



ܐܝܫܝ ܡܪ ܫܝܡܘܢ  
ܦܬܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ

THE ASSYRIAN PATRIARCH, ISSAI MAR SHIMUN.

(See page 44).

## The Christian East

### SOME NOTES ON THE USE OF IKONS AND THEIR MAKING.

By the REV. R. M. FRENCH.

SOME while ago there appeared in *The Christian East* an article from the competent pen of Mr. Athelstan Riley upon the doctrinal significance of the Holy Ikons. It is a subject full of interest, and very important for our understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy. It will probably always be difficult for an Englishman to appreciate the position that the ikons occupy in Orthodox religious life. But the following pages do not deal with the doctrine of the ikons. They are written in the belief that other aspects of the matter are of great interest, and they are concerned rather with the sacred pictures themselves and their production.

Ikons are often called "images," but they are not images in the ordinary English sense of the word. It is well known that the use of images, *i.e.*, completely detached carved figures in wood, stone or metal, to represent Christ and the Saints, is forbidden in the Eastern Church. Figures carved in relief are occasionally met with, but normally the place of images is taken by the perfectly flat ikon. Small ikons are very frequently made of metal, consisting of a single panel or of two panels, or three hinged in the form of a triptych. Occasionally even a larger number of panels will be found. The design is engraved on the metal, or the background cut away to leave the figures in relief and then perhaps filled in with coloured enamel. There is a great variety of such ikons in Russia. Some of them are beautiful, and some are old. But in modern times large numbers of inferior ones have been produced *en gros*, partly, no doubt, with a view to the needs of the "collector." The name ikon may also be applied to the sacred pictures in fresco or mosaic which so abundantly adorn the walls and domes of Orthodox churches. But ordinarily it means a picture of some sacred person or subject painted upon a panel of wood, with or without a partial covering of metal. It was towards the end of the seventeenth century that the lamentable custom was adopted.



of giving the ikon a metal dress. The painted folds of drapery were concealed by, but imitated in, the actual relief of the silver, gold, or baser metal, as the case might be. This metal sheath covers the entire picture except faces, hands and feet. Where flesh is depicted, the metal is cut away and the picture shows through. Finally, radiating haloes and crowns may be attached in relief, the ikon set in a frame, and the whole enriched and bedecked, perhaps with bits of coloured glass, perhaps with precious stones to an almost fabulous value. The Western who enters an Orthodox church for the first time will at once notice several features in which it contrasts with the appearance of his own churches. He will note the complete absence of seating accommodation (not, however, in Orthodox churches in England). For the Orthodox goes to church, not primarily to listen to a sermon, but to worship, and the normal attitude of worship in the East is standing. Again, he will have to search before he discovers the choir, whether by "choir" we mean a part of the building or the people specially appointed to sing. But probably the most striking feature of the church to him will be the ikonostas. This is a great screen of varying height, but sometimes rising to the very roof, extending across the full width of the church and completely shutting off the east end. In appearance it may to some extent suggest the rood-screen of the West. But in appearance only; in actual fact it corresponds to the communion rails, for it stands between the sanctuary and the choir, not, as the rood-screen, between the choir and the nave, and it is the place where the people make their communions.

The ikonostas, as its name implies, is the stand for the ikons. It is often covered with them, in row upon row, diminishing in size from the bottom upwards, as you may see in the churches of the beautiful old Kremlin of Rostoff. Indeed, in earlier days the ikonostas was a simpler and more open screen, and historically grew to the size and solidity it frequently presents to-day as accommodation was required for the increasing number of ikons to be fixed upon it. It has grown, in fact, as the simple reredos in the West has sometimes grown into the colossal ornamentation which fills the whole of the East wall above the altar, as may be seen, for instance, in Winchester Cathedral or the Chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Like such reredoses also, and reminding one again of the great portals of Gothic cathedrals, the ikonostas will at times present pictorially the whole scheme of salvation, in the persons of the Blessed Trinity, Our Lady, the Apostles, the Prophets and the host of saints and angels. Hence the ikonostas is sometimes called the great Deisis—or intercession.

Up to a certain point there is a fixed order in the arrangement of the ikons on the screen. The centre of the ikonostas is pierced by

double doors called the "holy" or "royal" doors. The ikon on the right (south) of these doors is always of Our Lord; next to the right of that again is the ikon of the patron saint of the particular church in question. On the left of the royal doors stands the ikon of Our Lady. On the doors themselves will be found smaller ikons of the four evangelists and of the Annunciation, and at the top of them, of the Last Supper. This is the normal order, and is usually adhered to. Beyond this point the disposition of the ikons rests with the taste of the designer. But in a great ikonostas, with several rows, the third row will often be occupied by ikons of the twelve great festivals; the fourth will contain the prophets adoring Our Lady of the Incarnation, while the fifth will show the patriarchs of the old dispensation.

The ikonostas is as elaborate and gorgeous as funds will allow. Sometimes it is beautiful and sometimes, from an æsthetic point of view, quite deplorable. But in any case it is the part of the church upon which ornamentation and enrichment are concentrated. The ikonostas at St. Sophia was made of silver, that at St. Isaac's in Petrograd is constructed of semi-precious stone and marbles. But the usual material employed is naturally wood, carved, gilded and painted. Although the ikons are concentrated upon the screen, single ones are, of course, to be found elsewhere in the church, upon the walls or pillars or on stands erected for the purpose, and upon these they will be fixed upright, or lie inclined at a slight angle. Lamps and tapers burn before them, and they are treated with the greatest veneration. During the regular worship of the church the deacon censens them; and at all times the faithful may be seen devoutly worshipping before the ikons, kissing them and crossing and prostrating themselves with every sign of intense reverence.

Nor is it only within the churches that ikons are to be found. Indeed, in some Orthodox lands it might be easier to say where they are not to be found; and this is especially true of Russia. People use them according to their particular taste and devotion in their private rooms, as pictures of sacred subjects are used among us. An ikon is fixed in the regular place (high up in the corner facing one who enters) in the household living room; and the Orthodox, or at least the old-fashioned Orthodox, whether member of the family or visitor, salutes it on coming in. But not only so. Shops, schools, public and municipal buildings, hospitals, barracks, prisons, railway stations and so on are all furnished with ikons, before which lamps are kept duly burning. And although many of the "educated" middle classes will pass before them unheedingly, yet hundreds of others will not go by without a sign of reverence. Schools, clubs, regiments, societies of all kinds often have their own particular ikon which becomes a kind of symbol alike of their common devotion and of corporate loyalty and sentiment. In



times of public danger and trouble, ikons, especially famous and peculiarly venerated ikons, may be carried in processions of intercessory prayer through the streets; and the clergy are often requested to bring them to the bedside of the sick, and in their presence prayers for recovery are offered or the sick person is anointed.

Now it must be frankly admitted that a good deal of all this is a little bewildering to the average English churchman, who is probably inclined to regard the cult of the ikons as more or less superstitious.

There may be truth in his point of view; there probably is. There is an element of superstition in most people's religion everywhere. And it may be that there is more, or at any rate cruder, superstition in Russian popular religion than in English. Moreover, no one will deny that superstition, when found, certainly is an evil and demoralizing thing. But it is also an exceedingly elusive thing for a man to seize hold upon and cry, "Here it is." And therefore, although you may know yourself to be in some respects superstitious, it is an exceedingly rash thing to call anyone else so. You must first catch your hare—you must define superstition and, I suppose, define it in relation to the mental and spiritual equipment of the person you accuse. Many people would condemn belief in the healing properties of a robe worn by Christ as superstition, yet we all know of an instance in the Gospels when Our Lord called it faith, and when the event proved its justification. And if one compares the religion of the Russian peasant with that of the typical villager in England, one may reasonably ask—Is it better to believe too much or too little?

However that may be, we may note here that from a practical point of view the use of ikons is in many ways of great value. This value they share with the frescoes and mosaics which adorn the interiors of Orthodox churches. The effect of this decoration, taken as a whole, is usually, and in intention presumably is always, to beautify the House of God. And this in itself is much. Beauty, so far as man can express it, is an offering that he does well to make to Him "Who hath made all things beautiful in His time." But apart from this abstract question, which considerations of space forbid us to discuss, the practical value of the ikons and frescoes is twofold. On the one hand, they provide instruction. In lands where the worshippers are to a large extent unable to read and possess few opportunities of acquiring books if they were, and where sermons are comparatively rare and such things as confirmation classes and bible classes unknown, the frescoed walls and painted ikonostases of the parish church make a continuously open book, which must do much to keep alive the details of that Christian Faith which the worshippers were taught in early years. And often enough the whole Faith is pictured there, according to an ordered scheme,

which, if often departed from or left incomplete, is still the norm. If the whole scheme is not portrayed, yet within any church there is always much instruction in line and colour, which, silent as it is, sinks down through the eye into the mind and heart of the peasant worshipper.

On the other hand, the ikons and frescoes express and foster that sense of the unseen world which is so characteristic of Orthodoxy. It echoes the belief of the worshipper's heart in the Communion of Saints. For the saints he sees depicted are real persons to him, men and women who have lived and loved and suffered as he, while they travelled along the path he is himself in this world to follow. He conceives the saints as witnesses and companions, as people who are friends of his, with an intensity and a reality which we in England find it hard to compare with our own often vague and feeble abstract assertion, "I believe in the Communion of Saints." When the Orthodox worshipper enters his church, he does so (assuming his devotion is sincere) consciously as a member of one great family of the children of God. Part he sees around him in flesh and blood, part he sees depicted in fresco and ikon, but all are to him vividly present in the Presence of God.

If any considerable number of ikons is examined, all observers will be struck by the extraordinary similarity of colour and design in the treatment of any particular subject in ikon-painting. It will be remembered how strongly this fact impressed Didron on his visit to Mt. Athos nearly a hundred years ago. He tells us that for a long while the reason for this singular uniformity puzzled him, until in the course of conversation with a painter who was actually executing some frescoes, he came upon the secret.

It appeared that all these painters worked according to detailed instructions, and moreover, that these instructions were written down in a book, copies of which were to be found in every "studio" of sacred painting and in the possession of the master painters. It was from this book, handed down from generation to generation, upon which the master painters made marginal notes of their own, that the young artists were taught their craft. Two of the youngest pupils in the studio would read aloud from it alternately, while the others, seated around, painted according to its instructions! It was originally written by a painter-monk, named Dionysius, to set forth his own experience, his hardly acquired skill, at Salonica, and that of the revered master Panselinos—a famous painter of the twelfth century. He writes with the purpose of guiding and assisting those who shall come after him, and gives much sage advice not only upon the technique of his craft but also upon the spirit in which the ikon painter should work.

A curious old book, indeed, which it will be of interest to glance inside. For such manuals were the guides to ikon-painting every-



where, and were preserved and used till modern times in the monasteries—which are the workshops for the production of ikons.

Dionysius must have been an attractive character, one feels as one peruses his book, skilful in his craft, shrewd and intelligent in adapting means to ends, producing his pictures with leisurely and loving care. Again and again he bids his pupils be patient and persevering—let there be no haste over the preparations or all will be lost. The pupil must practise year after year, and in the end he will learn to draw. At the outset he warns his readers of the importance of working in the right spirit, for it is no common pictures that they are called upon to make. The painting of ikons—the frescoing of a church, is a religious exercise as well as an artistic one, and the painter-monk must never let this be absent from his thoughts as he works. “All those who work with care and with piety receive grace and blessing from heaven,” he writes, “but all those who labour only for the love of money and abandon care and piety—let them reflect well before their death, let them call to mind with fear the punishment of him they are imitating—of Judas, that is.”

So prayer is a recognized part of the ikon painter's training, and among his preliminary exercises we find the following: “Let him address to Jesus Christ the following prayer before an ikon of the Mother of God, while a priest blesses him: ‘King of Heaven,’ etc.; then the hymn of the Virgin (*i.e.*, the Magnificat), an invitory and the versicles of the Transfiguration. Then, having made on his head the sign of the Cross, let him say aloud, ‘Let us pray unto the Lord: Lord Jesus Christ, our God, Thou Who art endowed with a nature divine and incomprehensible, Who didst take a body from the womb of the Virgin Mary for the salvation of man, Thou Who didst deign to trace the sacred form of thy immortal Face and to stamp it upon a holy napkin, which healed the sickness of the satrap Abgar, and to enlighten his soul for the knowledge of the true God, Thou Who didst illuminate with Thy Holy Spirit Thy divine apostle and evangelist St. Luke, that he might portray the beauty of Thy most pure Mother, of Her Who carried Thee as a little child in her arms, and said, “The grace of Him Who is born of me is spread abroad among men,” Thou, the divine Master of all that exists, enlighten and direct my soul and the heart and spirit of thy servant (N.), guide his hands that they may worthily and perfectly portray Thine image, that of Thy most holy Mother and that of all the saints, for the glory, the joy and the ornament of Thy most holy Church. Forgive the sins of all those who shall venerate these images and who, kneeling devoutly before them, shall render honour to the pattern which is in the heavens. Save them from every evil influence and teach them by Thy good counsels. These things I implore through the mediation

of Thy most holy Mother, of the glorious apostle and evangelist saint Luke and of all the saints. Amen.’”

