a public appeal for the Fund. His doctor insists on curtailing his activities and resigning his office as honorary secretary.

ST SERGIUS INSTITUTE, PARIS

by DR DONALD A. LOWRIE

THE founding of Saint Sergius Theological Institute in Paris in 1925 opened a new chapter in the history of the Eastern Orthodox Church. For the first time in the modern age, what speedily became the leading Orthodox school of theology was set up in close contact with Western Christianity. Without active support and material aid from Western Christians, chiefly of Britain and the United States, Saint Sergius would never have been opened. And through the quarter of a century since, the sympathy and interest shown by the West have, in return, brought enrichment to the whole Church of Christ.

Founded at a time when in Russia all formal religious education was prohibited and all theological schools were closed, Saint Sergius Institute undertook two principal tasks: first, to train leaders for the Russian Church, both priests and laymen, and second, to continue and develop Orthodox theological thought in which the Russian Church has always played such an important role. Thus the first intention was to benefit the Russian Orthodox Church, both in the emigration, and eventually within Russia itself.

How this has been carried out may be seen from a few figures:

Over 100 students of Saint Sergius have been ordained to the priesthood.

29 of these (when last heard of) were ministering behind the Iron Curtain. The others are active in parishes on all four continents.

4 of the graduates have become bishops.

Scores of teachers, editors and other lay readers now at work in the Church and youth organisations have received training in Saint Sergius.

66 books, many of them translated into several languages, and over 1,000 articles have been produced by the group of professors at Saint Sergius. These books have made a contribution not only to the Orthodox Church, but to Christian thinking throughout the world.

In many ways Saint Sergius has proved useful to the other Orthodox Churches. Its professors have lectured to theological schools in Athens, Sofia, Belgrade and Bucarest. In all pan-Orthodox conferences during the past twenty years the leaders of the Paris Academy have been active. To the Paris group was entrusted the editing of a pan-Orthodox journal of religious pedagogy. A further contribution to the other Orthodox Churches is in training leaders. Among the thirty men in the student body this year (1951-1952) are Greeks, Syrians, Serbs, Germans and a Finn, besides Russians from various parts of Europe. Part

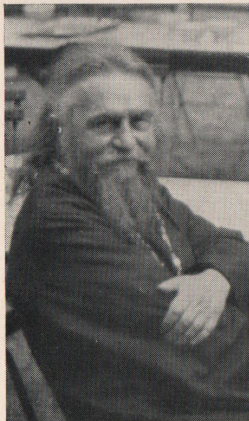


THE LATE METROPOLITAN EVLOGIE, FOUNDER AND FIRST RECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE, AND ARCHBISHOP LANG, PRESIDENT OF THE R.C.G.A.F.

of the teaching is done in Serbian and French, as well as Russian.

Saint Sergius Institute has also made remarkable contributions to other Christian bodies. Many and intimate contacts between Orthodox and Western Christians, particularly Protestant and Anglican, have developed a new appreciation of this Church which in its liturgical life is nearer than any other to the Church of the Apostles, and have greatly enriched all concerned. For many Protestants a deeper sense of the Church has resulted and for all Christian groups a fuller comprehension of the Church Universal. The Academy bulletin "Orthodox Thought" has profited all Christian theological study. Books like Bulgakoff's *The Comforter*, or Florovsky's *Story of Russian Theology* have been eagerly studied by the Christians of the West. The concert tours of the Saint Sergius choir have always given their audience a similar sense of belonging to the whole Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury told the choir when it sang, once, in Lambeth Palace: "Listening to you, we experience the boundless riches of Orthodoxy, touch your Church in a way acceptable and comprehensible to every man". Not only the universal language of music, but all the contacts between Christians of the West and those of the East, as represented by members of Saint Sergius, have enabled a sharing of the deepest experiences of Christian faith and life.

This rapprochement between Christian of the East and West was furthered by the generous participation of members of the Academy



THE LATE SERGE BULGAKOFF,
DEAN OF THE INSTITUTE

in the ecumenical movement. Thanks to its special position, the Academy has been able to take part in and make substantial contributions to most of the important ecumenical meetings, since Stockholm in 1924. It is represented on several Commissions of the World Council of Churches.

Saint Sergius is recognised by the University of Paris, a guarantee of the high academic standard of its work. It has helped to train leaders for other Orthodox Churches, and non-Orthodox clergy from Switzerland, Britain and the United States have pursued their studies here. Besides training young men for replacements in its own staff, it has provided two of the professors of Saint Vladimir's Orthodox Academy in New York.

This "avant-garde of Orthodoxy in the West" has existed through a quarter of a century only because of the generous help accorded it by Christians of other confessions. It is a very practical project in ecumenism. More than three quarters of its budget has necessarily been provided from non-Orthodox sources. For 1952 the total budget is £9,460, of which it is hoped Britain will provide £1,000. Contributions have already been received from Churches in the United States, in Canada, in Sweden, and in other countries.

This budget provides for living on an ultra modest scale. The average monthly salary of a professor is £28. Students must live on £10 per month, twelve in a room, in the very austere dormitories of the school. Without this truly sacrificial living by both professors and students, Saint Sergius could not go on.

That it must go on is clear from its past record as well as its outlook for the future. The Academy can continue producing leaders for the Church, and Christian literature of permanent value. These Orthodox leaders from the West will help the Russian Church to continue fruitful rapprochement with other Christian bodies. Through the co-operation of Greeks, Serbs, Syrians, Russians and other Orthodox in the work of the Institute, St Sergius can perform a unique task in linking Western Christianity with the various traditions of the Orthodox world.