The carrying back of the painter's thought to the Mount of Transfiguration is very characteristic of the Orthodox East and will be appreciated by everyone for the beauty and depth of its appropriateness. Dionysius evidently contemplates that the painter will depend upon his own resources for everything; clearly there is to be no going out to purchase materials. The novice is told how to obtain his glue from skins, and the directions for painting a wall or fixed screen which cannot be removed and laid upon the ground begin with the instruction: “First of all make a ladder”! Brushes are made from asses' mane, goat's hair fixed in an eagle's feather, or hog's hair with a wooden handle for rougher work. He meant his disciples to learn their art thoroughly and from the very beginning. It is worth noting that even in Didron's day the monks of Athos made their own brushes for painting. No wonder Dionysius is not above counselling such an economy as squeezing out the brushes afterwards that the surplus paint on them may not be wasted. So the novice is taught how to prepare a suitable surface for his ikon, by covering the wooden panel with a mixture of powdered plaster or alabaster and glue, laid on with care in several coats and scrupulously polished with bone. For many of the processes alternative directions are given. Further on we read how tracings are to be made and used, which lines are to be drawn in first, how to mix the colours and so on. The colours are mixed with the white of egg and laid on while the plaster is wet, so that they sink into it. Minute directions and recipes are given for the making of colours and their use and value under varying circumstances of light, heat, humidity of atmosphere. Instructions are to be found for gilding with gold-leaf and for the reduction of gold to a powder for other uses. The composition and merits of varnishes are discussed; and the pupil is taught how to restore old paintings, or simply how to clean them. The last provides the occasion for a delightful reminiscence: “Take care to try your hand first upon a small picture. If you are successful, then undertake a bigger one; if not, give up the task, so as not to get into trouble with the master. What I write here must not be looked upon as a mere tale—for I myself, after having experimented, succeeded very well, but another who wished to imitate me without making a trial, lost a picture and had nothing left in his hands but a bare board.”

Nor can Dionysius be accused of narrowness of outlook and sympathy. For all he has to say, he can spare some paragraphs to describe methods in use among the Russians, or “How the Cretans work.”

An interesting book might be written on changing fashions in physical beauty in different ages. The ideal human form seems to



have appeared very different to different generations of men. It is interesting to compare Dionysius' directions for the proportions of the human figure with those of modern authorities. Dionysius gives the theory as it were, of those elongated figures so familiar to us from Byzantine painting. The whole figure, he states, should be nine "heads." He gives most of the measurements in terms of the head and nose. "The two eyes are equal and the interval which separates them is equal to one eye. When the head is in profile, put the distance of two eyes between the eye and the ear; if the head is full face it needs but the space of one." A curious direction is the following: "When the man is nude, four noses will give half his breadth."

All these, however, are technical details. The bulk of Dionysius' work is occupied with instruction upon the representation of sacred persons and things. Here we cannot hope to follow him in any detail, interesting as it all is, for his directions are very full indeed. Not that he goes into very great detail in each individual case, but the number of subjects dealt with is immense.

He describes how all the nine orders of angels should be painted, Adam and Eve and an enormous number of characters and scenes from the Old Testament and some from the Apocrypha. The beard is an astonishingly prominent feature in these instructions upon portraiture, indeed it seems to be the principal point which distinguishes one patriarch from another. Adam, indeed, is to have long hair, Abel and Solomon are both to be shown as young and beardless, and for some reason, Malaleel, Eber, Methuselah and Peleg are all bald. Otherwise the list is almost uniform. "An old man with a large beard" or it may be "a full beard," or small, or long, or rounded, pointed, grey, brown, curly, bristly, forked. Nahor is to have a three-pointed beard, and Salah one with no less than five points, Abraham's is to descend to his waist. Among the women of the Old Testament Eve should have white hair, and Deborah should be represented with a crown. There is no other distinction given except that some are to be depicted young and some old.

When we come to the prophets and others, beards become important again. But, in addition, each has his own appropriate inscription on a scroll near him. This is generally some quotation from the saint's own words or writing. Solomon, for instance, is to be accompanied by the inscription, "Wisdom hath built her an house, etc." The system of inscriptions is rather elaborate, for each character depicted will have a different scroll of words according to the scene in which he is represented.

It is curiously characteristic of Christian tradition in the East, with its world-absorbing tendency and its claim to levy contribution upon all human thought for the glory of Christ, that instructions are found for painting the Greek philosophers and sages "who have

spoken of the Incarnation," such as Apollonius and Thucydides, and Aristotle. Oddly enough, this list concludes with "Thoulis, king of Egypt, Balaam, and the Wise Sybil."

The New Testament is treated in even greater detail.

Similar scanty directions are given for a large number of persons, and every incident in the life of Our Lord is dealt with.

There is a long list of parables, which contains a good deal of other matter in the way of striking sayings of Christ, as well as the parables strictly so-called. These are, for the most part, to be represented by the painter quite literally. But this is not always the case. What is called the parable of the Narrow Way, for example, is to be depicted by a scene in which saints are seen at prayer tempted by demons, and martyrs being subjected to various tortures, while, above, Christ blesses them from the clouds and holds an open book on which is inscribed "Straight is the gate and narrow the way," etc.

The directions for painting scenes from the life of Our Lord are a mine of reference for legend and tradition, some of it derived from the Apocryphal Gospels, other elements from sources long ago forgotten.

This is for the Flight into Egypt:—"Mountains. The Virgin seated on an ass with the Child, looks at Joseph behind her carrying a staff and his cloak on his shoulder. A young man leads the ass. He carries a rush basket and looks at the Virgin, who is behind him. In front a town and the idols falling from the walls." The falling idols are familiar, but, as Didron pertinently asks, Who is the young man leading the ass? In most pictures St. Joseph himself leads the animal, though occasionally in the West an angel is shown doing so. But the young man of Dionysius appears to be the survival of some lost legend.

In the Massacre of the Innocents the directions end by saying that Elizabeth flees, carrying St. John the Baptist as a little child. She is pursued by a soldier with drawn sword. A rock, huge as a mountain, splits asunder to let her pass through. This is from an Apocryphal Gospel. And the following magnificent scene of the Descent into Hell is from the Gospel of Nicodemus. "Hades like a dark cave under the mountains. Glittering angels are chaining Beelzebub, the Prince of Darkness. They strike other demons and pursue others with their lances. Several men, nude and in chains, look upwards. A large number of broken locks. The gates of Hell are overthrown and Christ treads them beneath His feet. The Saviour takes Adam in his right hand and Eve in his left. To the left of the Saviour, the Forerunner (St. John the Baptist) indicating Him with a gesture. David is near Him, as are also other righteous kings with crowns and haloes. To the left the prophets Jonah, Isaiah and Jeremiah. The righteous Abel and many other persons



with haloes. All around, a brilliant light and a great number of angels." (*See the Gospel of Nicodemus, ch. xvi. f.*)

But we must not linger, although Dionysius has a great deal to say yet. He proceeds to set forth the right way to paint the Liturgy and the Communion of the Apostles, the Book of Revelation, and the Second Coming of Christ. Then follows a large number of scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin, and of miracles of the saints.

In the pictures of the seven general councils, the heretics are all to be indicated plainly by a little demon seated upon their shoulders. The Seventh Council is of peculiar interest to us at the moment, for it was the one which condemned the ikonoclasts and established the lawfulness of the use of "images" in worship. "Houses. The Holy Ghost above. The Emperor Constantine, a little child and his mother Irene seated on thrones. Constantine holds the ikon of Christ, Irene that of the Virgin. At their side are St. Tarasius of Constantinople, the two bishops, Peter, the representative of the Pope, and others, all seated and holding ikons. A bishop writes in the midst: "He that revereth not these holy images and the venerated Cross, let him be anathema." "

The remainder of Dionysius' fascinating book and his scheme for the complete decoration of a church interior (in which each subject is assigned to its proper part of the structure) must be looked at another time.

Its perusal certainly reveals the explanation of the striking uniformity noticeable in ikon-painting. But this uniformity must not be exaggerated. Evidently even Dionysius leaves a good deal of scope for variety in the treatment of details by the individual artist. And it is possible to overemphasize the influence of such books as his.

Didron says that "In Greece the artist is the slave of the theologian: his work, which his successors will copy, itself copies that of the painters who have preceded him. The Greek artist is bound to his tradition as an animal to its instinct. He paints a figure as a swallow makes its nest or a bee its hive. The Greek painter is master of his execution—the art is his own—but the art alone, for the invention and the idea belong to the Fathers, to the theologians of the Church." And again: "One would say that a single thought, animating a hundred brushes at the same time, produced in a single effort all the paintings of Greece." Didron had in mind especially the frescoed churches and refectories of Mt. Athos.

We should surely exaggerate if we applied such language to ikon painting as a whole. Would that not be to deny to the ikons any real claim to life and inspiration and beauty? We could not justly apply it to the ikons of Russia. As the wanderer lingers among the ancient churches of Novgorod the Great, for instance, it is just

such qualities of life, inspiration and beauty that he finds in their frescoed walls. And in Russian ikonography development is distinctly traceable. It is a tradition, but a living tradition from early days at Kiev, through the later school of painters associated with Veliki Novgorod, to the work of those who flourished at Moscow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when ikon painting in Russia came to its period of decadence. Its glory was the school of Novgorod in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the glory of that School is the work of the Masters Roubleff and Denis.

This art is no mere mummy wedged tightly in its case by volumes of traditional lore, it is a living thing, breathing the air of piety around it and even conscious of the fresh breezes which blew from distant Italy.

But to appreciate an ikon, whether Russian, Byzantine or other, it is necessary to realize its æsthetic limitations and its spiritual purpose. The painter set out to decorate a surface. He was not concerned with depicting depth of space; the problems of perspective did not interest him in the least. But the disposition of mass and colour and line did—the rhythmic harmony of curving lines, the answering emphasis of mass to mass, the gay and joyous colour—these things were in the mind of the ikon painter as he worked. And at his best he decorated a surface contained by four lines, in as beautiful and satisfying a manner as has any man of other artistic tradition.

Nor, if we look at an ikon of the Holy Mother and Child, are we disappointed at the lack of truth to nature, or seriously disturbed by the thought that no one ever really had hands like those. We know that the painter was not chiefly interested in human anatomy, nor concerned to give as exact a copy as possible of external reality. His spiritual purpose was his primary motive. He desired to show, or at least to suggest to us the beauty, the simplicity, the pathos and the tenderness of the Nativity. And again, as we look at the best of his work, we acknowledge that he has done what he intended, and done it supremely well.

They say that the Bolshevik authorities are interesting themselves in the recovery, preservation and restoration of these ancient artistic treasures of Holy Russia. The paradox is conceivable; for the Bolsheviks have often paraded their interest in art and culture. So it may happen that the recovery from loss, or the preservation from destruction, of a picture into which a Christ-loving monk in far-off days painted his love and faith, is the work of men who hate the Holy Name. "Recovery and preservation"—yes, for that, by any agency or from any motive we can be thankful. But "restoration"? God forbid. For how could such men even begin to understand what they held in their hands, or dimly to comprehend what the original maker of it meant?



"DOES ORTHODOXY POSSESS AN OUTWARD  
AUTHORITY OF DOGMATIC INFALLIBILITY?"

By Prof. BULGAKOFF.

(Translated from the Russian by the REV. R. M. FRENCH.)

THE simplest reply to the above question would be given, if, following the Roman Catholics and giving ourselves to a Roman Catholic trend of thought, we could answer with formal and indeed with Roman Catholic clearness: "In Orthodoxy such authority is found in Œcumenical Councils, and Councils in general, or even in the organs of supreme ecclesiastical government, or individual hierarchs of the highest rank who are sometimes apt, through human weakness, to tend in their own minds toward Roman Catholic ways of thinking and to give dogmatic infallibility to their own private opinions." Could we answer so, the whole difference between us and Roman Catholicism would be limited merely to the *organ* of this infallibility, which organ would, for the Roman Catholics, be an individual person, the Bishop of Rome, to whom, according to the Vatican Decree, belong infallibilities *ex cathedra* in matters of faith and morals; and for the Orthodox, a collective organ, *i.e.*, the council of Bishops. The actual possibility and necessity of an external infallible authority would not, in that case, be in question. And that fact would indirectly confirm the existence of a special *charisma fidei*, assigned by the Vatican definition to the Pope alone, but with us belonging to the totality of bishops, who would, therefore, also possess the *charisma infallibilitatis*.

Is this the case or not? That is the first and preliminary question. Does Orthodoxy differ from Roman Catholicism only in the character of the *organ* of infallibility, or does the difference go a great deal deeper, to such an extent that in Orthodoxy the existence and even the very possibility of such an organ are entirely denied? However strange it may be, this fundamental question does not always receive a unanimous answer in theological literature; or rather, it is not always stated with sufficient precision to exclude ambiguity and obscurity. Thus it is certainly not so stated in the authoritative manuals of Orthodox dogmatics of Philaret, the Archbishop of Cheringov, and the Metropolitan Macarius. In the first of these we find such a definition as this: "The supreme ecclesiastical authority . . . is the Œcumenical Council. . . . Their definitions were binding upon all. Thus the Œcumenical Councils by the *practical* consciousness of the Church constitute the highest ecclesiastical authority in the whole Church of Christ" (*Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*, 3rd ed., St. Petersburg, 1882, Part II,

page 265). "The central point of spiritual authority for the universal Church is the Œcumenical Councils. . . . In them are decided finally all things which affect the whole Church, as the history of the Councils witnesses. No other authority higher than that of Œcumenical Councils is recognized in matters of faith, and unconditional submission to the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils is accounted an absolute duty both for all the faithful and for the clergy themselves" (*Ibid.*, p. 231 f.).

Both definitions go no further than establishing the fact of the practical significance of Œcumenical Councils and their authority.

The Old Catholics have taken up a characteristic position in this matter, since they broke away from Roman Catholicism precisely on the ground of the Vatican decree. To them the question of the Church presented itself as the alternative between conciliar and individual constitution of the organ of infallible ecclesiastical authority (in the same way as it presented itself also to the reforming councils of Constance and Basel).

As an authoritative expression of the Orthodox consciousness, lovingly embraced by the whole Orthodox world, there appeared the famous Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs in 1849, in which was implicitly contained precisely the idea of the absence from Orthodoxy of an external organ of infallibility, since the maintenance of the truth is entrusted to the whole Church as the body ecclesiastic.

The precise and radical formulation of the question about the authority which teaches the faith in Orthodoxy, is due to Khomiakoff, who in so doing wrote his name indelibly in the history of Orthodox theological thought, as the apostle of freedom in Orthodoxy.

"The knowledge of divine truths is given to Christian love, and has no other guardian than that love" (*Khomiakoff Coll. Works* Vol. II, p. 162). "God Himself in revelation of living love—that is the Church" (p. 209). "The intelligent freedom of the faithful soul knows no external authority of any kind above it; but the limit of this freedom lies in its unity of thought with the Church, and the extent of its justification is defined by the consciousness of all the faithful" (p. 245). Hence "the whole Church has accepted or rejected the definitions of councils according as she found them conformable or otherwise to her faith and her tradition, and accorded the name Œcumenical to those of them the decrees of which she accepted as the expression of her inward thought. Thus to their temporal authority in matters of discipline has been added an authority of indisputable and unchangeable character in matters of faith. The Œcumenical Councils became the voice of the Church" (p. 48). "Why were heretical councils rejected, although they presented no external differences whatever from Œcumenical? Simply because their decisions were not recognized as the voice of the



Church by the whole Church, by that body of people and in that sphere, where in matters of faith there is no difference between instructed and unlearned, ecclesiastic and lay, male and female, master and slave; where, when needful, in the providence of God, the boy receives the gift of vision, to the babe is given the word of wisdom, the heresy of the learned bishop is refuted by an illiterate herdsman, that all may be united in the free unity of living faith, which is the manifestation of the Divine Spirit. Such is dogma, lying in the depths of the idea of freedom" (pp. 71, 72).

Khomiakoff completely overturned the Roman Catholic form of putting the question, a form which had penetrated even into Orthodoxy. It had placed Orthodoxy in the position of an undecided and inconsistent Roman Catholicism, whereas the latter has the indisputable merit of consistency, and develops the idea of an external organ of ecclesiastical infallibility to its final end. The question simply stands thus: either the freedom of Orthodoxy, or . . . Papalism. And so, how do things actually stand in Orthodoxy as concerns an infallible authority of religious truth?

The problem of the infallible authority of the Church presents a peculiar difficulty in its formulation and discussion, and perhaps also in the impossibility of a final theoretical solution. The cause of this seems to be, not some external and irremovable difficulty or lack of clearness, but the very nature of the problem, in which is felt with great acuteness the inexpressibility of everything which touches the Church in her essential being. Nevertheless, even without hoping for a solution of the problem, it is necessary to formulate it in all its fullness, for it seems to be not only a fundamental supposition of Church life, but also characteristic of both trends of Christian thought and life, Western and Eastern. In the teaching of the Western Church a fundamental *motif* is the idea that an external absolute teaching authority belongs to the Church not only on the strength of her historical development, but as a necessary constituent predicate of the very notion of "churchness." The Church, in this sense, may be defined as the organization of power and authority. In opposition to this, Eastern Christianity asserts in her life (although this is not always fully understood) that no such external authority exists in the Church, that it ought not to be and cannot be. And there is nothing gained by being afraid of this assertion, avoiding it or befogging it with obscure formulas to the effect that the authority of a Pope does not exist among us, but none the less there is the authority of Ecumenical Councils, etc. Here it is a question of the very nature of the Church admitting of no sort of ambiguity or compromise.

Orthodox teaching knows no external teaching authority of the Church, cannot and should not know it. Fidelity to patristic tradition cannot be accounted the same as the Roman Catholic

conception of infallibility. The latter is defined as the ability *not* to be mistaken in judgment, and is concerned in the first instance with the sphere of theoretical thinking, although in the sphere of dogma.

In the philosophy and methodology of the sciences, the problem of the reliability (infallibility) of knowledge, or, in other words, the problem of the predicates of truth, is fated and perpetual. But if science does not and cannot know of external authority, still that does not mean that for her a base relativism is not avoidable; she must be content with inward marks of truth in self-evidence, self-consistency and the like; in a word, with her immanent criterion. However, even this system cannot be transferred from the sphere of science to that of ecclesiastical consciousness (and by making that transference the Western traditions, both Catholic and Protestant, have erred). For that criterion is satisfactory for scientific thought; but the Church is not only thought, or knowledge, or teaching, but the primordial depth of the one whole religious experience in relation to which all the words and thoughts which express it appear as secondary functions—reflections, as it were, of its separate moments and strata; if they claim to be the expression of the whole, they must be qualified as inadequate to it. Therefore dogmas, as judgments or thoughts about the faith, are different in kind from the theoretical constructions of science. They are only logical projections of supra-logical origin, the expression in words of that which in actual fact cannot be contained in words. The criterion of their truth is found not in the agreement of thought with itself (the formally immanent criterion) but in their livingness, in that, in fact, which lies in the foundation of their definitions and only projects itself in words and judgments.

Therefore, in speaking of dogmas we have to have in view not the truth or otherwise of formulas and definitions (which have a derivative and purely working significance) but the correctness or incorrectness of that life-experience which lies in their foundation. If it flows forth from the one and whole life of the Church, if it is of the Church, and true, then also its dogmatic definition conforms with its own designation. But if it shows itself the issue of a living deviation, a separation from the one life of the Church (heresy signifies simply "separation,") then also its projection in the logical medium, dogma, has the nature of self-willed philosophizing, false teaching and sin.

Dealing in this way with dogmatic definitions, it is well to speak not so much of their truth or falsity, as of their "churchness" (catholicity, universality) or their heresy. And in agreement with this, heresy appears not as verbal or logical error in reasoning of divine matters, but as a living perversion of the heretic himself, an unhealthy change, arising in the human heart. Every heresy is



a separation from the Church, a falling-away from her, an odd spiritual isolation, and the self-existence of separation. This separation from the one and absolute life is also the cause of the inescapable spiritual impoverishment of the heretic. In contrast with this the Church is always full, endlessly rich and always equal to herself, for she retains within herself the fullness of all things and is moved by the Holy Spirit. And therefore the outward expression also of the life of the Church, her dogmatic definitions, possess absolute truth, namely, in the strength of the ontological fullness of her life. But just here steals in the main difficulty of the problem. For in the measure that the truth of dogmas depends upon the fullness of life, to that extent the right to express them can belong only to one possessing that fullness, that is, exclusively to the Church herself—to the Holy Spirit living in her. If we endeavour to discover any sort of external mouthpiece of the consciousness of the Church (whatever it may be—Council or Pope—makes no difference) indicating a definite external criterion, we by that very fact inevitably depart from the whole-Church point of view, and substitute for the whole Church, as such, one of her separate moments. The question immediately arises: What is the Church? Where is she? In the totality of all that is created by God and living by the divine life? or in that point which we accept as the criterion of Church consciousness?

Consequently, it becomes clear that Orthodoxy knows no sort of absolute organ, and accepts as the Church only herself, in her realization which manifests itself in every breath of her life, and not admitting of any *pars pro toto*, but knowing only *pars in*. However, notwithstanding this Orthodoxy desires to be, and cannot but be, the Church of *tradition*. Everything that it possesses, everything in which it is rich—dogmatic, canonical, liturgical—it desires holily to maintain, revere, fulfil. But this must be a free submission to authority, and not a submissive subjection to power, an obedience as the result of love, as love itself. For love signifies unity; but self-willed action, as separation from the Church and falling away from her unity, is an unloving act, grounded in self and arrogant. If, for example, I, through moral weakness, do not observe the fasts prescribed by the Church, then I commit a certain sin; but if I do not accept the fast, do not consider it necessary and useful for me, opposing my littleness to the consciousness of the Church, then in the very act of so doing I separate myself from it, fall away from it, become a heretic. My consciousness then drags out a phantom individual existence and appears to itself to be independent and self-grounded, whereas according to its nature it ought to be dissolved in absolute truth, living in the Church. How, indeed, is it possible not inwardly to hearken to that which you consider higher than yourself, before which you bow, to which you

pray? Indeed tradition, although it exists outside us, is the expression of the collective Church consciousness, its vehicle and its guardian. And therefore it freely subjects to itself every one who shares in that consciousness. The most captivating, the most arousing characteristic of the Church is just that freedom which must necessarily be united with ecclesiastical discipline and obedience. Repudiating it, we repudiate the very idea of the Church and substitute for it a dead juridical mechanism of organized obedience and subjection; in the room of New Covenant grace placing the Ancient Law, descending from Orthodoxy to legalism.

But life in the Church is one whole act; and therefore it is always distinguished by its creative character. Not in the sense of creating something new out of nothing, but as a vital, living, and consequently free incarnation of the content of Church consciousness. Thus in Orthodoxy obedience is always linked with the freedom of the sons of God, with the boldness of the friends of God, with the unquenchableness of the Spirit, with the indestructibility of prophecy. The Church can never be a lifeless preserver of tradition, she always demands the venture of love. Thus freedom also is an inalienable characteristic of Orthodoxy. It is often felt as a dreadful responsibility, as a burden beneath the load of which the shoulders of the weak and timid are bent, and which it is so easy and tempting to transfer to the shoulders of another. But to do that is to surrender to the seduction of Scribism and Pharisaism, to set one's foot upon the way of a dead understanding of the Church, to listen to Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor who offered to set man free from the burdensome gift of freedom. But in truth it actually constitutes the very essence of the spiritual individuality for which God created the world and for the salvation of which God the Son was incarnate and died. Yet great is the temptation to repudiate freedom for the sake of a blind obedience, and to see the abiding image of the Church upon her surface, to believe that her inward nerve emerges to the outside and becomes the external expression of her essence. Such is the construction of Papalism. Protestantism also, however, which commonly opposes itself to it—though in actual fact separated from it by a very thin line—is, in its nature, of the same construction, only understood in another way. Protestantism is the religion of arrogant isolated chilly human personality striving to find its basis in itself and only in itself and desiring to set up a Church for itself and through itself. So that that which in Papalism is, in fact, denied in the name of unity of organization and power, is, in Protestantism, offered as a sacrifice to human pride. Protestantism thus displays an Ego-Papalism, in which everyone by the power of his reasoning, knowledge, etc., desires to be a Pope for himself, laying claim consequently to infallibility in matters of faith. By it tradition is entirely rejected and swept aside and thus is destroyed



the unity of "churchness" of grace and of inspiration, of which unity tradition serves as the outward expression and concretely received fact. This is done in the name of liberty and refusal to submit to a so-called coercive external authority; but it is precisely in the consciousness that ecclesiastical authority is not outward, not coercive, but loved and cherished, and that wherein personal will and love find expression, that the authentic feeling of "churchness" consists which distinguishes Orthodoxy in the same way alike from Papalism and from Protestantism.

In Protestantism all spiritual force, being without roots in the Church soil, must naturally be directed to the region of the exercise of human reason, *i.e.*, to that spiritual capacity in man which in particular feels itself to be independent and self-supporting. This we actually see in the measure to which Protestantism tends to become scientific Christianity, the religion of scientific men and professors, who multiply religious-scientific literature, not only for the sake of scientific diversion, but also as a consequence of that inborn piety of the human soul which is eager to serve God, even if in the wrong way.

We must not, of course, deny the scientific mind to Roman Catholicism also. But there it is not a flood of individualistic investigations, but a strictly-worked-out and harmonious theological doctrine; a doctrine all parts of which are elaborated with the utmost possible fullness and precision, and linked up among themselves into the likeness of a code of laws. And precisely in distinction from these two kinds of religious thought, in Orthodoxy we have not so much theology as "theologizing," not doctrine, but rather "contemplation and speculation," the inspiration of religious experience, not fitted into any previously supplied frames, but free in its vital intensity. This is the eternally uninterrupted story of constantly realized Church experience full of freedom and inspiration. And this explains the fact that in Orthodoxy there exist so many theological opinions and individual judgments, which, while not in the least losing their value and significance, are sometimes not in agreement with one another—in *dubiis libertas*. For Roman Catholic disciplined thought this circumstance always constitutes a ground of reproach to Orthodoxy. But to this one may reply that in Roman Catholicism unity of system is linked with a loss of freedom and consequently with inward paralysis of Church thought. In Orthodoxy that ever-creative "theologizing" (which, when it seeks to assume a doctrinal character, habitually becomes a feeble imitation of Roman Catholicism) is freedom and the realization of true "churchness," authentically the inspiration of love in moments of spiritual intensity, even though it may result, through our weakness, in an appearance of spiritual laxity, irresponsibility and anarchy.

Liberty, although the fundamental ground of Orthodoxy, does not in the least hinder the Church from being hierarchical, as is seen in the distinction between the clergy—the teaching Church, and the flock—the hearkening Church. And precisely to the clergy belongs the right of authoritative judgment in questions of faith and worship, and the authoritative preaching of the word of God, together with the conduct of divine worship which includes it. And therefore the Orthodox Councils are assemblies of Bishops. And yet this does not mean that the hearkening Church is entirely deprived of any share in the working out of the faith, as is the case in Roman Catholicism, where passive infallibility (*infallibilitas passiva*) consists exclusively in the duty of blind obedience. The Church guardianship of the truth, the living care of it in consciousness and feeling belongs to the whole Church corporate, to the whole body of the Church. Every one of her members not only passively receives but actively confirms in his personal Church-consciousness the common Church experience. And therefore the very division of the Church body into those who only command and those who only obey is wrong. But such a state of affairs, in which every living member of the Church in one way or another, but still actively, shares in the living unfolding of Church truth, increases to an extraordinary degree the particularly difficult problem of the significance and authority of the Ecumenical Councils. For the seven Ecumenical Councils have for Orthodoxy an authority of unconditional obligation, and their decisions possess in the highest conceivable degree the character of Church infallibility. Not without good reason did Pope Gregory the Great place the authority of the first four Councils on a level with that of the four canonical Gospels. Nevertheless, this still does not give us the right to define the substance of Orthodoxy by the decrees of the seven Councils, for, on the one hand, Orthodoxy existed before them and, on the other, they are far from exhausting the content of Orthodoxy. For the Councils assembled and made their pronouncements with a view to the heresies that had broken out, and accordingly worked out dogmatically the teaching about the Divine and Human Natures of Jesus Christ which was the subject of the religious controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. This explains the fact that in the conciliar definitions (saving the condemnation of Nestorianism at the Third Council), there is not one word about a matter which constitutes an inalienable and an essential part of Orthodox faith and life—the veneration of the Mother of God. And so the question is extraordinarily difficult, but still just as inescapable: In what sense do the Ecumenical Councils possess indisputable authority in Orthodoxy? Does there belong to them a power similar to the Papal, or is it determined by other characteristics which are entirely *sui generis*? Historical facts throw light upon this problem for



us, but they do not solve it, because its solution lies in the realm not of fact but of standard. However, these facts may themselves have a dogmatic significance, since they are the facts which establish the standard; and from this point of view it becomes important to investigate how the recognition of the authority of the Ecumenical Councils was accomplished, from what moment were they established as Ecumenical? Here from the very first we must set aside the formal criterion. The actual representation of the whole Christian world in the Ecumenical Councils was both impossible in fact and certainly was not demanded by Church consciousness. The overwhelming majority in the Ecumenical Councils, which met within the confines of the Byzantine Empire, was naturally represented by Greek Bishops, the Roman Pope was represented by his legates, but at the second and fifth Councils even these last were entirely absent. The designation "Ecumenical" belonged to councils rather in connection with the fact that they were summoned by the Emperors, who were considered the legal holders of Ecumenical Christian power. Further, the recognition and authority of the councils came into force by no means immediately after their termination. Thus the First Council of Nicæa, of the 318 Fathers, whose credal definition is fundamental, not for Orthodoxy only, was not immediately acknowledged as "Ecumenical," which it accounted itself to be. On the contrary, it resulted in the appearance of new heresies and new councils which did not recognize it, and only the Second Council of Constantinople, in 381, finally established its status and accorded it the designation of "Ecumenical Council."

This has an extraordinarily important significance in principle, for the very fact of the status of one Council being established by another, sufficiently indicates that a Council possesses no external formal authority; it receives it in the subsequent life of the Church; a Council becomes "Ecumenical" in the consciousness, with the consciousness, and through the consciousness of the Church. It acquires the authority of infallibility as a consequence of its agreement with the self-consciousness of the Church. Only the Church herself is able to establish that agreement, to recognize that a given Council reveals itself as an authentic image of the Church. The formula with which ecclesiastical decrees begin: "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us," has in this connection no decisive significance, for with it began also the decrees of local councils. It was used also by the heretic Dioscurus' Latrocinium of Ephesus to which the Church replied with an anathema. That formula expresses primarily the prayerful desire of the assembled fathers that the definition arrived at by them may be inspired by the Holy Spirit and not by the individual mind of the several members. It bears witness to the fact that there actually took place a Church assembly, and a given definition was the expression not of individual

opinion, but of a certain Church unity. Hence it is put forth under the sanctifying name of the Holy Spirit.

And so the question of full and formally regular representation is a comparatively secondary one, as neither a number of bishops, nor the locality of a Council nor even the Council itself, has any essential significance. The significance of the saint or of the man of great spiritual force, who reveals in himself the image of the Church and continues with her in uninterrupted inward association, may, in a Church sense, be greater than that of a numerous and regularly constituted assembly of bishops; as at the Council of Nicæa truth was on the side of the deacon Athanasius against almost the whole episcopate. Thus in history the establishment of the authority of the Ecumenical Councils passes through a period which we must recognize as the time of their "conditionally-dogmatic" authority. It continues until such a time as the universal Church consciousness gives a final sanction to the definitions of the Council.

Nevertheless, directly also, the Ecumenical Council, as a gathering of hierarchs, is the highest visible ecclesiastical authority, binding upon every son of the Church, for he who does not submit to the bishop by that very fact rends asunder the body of the Church. Therefore the decrees of the Council also, the canons, are put forth by them in the form of imperative and authoritative commands, obligatory decrees, invested with all the weight and power inherent in the episcopal order. But their final acceptance or rejection by the Church consciousness (not as *commands* of the Council issued from the supreme ecclesiastical power, but as the expressions of the will and consciousness of the whole Church) is achieved by the strength of that inward freedom to which the children of God are called, and which lays upon them the right and the duty of putting to the test of experience and receiving into the measure of their spiritual development, all doctrinal definitions. Orthodoxy knows no special *charisma* of doctrine such as Roman Catholicism knows, and for that reason dogmas possess force in that degree in which they are received by the Church, and, as soon as they are accepted by Church consciousness, they receive the authority of infallibility. Of course, this final acceptance cannot be expressed in any sort of formal act, for this would not decide the matter, but only refer it to a higher court. It is impossible to indicate where and when the acceptance is accomplished; but the fact of it possesses for a given time the highest spiritual authenticity, although that authenticity cannot be given a rational definition. Thus it is, and by this "is" Church tradition is defined.

This position with regard to Church authority, so difficult and disputable in its logical aspect, ought to be fearlessly asserted as a characteristic essential of Orthodoxy. In Roman Catholicism the question is much clearer and simpler, and is summed up in the



formula *Roma locuta est; causa finita est*. But Orthodoxy knows no other Rome than the Church guided by her invisible Head, the Lord Jesus Christ, and fulfilled by the Holy Spirit. His actions are mysterious and past finding out and cannot be adapted to any one formal moment which can be indicated beforehand (like the accomplished words and actions in the sacraments). A Council has significance, not as an infallible authority in matters of faith, which even *it* does not possess, but as a means of awakening and revealing Church consciousness; and also as the supreme organ of the power of the Church. Thus the primary significance belongs to conciliar deliberation; the Council itself acquires authority only in the fullness of time; and only after the lapse of some time that authority becomes entirely authentic. In the dogmatic consciousness of the Church the fact is fundamental that far from all dogmatic truths are expressed through conciliar deliberation in Councils, but many are accepted through the uninterruptedly accomplished inward conciliar deliberation by the conciliar mind of the Church. Conciliar definitions in this sense are only single reefs appearing above the ocean of religious life, and do not exhaust all the immeasurable riches hidden in the depths beneath the water. With this conception is closely connected the question of the further development of dogmatics, or, as it is sometimes put, of progress in dogma, of the creation of new dogmas. This question has been given special prominence in Roman Catholic theological thought, and to a certain extent also among us—among the members of the agitated circles of religious-philosophical associations during the nineties, in which claims to the right of inventing new dogmas grew up parallel with dogmatic sterility and the futility of such pretensions. With respect to this we must note the following:—In the Church consciousness there is but one indivisible, indisputable dogmatic fact, which is not a teaching and not a doctrine, but a life of grace by the power of the Holy Spirit. In relation to that life and that power the very formulation of the question of development or progress in dogma is impious and absurd, for in the Holy Spirit everything exists, everything is given and nothing develops, nor can anything change. And this power of grace and divine fullness cannot be expressed or explained, strictly speaking, by any kind of teaching or doctrine expressed in terms of human understanding and speech. In this sense there is not and cannot be any sort of exhaustive deposit of faith, except in a relatively historical sense, and Church truth exists completely independently of the degree in which people know and recognize it. And similarly, just as before the Ecumenical Councils and the dogmatic formulation of doctrine, the Church was not any poorer than she was afterwards; in the same way, the Church in herself, in her being, did not change and was not enriched by the fact that this or that side of the dogmatic

system was gradually and in order unrolled before men. However, turning from the Church herself, in her essence, to the men who enter into her constitution and through whom her history is unrolled, we see that in this region there cannot but issue eternal dogmatic creation and new revealing of the unchangeably real truth. Similarly, as every human being, when he searches into the depths of his own nature, finds in himself new aspects and a new profundity, so in the same way the Church consciousness is capable of endless and creative dogmatic enrichment. This does not, of course, involve the necessity of inventing new dogmas or of being eager to summon new Ecumenical Councils for that purpose. But, dogmatically, there is not the slightest ground for supposing that the possible number of Ecumenical Councils must necessarily be limited to seven, although, historically, it is entirely possible. It is possible to suppose that the seven Ecumenical Councils which have taken place laid the essential foundations of Orthodoxy. But, on the other hand, we cannot help seeing things that are unwritten and not formally sanctioned, though in fact they receive the significance of dogmatic positions in the consciousness of the Church, such as everything relating to the veneration of the Mother of God. And we must not shut our eyes to the burning, ever-present necessity of dogmatically throwing light upon, and working out, such questions—as of the Divine Name, of St. Sophia, and others. These matters do not crop up in the Church consciousness by chance or by human caprice. A subject which for centuries has appeared to men to be a matter of indifference, suddenly takes its place in the centre of consciousness, and evokes a storm of controversy and dispute. And so, at the time of the ripening of such problems, work upon them becomes a duty, linked with the precious gift of freedom and limitless courage, but also with a terrible responsibility for the use of that gift. The fact that these problems find each of them its time of awakening in consciousness, its historical moment in the history of the Church, ought not to disturb us. In the cupola of Orthodoxy, as in the heavenly vault, crowning the earth and appearing as a veritable heaven on earth (exactly as in the representations of it in our Churches), there are many stars which shed their light simultaneously upon the traveller of this world; but they come into prominence successively, one after the other enchainning to itself his enchanted eyes. But in that heaven there is a breadth, a depth, a freedom of which it is necessary to be worthy, taking them not with the obedience of slaves, but as the supreme gift worthy of the sons of God.

The problem of freedom and authority in the Church cannot be solved by the understanding and the constructions of human logic. Nor should we be afraid to repeat, after the greatest of Russian Church historians, Bolotoff, that in these problems of the recognition



and authority of general Councils we are formally, though not in actual fact, moving in a vicious circle. Nevertheless, precisely a vicious circle is the only living, correct and credible answer to the question about the unreasoned, and, by human intelligence understood, inward life of the Church in the human spirit.

And therefore we should not fear nor flee from these unavoidable vicious circles, nor break through them, as Roman Catholic rationalism does, with eagerness to be liberated from them. But we should search out that interior spot standing upon which we may survey the whole circle, and understand that, as is its inescapable rational viciousness so is also its living spiritual truth. In a given instance such a spot is the authentic inward "churching" of the human spirit, *i.e.*, the state in which it ceases to be just its own self and becomes one with the Church.

## A CRUISE IN GREEK WATERS.

WE went first to Zacynthos or Zante ("Woody Zante," as Homer described it), one of the Ionian Islands. The British Consul arranged an interview for me with the Bishop, and I went to see him the following day, accompanied by Mr. Alexander, one of the British residents, who acted as interpreter.

The Bishop, Dionysius, was Chaplain for some years at the Greek Church in London and speaks English a little. He received me very graciously. Liqueur and Turkish Delight were brought in on a tray, and I told him that, as a humble member of the Anglican Communion, I wanted to assure him of the sympathy of a large number of Anglicans with their brethren in the Greek Church. He expressed his great gratitude for the support given them by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, after further conversation, gave me a photograph of himself, a list of his Holy Week services and one or two other small memoirs of my visit. I asked him to dine with me on board that night, but he had to attend a service at the Cathedral and suggested I should come, too.

On my return to the ship I sent him a small picture, a Madonna Gran Duca, which was hanging in my cabin, asking him to do me the honour of accepting it as a small and grateful token of my visit.

In the afternoon several of us visited the local monastery. The monks had heard of our arrival at Zante and were the kindest of hosts. They took us into the monastery and gave us refreshment, they took us into their church and conducted devotions before the body of their local saint—Dionysius, which we were glad to venerate.

That evening I attended the service at the Cathedral. It was Passion Week, which last year fell a week earlier than ours in the West. An official conducted me to behind the ikonostas, where I vested in cassock, surplice, hood and scarf, and, on emerging into the body of the church, I found a special seat had been placed for me at the right hand of the Bishop.

The congregation seemed very interested in the presence of an Anglican priest, and after the service, when they came up to kiss the Bishop's hand, some of them made as if they would have kissed my hand, too, but I felt it was the Bishop's occasion and quietly withdrew.

The Bishop invited me to his house until the boat should come to take me back to the ship. It would have been a pleasure to accept, but it was getting late and he was obviously tired, and so I went instead to Mr. Alexander's house, and met some of his Greek friends. It was a delightful evening and they seemed very interested in the Anglican Church.

Some amusing rumours went round the town concerning the



purpose of our visit. One was that we had gone there to further negotiations between the Greek and Anglican Churches! A mistaken idea, indeed. God grant that reunion may come about one day, but it will not be by means of men-of-war. The British Navy may be prepared to take on a great number of things, but the reunion of Christendom—that it would consider, indeed, outside its province. Besides, what would the Admiralty say, not to mention the British taxpayer, if ships of war were used for that purpose, and especially with the cry of "Economy in Oil Fuel" in the air?

A few weeks later we were at Argostoli, the capital of Cephalonia, which lies at the head of a large bay. An interesting feature of the place is a water-mill driven by the sea, which runs into the land and then—disappears.

We went there for the Fleet Regatta, but I made use of the opportunity to call on Damascenos, the Metropolitan of Cephalonia. Mrs. Toole, one of the British residents, kindly arranged my visit.

Damascenos is a tall, fine-looking man with charming manners. He enquired especially about the *Filioque* clause and our doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament. I said the usual things about the *Filioque* clause, that, while we thought the East ought to have been consulted before it was inserted in the Creed, yet there was no difference between them and us in regard to the theological point at issue. With regard to the Blessed Sacrament, I told him that our doctrine, as expressed in the official formulæ of the Church of England, was entirely in line with that of historic Christendom. He asked whether there were many in the Church of England with the same doctrinal outlook as myself, and I said there was a large and increasing number of Anglicans who might be described as Orthodox in their conception of Christianity.

He invited me to go and spend the week-end with him in the country, for the feast of the Assumption, but my duties prevented me leaving the ship. I asked him to accept a bottle of Benedictine as a small token of goodwill. It was the only present I could think of, situated as I was in a ship. Besides, good wine is always a good emblem of a good fellowship.

"For Catholic men that live upon wine  
Are deep in the water, and frank and fine—  
Wherever I travel I find it so.

Benedicamus Domino."<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop embraced me warmly and gave me his photograph.

After a short visit to Karystos, a pretty little seaport in the south of Eubœa, abounding in figs and olives and grapes and tortoises, we went to Chios, an island (claiming, against other places, to be the birthplace of Homer), in the Ægean Sea just off the coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>1</sup> Belloc.

The Bishop of Chios, Hieronymos, is an elderly man, about to retire. He is a very lovable person and was extremely kind, and welcomed me as a member of the Anglican Communion. In his opinion, Anglican Bishops, without any doubt, were in direct and valid succession from Archbishop Parker. He showed me a photograph of his great friend, Chrysostom, the late Bishop of Smyrna, a fine-looking man with a beautiful face, and described how he had been cut to pieces by the Turks, first his lips, then his nose, then his ears, and so on.

A bottle of Grand Marnier was my offering on this occasion, and later in the day two tins of delicious preserved fruit arrived from him, together with a signed photograph of himself.

Staying with Hieronymos was Callinicos, the Bishop-elect of Macedonia. He knows both Canon Douglas and the Bishop of Gibraltar.

M. Jean Psichari was another visitor in the house. He is Professor of Hebrew at Paris University and was making a short stay in Chios for a conference on education. He had married a daughter of the late Ernest Renan and was a friend of Dreyfus and Clemenceau. He came to luncheon with me on board and it was very kind of him, for he is not a young man and the day was very hot, and to climb ladders under these circumstances is no pleasant job, but he was very plucky and a delightful guest.

There is a famous monastery at Chios, the monastery of St. Menas, about eight miles out of the town. It dates from the eleventh century, and, like so many monasteries in Greece, stands on the top of a hill. It has a wonderful view on one side, looking across a narrow strip of blue sea, to the coast of Asia Minor beyond. There are only four monks there now, and they lay-brothers, but a priest goes to say Mass for them every week. The other residents are refugees from Smyrna, which is only sixty miles away.

A big massacre took place at the monastery in 1821. It was on the occasion of a revolution. Women and children had taken refuge inside, but the Turks, who then owned the island, broke in (you can still see the marks of their bayonets on the old doors) and massacred the lot. Bloodstains can still be seen on the floor of the little church, and in a small building close by the bones of the victims are kept—skulls, arms, legs, etc., all stacked up on either side. The anniversary of the massacre is kept on November 11th.

There are no Turks in Chios now. The only signs of their former residence are an old disused mosque in the Market Place, and the Turkish appearance of the walls and houses outside the town. I was told that some of the Turks, who used to live there, but have since returned to Asia Minor, invited some of their Greek friends to go across the water and help them to cultivate the land. Apparently the Turk cannot do it by himself!



M. Leandis was another kind friend at Chios. He acted as my guide and interpreter all the time I was there and I am very grateful to him.

Lemnos was our next port of call. It is a terribly bleak and barren-looking place. What a place to have been stationed at during the war, with the prospect of being sent on to Gallipoli any day! Though perhaps that might have been a relief! Once, it is said, it was wooded, fertile and green, but the Turks, who then owned the island, cut down all the trees, because they sheltered Greek brigands! It might be interesting to discuss, as an admiral remarked, how far the Turks were responsible for making them brigands. Has any nation under the Turk ever had a chance to develop properly?

The one thing of interest at Lemnos is the British cemetery, in which I noticed the grave of Charles Lister. Part of the cemetery is given up to Russians who were killed during the war.

While at Lemnos, a large party of us went in a destroyer for a day's trip to Gallipoli. At first the Turks did not want us to land, but after some discussion they consented and we spent several hours wandering about on shore, walking through disused trenches and the battered village, looking at dismantled guns, and visiting the famous V Beach and the well-kept British cemeteries.

A few hours' steaming brought us, a few days later, from Lemnos to Skyros. Skyros is an attractive little island, wooded and mountainous, in the middle of the Ægean Sea, associated with the names of Theseus and Achilles.

There is a famous monastery there; dedicated to St. George (how popular he is in the East), dating from the ninth century, and standing on the topmost peak of one of the mountains. The ascent to it is by quaint, narrow, stone-paved winding streets. It was a long climb, and we were grateful to the daughter of one of our hosts who came out of her house and offered us grapes, by the way. The monks were very hospitable, gave us refreshment and showed us round the place. It is served by monks from Mt. Athos, which is not far away, and some of them were returning there that night.

While at Skyros, several of us made a great effort to visit Rupert Brooke's grave—"that corner of a foreign land which is for ever England"—but it was a long way off and the day was hot, the time was short, and there was no chance of reaching the spot, so we allowed ourselves to be beguiled by some kind people, and turned aside and sat down under the shelter of their vine-covered pergola, while they set before us grapes and figs and wine and ice-cold water, and asked us to stay and share their evening meal.

Nor must I forget Καλλι, the little daughter of the house, aged seven, who taught me Greek, and presented each one of us with a bouquet of flowers.

The next place we visited was Zeitun in the gulf of Eubœa. The famous Pass of Thermopylæ could be seen about ten miles away. Some of us tried to climb the Pass, but were defeated by the mud. It was a great adventure, and we shall never forget that half-mile walk back to the motor-boat, wading through the sea, sinking at each step, up to our knees in thick black mud and stopping every thirty yards to take breath. Since that day there have been other heroes of Thermopylæ besides Leonidas!

After visiting Sinus Opuntius, further down the Gulf, where we were afflicted by a dry, hot wind, and Ædipsos, with its natural hot sulphur springs, we arrived at Volo, a large seaport town in Thessaly, with Mt. Pelion in the background.

I tried to see the Bishop of Volo, but unfortunately he was away and did not return before we left. The country round is very attractive, if one is prepared to climb, and I visited several churches in the neighbourhood. In one of them a baby girl was being christened. A good number of relatives and friends were present, all in most cheerful mood. The priest was a striking-looking figure with his long white hair and beard. He stood in front of the font with his sleeves rolled up, and had a hard struggle with the baby, who noisily objected to being dipped in the water! After the christening she was dried and clad in a completely new set of clothes.

From Volo we went to Ægina. At one time Ægina used to be the capital of Greece, but it is now quite a small place, though some of the smaller business people of Athens use it as a health resort. There are some interesting ruins in the neighbourhood, a temple of Venus, close by, where I said a "Hail Mary," and a temple of Jupiter, but that is some distance away and I was unable to reach it.

From Ægina a small steam-boat, the *Actæno*, runs daily to the Piræus, a two-hours' trip, and thence by car or electric train to Athens.

The proprietor of the hotel at Athens, a Swiss, was most attentive, especially when he heard I carried with me introductions to the Archbishop and the ex-Œcumenical Patriarch. When I asked him where they lived, though, he replied, but in quite a friendly way, "I'm afraid I don't know. I'm a Protestant myself, but the porter will tell you." The obvious deduction as to the religious colouring of an Anglican was a new and refreshing experience in a foreign country.

I went to call on the Archbishop Chrysostom that afternoon, and he returned my call the same day. He is a small man, very alert, with rather a severe manner, but most unassuming and kind. He speaks English fluently and is very much in touch with Western thought and knows a number of Anglican ecclesiastics.

It was his "at home" hour, and several people were waiting to see him. Besides that, the Synod was meeting in Athens at the



time, and so it was a specially busy time for him. None the less he made me very welcome, gave me some of his valuable time and invited me to come again the following day. Hanging on his wall is the picture of St. Sophia at Constantinople, given him by the members of the Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage last year.

Leaving the Archbishop, I motored out to Kephissia, an attractive-looking suburb, to call on Meletios, the ex-Ecumenical Patriarch. Thousands of refugees are living in temporary houses along the road, and are a big problem to the Greek Government. Since they were driven out of Turkey, according to an article in the *Spectator*, the Turks have been in difficulties over their carpet-making. It was Greek labour that used to make them all!

Meletios lives in a small and unpretending house, but to my great regret he was away and not expected back till the end of the month.

The next day I presented myself again to the Archbishop. He talked with me for some time, and before I left gave me his photograph, now hanging in my cabin, and a copy of his pamphlet in defence of Anglican Orders.

After Athens we were to have gone to Cyprus, but our visit was cancelled at the last moment. It was a great disappointment, for was not St. Barnabas the first bishop of Cyprus? And besides, I carried with me an introduction to the present Archbishop.

We went to Crete though, where St. Titus is said to have been Bishop, but again we were disappointed, for an epidemic broke out, which prevented us getting about as much as we should have liked, and I could neither call on the Bishop nor visit the excavations at Knossos.

It rained at Crete and we were thankful for it. It was the first rain we had had after a long spell of dust and heat and blazing sunshine. It was worth while going ashore just to see "all the green things upon the earth" and to smell the fragrance of the fresh wet soil.

And then we came back to Malta, where we have been ever since, and at the moment of writing we are lying at anchor only a few hundred yards away from St. Paul's Bay, the scene of his shipwreck. There is a little island in the middle of the bay, and on it a large stone figure of St. Paul with arm upraised.

It is the feast of his shipwreck to-day (February 10th), and the Maltese keep it with high honour. The Anglican Cathedral, too, is dedicated to it. Yesterday I visited the spot, and this morning at prayers read to the sailors St. Luke's account of the wreck, in full view of the scene. Fortunately there was no "tempestuous wind," but a "gregale," the modern Euroclydon, has just been reported as threatening, and "steam in two boilers," in case of emergency, has just been ordered.

B. H. LLOYD OSWELL, *Chaplain, R.N.*

## CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

UNHAPPILY, the deadlock between King Fuad and the Egyptian Orthodox, forecast as possible in our January article on the Alexandrian Patriarchal Election, not only eventuated but was still preventing an election in the middle of March. The cause of that deadlock, however, is not simply the Egyptian King's claim to exercise in the present-day sovereign Egyptian Sultanate the old mediæval right of *radiation* (i.e., of receiving from the Electoral body a list of eligibles and striking out whomever he chooses), exercised by all the Ottoman Sultans in the election of the heads of the *millets* of the Christian *rayah* throughout their dominions.

If that right is preposterous in the modern world, it has analogy in Western Europe and possesses some legal basis. Egypt was theoretically integral in the Ottoman Empire until the Great War, and its King realises, no doubt, that, if he submitted the matter to the Hague under the Minorities' clauses of the Egyptian Constitution, his claims to have succeeded to every right of the Ottoman Sultans would not be non-suited. Since, to the great injury of religion, it is the nature of governments to be tenacious of control in things ecclesiastical, it is neither surprising that King Fuad persisted in the usurpation, nor that, in order not to be left with a vacant throne, the democratic Electoral Assembly of the Alexandrian Patriarchate conceded it *pro hac vice*. The abuse of that concession by his Palace officials is the trouble. When the Assembly sent in a list of eligibles practically identical with our forecast, the King struck out every name in it except those of two of the three metropolitans of Egypt, the excuse being given that semi-officially the eight rejected were not Egyptian subjects. The Assembly was informed concurrently that three names must be submitted to the King, from which he would select the new Patriarch. That demand was rejected by the Assembly on the ground that even under the despotic Ottoman Sultans it had no precedent whatever and that—as indeed it would—its acceptance involved a breach of Orthodox Canon Law which would make the election anti-canonical. There the matter rested on March 16th, but, grave though the canonical question is, the more serious feature of the aggression is the requirement that, before election, the new Patriarch must possess "Egyptian" nationality. The Orthodox Communities of Egypt number something about 100,000, of whom 30,000 are arabophone Syrians. While Egypt was technically an Ottoman dominion, the requirement of Ottoman nationality barred the election of a bishop of the Church of Greece, but the bishops of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem, as also of Cyprus, were always eligible for any throne in the Empire; the Patriarch Photios, for example, being called to Alexandria from a Palestine bishopric.



That interchange of the kind should remain free is of great importance for the vigorous life of the Greek Orthodox Churches, intellectual and progressive as well as ecclesiastical. Their theological students all use the same educational centres and they are, in fact, a real solidarity. That an artificial isolation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and a limitation of the field of choice of its chief pastor must prove a set-back to Egyptian Christianity and might prove a disaster, is unimportant relatively. When it is remembered that the Patriarch of Alexandria, being the second hierarch in the Orthodox world, his personality must play no small part among the *imponderabilia* which will decide the history of the Near East during the next ten years, the egregious character of the attempted usurpation is apparent. For our part we cannot but trust anxiously that the Alexandrian Electoral Assembly will find courage to stand firmly on the ground which it has taken. As to whom the Orthodox call to the Throne of St. Mark, is not our business. But with all Christendom, we Anglicans are deeply concerned that they should be free to choose the best man.

This regrettable aggression at Alexandria must further diminish the probability of the Assembly at Mt. Athos this year of a Pan-Orthodox Council. Telegrams in the daily Press had, indeed, announced that a summons, convening such a Council, had been sent by the Œcumenical Patriarchate to each of the particular autocephalous Orthodox Churches, and some even asserted that the Anglican, Swedish and Roman Catholic Churches had been invited to take part in it. What has happened is this. After much thought, following the only course possible—for the autocephalous churches are free to accept or reject such a summons—the Œcumenical Patriarchate issued an encyclical last November, enquiring whether they would co-operate in holding a Pan-Orthodox Council to open on the Orthodox Pentecost, June 28th, of this year. A copy of that encyclical was printed, for example, in the *Jerusalem Near Zion* for December. Some of the autocephalous churches, *e.g.*, Jerusalem, replied at once in the affirmative, but others have not yet answered, and therefore, in any case, the date proposed would not easily be possible. But many signs point to indefinite postponement. Thus there is good authority for saying that, as might have been forecast, the Turks have warned the Œcumenical Patriarch that if he or any of his few bishops go to the Holy Mountain, Turkey will be barred to their return. The Council cannot be held until a canonical Patriarch be elected at Alexandria. And above all, until the resolution of the crisis—described below—in the Russian Church which the death of the Patriarch Tikhon has been used to create, the Russians cannot be represented canonically.

The agenda suggested for the Council by the Œcumenical Patriarchate as the prime and urgent need of its convention are, of

course, in the first instance domestic to the Orthodox Church, and include the appeasement of the strife in the Russian Church by her sisters, and the settlement of a new Calendar for the whole Orthodox Church, of the problem of priests' second marriages, and so on. But the programme also includes the questions of Anglican Ordinations and of Orthodox relations with all other Christian Churches, and especially with the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with it. Accordingly, the encyclical invited the other autocephalous Churches to concur, not, as has been said absurdly, in summoning the Anglican or any other Episcopate to take part in the projected Council, but simply in inviting the Archbishop of Canterbury to send an official delegation to it after the type of that which came to Lambeth from Constantinople in 1920. His Grace has been duly informed of its contents by the Œcumenical Patriarch's *apokrisarios* to him, the Archbishop of Thyatira.

Briefly, the fresh crisis in the Russian Church, to which we refer above, is this. On the death of the Patriarch Tikhon, the Metropolitan Peter (Krutitsky) assumed with great reluctance but in accordance with the cogent charge of his will, the dangerous responsibility of the *locum-tenency* of the Russian Patriarchate. That the Bolsheviks would fail to use the chance of disintegrating the Russian Church, which had been held together by its loyalty to the dead Confessor, was, of course, impossible. But, independently of mischief on their part, the delegation of the *locum-tenency* by testamentary disposition in place of its conferment by synodical action could be justified canonically only as a measure made necessary by the desperate times. Of that opening skilful use seems to have been made. Very many of the "Living Churchmen" and other "Innovators" had submitted to the Patriarch Tikhon. Some of their leaders, such as the Archpriest Vvedensky, who, though married, had been consecrated bishop, challenged the canonicity of the *locum-tenency* of the Metropolitan Peter, and others who had been loyal all through to the dead Patriarch joined them. The new party received every encouragement from the Bolshevik Commissar for "Culture," Turkov. The Council of last October, an appreciative sketch of which was contributed last month to the Brussels *Revue Catholique*, by Père Michel d'Herbigny, S.J., who attended it, was held under its auspices. Undoubtedly it has gained great strength, chiefly because, whatever may be its secret tendency, it is differentiated from the Living Church by its profession of orthodox doctrine and because it advances the claim of resisting an uncanonical usurpation—a claim which, in the obscure condition of affairs in Russia, many Russians accept. It has appointed an acting Synod of six bishops which, in rivalry to the Metropolitan Peter, claims the obedience of the Russian clergy and laity as the supreme authority in the Russian Church. That in Russia itself, where the



atmosphere is redolent of suspicion and danger, a decision between the Metropolitan Peter's claim to the fidelity of the faithful and the claim of the new "Orthodox" Synod, is very difficult for the priests and people is obvious. The result has been a renewed chaos in the Church, which, if it must be gratifying to the Bolshevik, may well excuse—granted that the rumour to that effect be substantiated—the Ecumenical Patriarchate's having entered into some form of communication with the new group.

As by now all the world ought to know, the Metropolitan Peter was arrested by the Soviet Commissar Turkov's order shortly before Christmas, as a "counter revolutionary" and a "disturber of the Peace of Russia," and the world is threatened with another tragedy, such as in 1923 was consummated in the person of the Polish Latin Mgr. Budkiewicz, and was only averted in the person of the Patriarch Tikhon by the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the protest of the British Parliament, led by the Labour Party. As we go to Press, news comes that Archbishop Sergius, to whom before his own removal the Metropolitan Peter had delegated the perilous office of *locum tenens*, has been placed under "domiciliary supervision"—an ominous piece of intelligence which should bestir the vigilance of Western Europe. In all that complex, the consideration of canonical questions becomes very difficult and, while there can be no doubt as to whither our sympathies tend naturally, it becomes quite clear that the Russian Church is at present incapable of sending its bishops to take part in the proposed Pan-Orthodox council at Mt. Athos.

In addition to the unlikelihood of the Alexandrian Patriarchate and of the great Russian Church being able to send uncontested representatives in the near future to a Pan-Orthodox Council, it may also be remembered that there exists a series of minor but difficult questions in relation to the Churches of the several Western European "succession" states, which before the War were part of the Russian Empire, but now possess sovereign independence, viz., Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia. Though a considerable section of the population, the Orthodox of these countries are in each case in a minority and for the greater part are Russians in race-consciousness. Under the Tsars, the Orthodox Russian Church was the established State Church of all Russia, including the "succession" States, and was a single jurisdiction. The majority of Poles are Roman Catholics, and of the Finns, etc., Protestants. As soon as they came into being, the Governments and majorities of the succession States naturally eyed askance the dependence of their Orthodox nationals upon Moscow, and at least a section of the non-Russians among the Orthodox were eager to emphasize their newly-declared nationality by using their vernacular in the Liturgy, etc. Though it presented different complications, the problem

was much the same in each country. In any case, it was thorny, for, while Russians could not but wish to remain part of the Russian Church, the governments were determined that they should cease to be so and the minorities of the Orthodox Poles, etc., sympathized more or less with that determination.

Whatever chance of an agreed solution might otherwise have existed was put out of the question by the lack of communication with Moscow—a result of settled Bolshevik policy no less than of the Bolshevik régime. Each of the succession States incited and encouraged the "national" minority of their Orthodox to form themselves into an autocephalous Church, and the Russian majority resisted the attempt, meeting the contention that nowadays the Orthodox in every sovereign state are formed into an independent autocephalous Church by the reply that it is not so in Greece and it is only so where the majority of the people is Orthodox. The Patriarch Tikhon, shut off as he was from everything outside the Soviet Union, could not handle the position. Moreover, Orthodox canon law demands that the erection of an autocephalous Church can take place only with the consent of the jurisdiction from which it is severed—a condition which without a Council of the whole Russian Church was obviously impossible. The late Patriarch, indeed, did his best for a *modus vivendi* by approving the formation of an *autonomous* Church in Poland, etc., but that left the Polish and other Churches still in a measure dependent upon, and theoretically part of, the Moscow jurisdiction. The consequence has been that in each of the "succession" states, inter-confessional bitterness, which, in Poland especially, made the Government hostile to Orthodoxy itself, has been increased by a quasi inter-racial struggle. New bishops have been consecrated and have obtained ecclesiastical control, the old bishops being more or less reduced to silence, some by imprisonment, others by dispossession and others by threats, so that in each state there is to-day an Orthodox Church that declares itself completely independent of Moscow and, until its autocephaly be recognized by the whole Orthodox Church, regards the Ecumenical Patriarchate under the 26th Canon of Chalcedon as more or less the centre to which it looks.

As to whether and how these Churches should be represented at a Pan-Orthodox Council, it will be hard to decide, and the Russian Church is precluded from expressing its mind on the matter.

The paralysis of the Russian Church prevents also the recovery of autocephaly by the Georgian Church which was incorporated with the Russian only in the early nineteenth century, has a rich history and a fine vernacular literature, and commands the devotion of the whole Georgian race. Georgia is, of course, a Soviet Republic, as is theoretically the Ukraine, in which there claims to be an autocephalous Church but, in which the ecclesiastical complex is too obscure to estimate.



The above and many other considerations make us anticipate that some time will elapse before the proposed Pan-Orthodox Council assembles. But we understand that at all events delegates from all the autocephalous Churches will assemble this year at Mt. Athos to prepare for a Council later.

His Beatitude E. Thourian, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose portrait appeared in our issue of last month, was born at Constantinople in 1860 and educated in that city. Having been ordained as Vardapet in 1879 by the famous Catholicos Matheos Izmirlian, and having ministered for ten years at Bardizak near Ismidt, he became Dean of the monastery of Ormash in 1889, and while in that office was consecrated Bishop, 1898, at Etchmiadzin by the Catholicos Khrimian Hairik. In 1905 he was elected Primate of Smyrna and in 1909 Patriarch of Constantinople, but was compelled by the Young Turks to resign the latter office in 1911. After the armistice, the Armenians naturally decided to appoint someone to their Patriarchate of Jerusalem which had been vacant for several years, and since he had become famous as the greatest living Armenian poet, thinker and preacher, he was designated to that office by general consent. As things are, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin being under the hand of the Soviets, Constantinople being a city of terror for the Armenian, and the Catholicos of Sis being a refugee, the Patriarch Thourian to-day is the outstanding figure in the Armenian ecclesiastical world and for the vast number of Armenian refugees Jerusalem is to some extent a practical ecclesiastical centre.

The A. and E.C.A. passed a formal vote of regret at the departure of our good friend Father John Leluchin from London in February. Father John, who has been Nastoyatel, or chief priest, of the Russian Parish of London since 1922, was formerly Dean of the Cathedral of Archangel and has left England to take charge of the Russian Church in Florence.

The Greeks in London observe the new Calendar of Constantinople, which is practically, though not theoretically, identical with our own, but the Russians have made no change. Thus the Greeks kept Christmas on our December 25th, under the New Style, but the Russians on January 7th under the Old Style. Both, however, began their Lent on March 15th—50 days, please, and not 40—and no butter or animal produce of any kind on Sundays as well as weekdays. For no change has been made in the Paschalia by Constantinople, that matter being reserved for an Œcumenical Council. The Roumanians, however, have adopted the Western Easter, as have the Armenians.

Fr. Leluchin and Mr. Sablin, the President of the Russian Colony

in London, presented Canon Douglas, on the Russian Christmas, with a *grammata* from the Karlovicz Synod, *i.e.*, a formal vote of thanks for his services to the Russian Church. The ceremony took place after the Liturgy in the presence of a large congregation. Canon Douglas used the opportunity to emphasize the fact that the presence of the Russian Metropolitans at the Abbey Nicæan service involved no breach of Orthodox practice, but was abundantly precedented. The proceedings were reported fully in the *Church Times* of January 15th.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem has conferred a Third Class of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre on the Rev. E. M. Bickersteth, Secretary of the Jerusalem and the East Mission. The Cross of the Order contains a Fragment of the True Cross. Canon Douglas holds the Grand Companionship of the Order, and the Revs. M. Child and G. N. Whittingham possess the Third Class.

We are delighted to know that Canon Garland, of Brisbane, who has done very much to serve the Orthodox in Australia and to promote their comity and amity with Anglicans in that continent, has received the same distinction.

The Archbishop of Dublin has accepted the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury to join his Eastern Churches Committee, of which Canon Douglas has been appointed Librarian.

Dr. Russell Wakefield, formerly Bishop of Birmingham and President of the Russian Church Appeal Fund, took the chair at a delightful little lunch in Whitehall Place on Wednesday, March 3rd, the occasion of the function being the presentation to the Revs. H. Buxton and G. N. Whittingham by Father Timotheiev and Mr. Ivanov, President of the Russian Parish of London, of crosses "like a Russian archpriest's" on behalf of the Metropolitan Evlogie. Canon Douglas took the opportunity to point out that the Anglican authorities were anxious that it should be known that, since no man could hold office in two churches not in communion, these crosses of which six have been conferred by Greeks, Russians or Serbs, were simply decorations. The six are the Revs. R. F. Borough, H. J. Fynes-Clinton, W. R. Corbould, himself, and the two guests of March 3rd. The letters accompanying the gift are interesting. They run:—

12, Rue Daru, Paris.  
2/15 January, 1926.  
No. 25.

TO THE REVEREND FATHER BUXTON, BELOVED IN CHRIST,  
In the hard time through which the Russian Church is passing, the fate of the youthful generation gives cause for especial fears



The corruption of youth and the poisoning of faith in their souls are part of the plan of the work of destruction of the present rulers of Russia.

In fleeing from this persecution for the sake of their faith the youth of Russia, taking refuge abroad, are subjected to another danger: they grow up amid foreign surroundings, lose their intimate connection with their own Orthodox Church, and are in need of special care in their religious and moral education.

I am happy to say that in this matter of the religious education of Orthodox Russian youths abroad, our brethren, members of the English Church, give us active help. The work of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association is memorable in this respect—work in which you have taken such an active part, and particularly on the Committee of the Lord Mayor's Fund in the capacity of Secretary.

You showed your brotherly love to the representatives of the Orthodox Church during our meeting in the summer of 1925 on the occasion of the celebration of the 1600th anniversary of the Council of Nicæa. We shall never forget your love and care for us during those memorable days, and I am glad to give you a proof of my deep gratitude.

In invoking the blessing of God upon you, I beg you to accept the accompanying pectoral cross, like those worn by Russian Orthodox Priests.

Yours with deep respect,  
(Signed) EVLOGIOS METROPOLITAN.

12, Rue Daru, Paris.  
2/15 January, 1926.  
No. 27.

TO THE REVEREND FATHER NAPIER WHITTINGHAM, BELOVED IN CHRIST,

The life of the Russian Orthodox Church is passing at present through exceptionally difficult conditions. The clergy and the laity faithful to Orthodoxy in Soviet Russia are suffering cruel persecution. Many of the servants of the Church have been put to death; many more languish in prison in distant exile. The Orthodox people give them what help they can, but this help is insufficient. Meanwhile the persecution is directed against the very foundations of the Church. The persecutors have put an end to all Orthodox ecclesiastical education. The last home of spiritual learning—the Petrograd Theological Institute—was closed by them in 1923. The persecution of the Church in Russia has laid the vigilant care for the needs of the Orthodox people in Russia on the Russian Orthodox Communities abroad, and chiefly in me, appointed by

the Most Holy Patriarch Tikhon to be Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe.

In serving the persecuted Orthodox Church in Russia to the best of my ability, I took measures for the organisation of Orthodox theological education abroad and opened a theological school in Paris which I hope, with the help of God, to develop into a higher educational establishment—a Theological Institute. In you and in those represented by you, who took part in the "Appeal for the Russian Clergy," the Russian Church and I, her servant and representative abroad, have found friends full of Christian brotherly love. Your Committee has given great help to Russian Orthodox Bishops, priests and laymen languishing in prison and in exile. Thanks to your support it was possible to prolong the existence of the Petrograd Theological Institute for a certain time. At the present time your gifts form the chief source of support of the Theological School in Paris.

All these touching proofs of your brotherly love towards the suffering Russian Church fill our hearts with a feeling of deep gratitude.

Invoking the blessing of God upon you, I beg you, in token of the help which the Appeal provided and still continues to provide, to accept the accompanying pectoral cross like those which are worn by Russian Orthodox Priests.

With deep respect,

Yours  
(Signed) EVLOGIOS METROPOLITAN.

The Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, of 8, Finsbury Square, E.C.4, has succeeded Major Tudor Pole as Secretary of the Russian Clergy Appeal Fund, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury has accepted the office of Patron, and Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira, has become a Vice-President. The Fund has three activities: (1) To relieve the pressing needs of the suffering Russian Clergy within as well as outside Russia; (2) to support the Russian Theological Academy in Paris, the work of which is to train men for the priesthood and which is keeping the light alive; (3) to assist the Orthodox Christian Students' Association. An appeal for £2,000 is in the Press. Copies will be sent gladly by the Secretary to any applicant.

(Continued on page 43.)



which is above the Holy Tomb, our vows may be crowned, our prayers fulfilled and our thanksgivings received. And we shall never cease to pray that the Peace of the Saviour may abide with your Beatitude, your Confraternity and your Flock of the Church of Sion, the Mother of all Churches.

TO HIS BEATITUDE, THE LORD THOURIAN, PATRIARCH OF THE ARMENIANS AND HOLDER OF THE THRONE OF ST. JAMES.

We, John Howard, Bishop of Plymouth, and the 125 faithful clergy and laity of the Anglican Churches, having journeyed to this Holy City in fulfilment of our vow to render thanksgiving for the salvation vouchsafed by God to mankind through His Incarnate Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and who rejoice to stand in veneration near to the mystic Throne of St. James and to render our devotions to the splendid wondrous sacred relics, treasured and preserved for all Christians within the precincts of this Holy House, rejoice also to assure your Beatitude of the admiring love, enshrined in our hearts, with which we are inspired by the glorious fidelity of the Armenian nation to the Cross. If the scholar teaches us that the Armenian nation was a nursing-mother of the Christian Church, and if in its ancient Liturgies, rich writings and Church art we find abundant confirmation of that judgment, we of this present century are aware altogether that the martyrdom of no Christian people in any age or any land may be compared with that of the Armenian.

The number of those victims of your race who in these later years, rather than deny the Lord of their Salvation and accept the False Prophet of Islam, perished by the White Death or the Red, exceeds the number of those Blessed Saints who witnessed to their Saviour in their blood during the sharpest of the Seven Persecutions.

*Sanguis martyrorum, semen ecclesiae!* May their noble fidelity to the Cross stir us and all Christians of our day to spend and to be spent for the establishment of the Reign of our Saviour here in earth. In these the Holy Places of Sion, where Faith cannot but receive Power, our persistent prayer will be that the Great Restorer will recompense your Beatitude's long-suffering and noble people with quietude, recreation and His peace which passes understanding, so that in the happier years to be the Treasures of the Armenian race may be carried richly into the Gates of the One Universal Church, God's heavenly Sion. And with your Beatitude, we ask all Armenians here on earth or there behind the Veil to pray and to intercede that both we pilgrims and all our brethren of the Anglican Name may be blessed by the Giver of all Grace to find Salvation for our souls and to be used as His instruments for the setting up of His Kingdom among men and for the hastening of the Day of His Coming.





STEPHEN GRAHAM, AUTHOR OF "THE RUSSIAN PILGRIMS AND JERUSALEM."

*An impression by Powys Evans. (See page 43).*

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD ARCHBISHOP ANASTASY, AT THE RUSSIAN CONVENT ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

We, John Howard, who, together with 125 faithful clergy and laity of the Anglican Churches, have been blessed by God to render our Adoration and Thanksgiving for the Gospel of Salvation in the Holy Shrines of Bethlehem and Calvary, desire to express to your Lordship the sentiments of brotherly love and of admiring sympathy with which we, in common with the totality of the clergy and flock of the world-wide Anglican Church, are inspired towards the Faithful, Suffering Church of Holy Russia.

Last June your Lordship's beloved Brothers, the Metropolitans Antonius and Evlogius, visited these islands and both at Westminster Abbey, the national shrine of England, venerated the Sacred Relics of our English Patron Saint, the Confessor King, Edward, and at St. David's Cathedral, the national shrine of Wales, venerated the Sacred Relics of our Welsh Patron Saint, the Confessor and Archbishop David. So they were joined to us in mutual love. Our hearts are eager for that happy day when, in our turn, the Dark Hour of Satan's Power having passed, we shall be blessed to make pilgrimage to the renowned Temples of Holy Russia and, paying honour to her Sacred Relics, shall be knit to the soul of her Holy Orthodox Church. Meanwhile, Right Reverend Father, for us this world-famed Holy Russian Convent of the Mount of Olives may well be Russian ground. Hither year by year came in countless thousands those Russian Pilgrims whose piety and sincere Faith are still the wonder of all Christendom. And here, though their bodily presence is not with us, we know that, as we pray for the Restoration of blood-gilt Holy Russia, we are one in intercession as with the faithful clergy and flock of the glorious Russian Orthodox Church, now suffering renewed persecution at the hands of the Enemies of the Cross so also with your Great Patriarch Confessor and those of his loyal flock who have entered into triumphant rest.

In resolving, if God so will, to be, by His Grace, humble instruments of His Providence in hastening the Hour of that Restoration, we ask your prayers and blessing.

*(Continued from page 39.)*

The drawing of Mr. Stephen Graham which we publish in this number is the gift of Mr. Powys Evans. Our readers will be glad to have it; for Mr. Graham's writings have been a source of delight and instruction to all who know and love the true Russia. One of our editors is reminded of a remark made to him by a Russian some years ago in Moscow: "Mr. Stephen Graham understands us better than we do ourselves." Certainly he has contributed not a little to the bonds of respect and affection which unite so many of the two peoples, and which, for those who know, even Bolshevism has not been able to impair.

*(Continued on page 48.)*



## THE ASSYRIAN APPEAL.

WE imagine that our readers will find very special interest in our frontispiece this month—a very recent portrait of the young Assyrian Patriarch, Issai Mar Shimun, who, as a ward of our Archbishop, is now studying at Canterbury. For obvious reasons it is undesirable that the privacy of his collegiate life should be exploited, and we abstain from giving his biography. But we may say properly that he is now eighteen years old and that his full style is Catholicos of Seleucia-Ktesiphon and Patriarch of the East.

There will be no need to describe here the more recent sufferings of the Assyrians at the hands of the Turks. Those who wish to read an impartial account should get the report of the Estonian General Laidoner, who was sent by the League of Nations to investigate the tragic happenings of last autumn in the Goyan, or that of Mr. Donohoe, the *Daily Chronicle's* commissioner, published, price 2d., by that journal under the title of "The Unspeakable Turk."

As all the world ought to know, the Archbishop of Canterbury requested Sir Henry Lunn to open an Emergency Relief Fund for the victims of that ebullition of Turkish brutality last November. The Committee which Sir Henry Lunn—all honour to his Christian chivalry and philanthropy—initiated in accordance with his Grace's S.O.S. and of which one of our editors is the hon. secretary, has met with a fine response in England, no less than £22,000 having been subscribed by the British public, and, as Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary, has gratefully acknowledged, the Assyrian refugees from Turkey having been thus tided over the hard winter. Nearly all our cathedrals gave collections, as did also a great many of our parish churches and a goodly number of Free Church and Roman Catholic congregations.

The winter is over, indeed, and its need has passed. But there remains the pressing necessity of settling the 30,000 Assyrians now in Iraq and the 70,000 scattered through Persia and Russia, in a new country where they may preserve the life of their nation and Church until their immemorial homelands, north-east of Mosul, which are now desolate under the Turkish tyranny, can be restored to them. The King of Iraq has assigned territory for that purpose and during the summer of 1926 it is proposed to gather together the remnants of this ancient and famous race and to bring them to the land which he offers them. In order to provide them with seed for sowing and agricultural implements, £70,000 is required. It is hoped that their British friends will not be weary of well-doing and that many church collections and personal donations for that end will reach Canon Douglas, 3, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, in

May and June. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Lunn—more power to him—has gone with Lady Surma, the Patriarch's aunt, to America to plead with the people there.

A report of the farewell given Lady Surma appeared in the *Church Times* of February 26th. It may interest our readers to have *verbatim* her own speech and the words with which Canon Douglas introduced her, by the goodness of the British Broadcasting Company, that were broadcast from 2LO throughout England on February 17th.

### *The Introducer (Canon Douglas).*

Lady Surma d' Bait Mar Shimun is here according to programme to speak to you. In introducing her, I should explain who the Assyrians are and her right to speak for them.

The history of the Assyrians goes back more than 3,500 years. Doings of their mighty kings are recorded again and again in the Old Testament from Genesis onwards. You will know how Sennacherib besieged Hezekiah in Jerusalem. Their country was in the north of Mesopotamia, a name which signifies "between the rivers," *i.e.*, the Tigris and Euphrates. Their capital was that Nineveh which repented in ashes at the bidding of the Prophet Jonah. Its ruins are on the bank of the river Tigris opposite to Mosul (which is pronounced Mōs-sūl), a town from which comes the name of the fine fabric "muslin" and about which, as a bone of contention between Great Britain and Turkey, we have heard continually since the War.

In 606 B.C. the Assyrian Empire was destroyed by the Persians and all Mesopotamia became a dominion of the kings of Persia.

The Persians were cousins of the Indians and by religion were Magi, *i.e.*, Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. The Assyrians belonged to the Semitic family, of which the Syrians, the Arabs and the Jews were also members. Go and compare the features of an old Assyrian in the wonderful Assyrian Gallery of the British Museum with those of a Jew to-day and you will see the resemblance. Also Assyrian, Syrian, Arabic and Hebrew were different forms of one language.

Thus Persians and Assyrians being like oil and water, the conquered Assyrians came to be more and more of one block with the Syrians until in the days of Christ they had come to think of themselves as Syrians and spoke the Syrian language for which in the Babylonian captivity the Jews had also exchanged Hebrew and which was the tongue spoken by Christ. Lady Surma will presently repeat the Lord's Prayer in the language which she and her people still speak. It will interest you to know that her people are the only people in the world to-day who speak that language, and that if you used the words which St. Luke records that Christ used to the dead girl, Talitha Cumi, (Damsel arise), any modern Assyrian maiden would understand you.



The Apostles carried the Gospel quickly through the Syrian lands from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia, and the Syrian Church was one of the nursing mothers of Christianity. It would take too long to describe how the Roman Emperors tried to turn the Syrians into Romans by denationalising their Church, how they became Non-conformists and in the seventh century, to escape the Emperors, welcomed the armies of the Moslems. Mahommed, the prophet of Islam, had ordered that all Christians who surrendered should be granted their lives. Islam did not allow them to have rights. So the Assyrians became the *rayat* or cattle of their Moslem masters. That was 1,200 years ago. Many became Moslems but the rest remained stubbornly Christian. In the reign of our Henry VII., the Turkish Sultans conquered the Arabs and made themselves *holifs*, *i.e.*, successors of Mahommed, and rulers of Mesopotamia. How civilized these were even under the Arabs is proved by their missions having converted parts of India and China about the time of William the Conqueror. But the Turks oppressed the Assyrians, whose existence became like a fairy story to Christian Europe. When they were rediscovered all that was left of them was a quarter of a million, living in the hills and plains where Turkey meets Persia and Mesopotamia.

The Archbishop of Canterbury sent them teachers in 1885 to educate and otherwise care for them. In gratitude for that they listened to the appeal of Great Britain when the Great War came. Besides, they loved the Union Jack: when it was in danger they had to fight. But in drawing the sword, they knew that they threw away the scabbard. The Turks had long made up their minds to get rid of their Christian cattle. By expulsion or massacre they were extirpating the Armenians and Greeks. So the whole Assyrian race, except a part known as Chaldeans in the plains, rose up and marched away, men, women and children, through the huge mountains until they came to where the British were. Lady Surma was the heroine of that terrible trek. Little children, old women and children fell and died by the road. A third of the nation perished in it. The British put the non-combatants who came to them alive into a camp at Baqubah. The men went and fought for us. How grandly they fought, our Generals bear admiring witness. When the War was over, the Assyrians wanted to return to their homeland, their beloved mountains and valleys, which had been theirs for thousands of years. But the Turks were there, and to do so was not safe for them. When Great Britain granted peace to Turkey at Lausanne, she demanded that Mosul and the Assyrian country should be included in Mesopotamia—Iraq, as it is now called. The Turks would not agree. So the decision was referred to the League of Nations, the judgment of which was not given till last December. In October, when it became plain that Mosul would

be given to the British mandate, the Turks struck at the unhappy Chaldeans and Assyrians who were back in their own country. As to the horrible things they did to the women and children, there is no doubt. The Estonian General, Laidoner, sent by the League of Nations, had made report. Hundreds of women and girls were taken away into Turkey to join the 30,000 Christian women and children who were there as slaves already. About 10,000 managed to escape. These are in terrible distress and are being kept from starvation by the Assyrian Relief Fund, started by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Canon Douglas, at 3, Memorial Hall, E.C., is its secretary. That is who the Assyrians are.

And now, who is Lady Surma? She is the aunt of the present hereditary chieftain of the Assyrians, who is also their Archbishop and is a lad of seventeen. During the War she was the soul of the nation, giving them inspiration, loving sympathy and courage, sharing every danger and privation which they had to endure. She will go down to history with Nurse Cavell and other noble women as one of the War's heroines. The bodily hardships she bore gladly were nothing to her agonies of mind at the sufferings of her people and to her anxiety for them to-day. Though she is barely forty, her hair is snow-white. Now she will speak for herself.

#### *Lady Surma.*

I have listened to what the gentleman who has introduced me has said. It is all true. We are the last survivors of the ancient and once all-powerful Assyrian civilization. We became Christians at the preaching of the Apostle Thaddæus,—Addai, as we call him.

Our nation and Church of the East was once like the sands of the sea. We sent missionaries to China and far-off India, where our daughter-Church still flourishes at Malabar. We had much literature, art and science. Now we are scattered all over the world, a scanty people—less, perhaps, than 100,000.

Thirty thousand of us are waiting in Iraq and Persia to return to the mountains and plains of our fathers. We love our homelands with a love which even you British cannot understand—its villages and old churches, its trees and rocks and rivers. Yes! it is true we are in exile. We have been massacred and ill-treated. Our women and girls have been taken into horrible and hated slavery. Our nation is nearly dead. But we do not look back. Our ancestors suffered for 1,000 years, because they were stubborn, for the true faith of the Gospel. We knew the risk we ran when we fought for England. We would not take back that which we gave. If the Assyrian name and race must perish because it has been faithful to the Cross and to the Union Jack, we are content. But I speak to plead for our scanty remnant. Surely they have a claim on Great Britain, if not on all Christian civilization. If you can give them



back their homeland, give it them back. But at least take care of them.

Our hearts are hot with thanks to the generous people of London for the money they have given to feed and house those of us who have escaped from the Turk and for keeping them from dying in the cold and rain of the winter. But give us our land, that we may increase and multiply again under the Union Jack and may be saved. We say the Lord's Prayer for you often in our gratitude. Will you pray it sometimes for my sisters and brothers in their danger and misery? I will say it now in Syriac. The words and my accent are those which a woman who learnt it from Christ's own lips would have used.

Lady Surma then recited the Lord's Prayer in Aramaic.

---

(Continued from page 43.)

Americans have not forgotten that the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey, signed some time ago and still awaiting ratification by the United States Senate, is a document which gives tacit consent to a nation whose policy toward racial minorities continues to be definitely anti-Christian and thoroughly barbarous. A protest, signed by 113 bishops of the Episcopal Church, headed by the Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., Bishop of New York, presented to the Senate, says:

"As Americans we should be as solicitous for the performance of our moral duty as for the protection of our material rights. We are asked to resume friendly relations with an avowedly unrepentant and anti-Christian government which destroyed a million inoffensive Christian men, women, and children, expelled from their ancestral homes over a million and a half, and is now holding in slavery in Turkish harems tens of thousands of Christian women and children. We cannot forget that over a million Armenian refugees and exiles are now a people without a country—while their own homeland lies deserted under Turkish domination, that thousands of Armenians fell on the field of battle in defense of our common cause, and that President Wilson and President Harding made solemn pledges to Armenia."

Commenting upon this, *The Living Church* of April 3rd, 1926, says: "The treaty between the United States and Turkey has been slumbering in the Senate because of the opposition of those unpleasant American Christians who put religion and morality ahead of politics and business. The Turks have been engaged in new atrocities. And why shouldn't they? Did the Christian world show any real resentment against their atrocities during ten years or more among the Armenians? What has the Turk to fear to-day?"





[Photo by Raad, Jerusalem.]

THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF PLYMOUTH, PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD  
OFFICIAL ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS PILGRIMAGE, WITH THE REVERENDS  
ARNOLD PINCHARD AND G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM.

## The Christian East

### THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH.

BY THE RT. REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

I am glad to have an opportunity of giving some account of the visit I recently paid to Serbia and the Serbian Church. Perhaps I should say something first about the occasion. Some people, but not all, are aware of what the Church of England did to help the Serbian Theological students during the war. Amongst the large body of boys and young men who joined the Serbian Army in their great retreat over the mountains was the Theological Seminary at Belgrade. They arrived in safety at Corfu, when the Archbishop of Canterbury telegraphed to them an invitation to come to England, and the great body of teachers and students came to this country and were established at Cuddesdon. Many of the older ones, as they finished their Theological course, passed on to Oxford in order to take degrees in the University. As these had been my pupils, and I had had very friendly and pleasant relations with some of them, I had always desired to visit them after they had returned to their own country, and I took the opportunity after Easter this year.

I had expected my visit to be a private one, and was surprised and gratified at the very pleasant reception that I received. Throughout the greater part of our visit we were the guests either of the country, or of the Church, or of the students themselves, and I must express great thanks to all for the kindness, the courtesy, and the hospitality with which we were received; especially may I mention Mr. Gazivoda, of the Foreign Office, who was deputed to look after us in Belgrade; Gospodin Kosta Luković, a deacon, Secretary to the Patriarch, who had been a graduate of Trinity, Cambridge, who accompanied us throughout the country, and who was a most devoted and interesting companion; also I should like to thank Mr. Sitters, the Superintendent of the Y.M.C.A. in Belgrade, and Mrs. Sitters, for their unflinching assistance and help. The others to whom we were indebted were too numerous to mention.

Our visit included, besides Belgrade, Sremski-Karlovci, in the old



Hungarian territory, the traditional seat of the Patriarchate since the 17th century, and the many interesting monasteries in that neighbourhood—Nish, Skoplje (Uskub), Bitolj (Monastir), and Ohrid, besides a visit to the village of Kosjerić, where Dragoljub Popović, an old Oxford student, is parish priest. Amongst many others I made the acquaintance of the Patriarch, whose hospitality we enjoyed in the Palace at Karlovci, a fine building, an inheritance from the Austrian days.

The present Serbian Patriarch is an old man, highly respected for his character and religious life; very much beloved by the village people in his diocese. He is not, I think, as was reported, reactionary in his views, but he is an old man who does not desire to initiate change, and I venture to think that it was better that the Serbian Church should begin by moving somewhat slowly and not running the risk of unwise reform. We also enjoyed the hospitality of the Bishops of Nish, Bitolj, and Ohrid. The Bishop of Nish (Dosite) presides over the largest and most populous diocese in the country with about a million inhabitants. He is a man of great energy and vivacity and exercises a wide influence throughout his diocese, is an eloquent preacher and a vigorous administrator. I was present at the evening service in his Cathedral at Nish, where there was a large congregation, at which, with the assistance of Mr. Luković, I preached, and then attended him at the town of Pirot on the Bulgarian frontier, where he celebrated the Liturgy and dedicated a war memorial—again, as might be expected, with a very large congregation. The Bishop of Bitolj is Father Joseph, who was head of the Seminary when it was at Cuddesdon. He, like the Bishop of Nish, is full of life and energy, and enjoys the respect of the Christian and Mohammedan population alike in his diocese. The Bishop of Ohrid was well known in England as Father Nikolai Velimirovitch. He has the poorest and most remote diocese in the country. It is 150 miles from the main line of railway, and there he exercises his wonderful influence over a very mixed population of Macedonians, Turks, and Albanians. It seemed to me, as far as I could judge, that the Serbian Bishops in Macedonia were doing their best to help in welding together the difficult population of that district. On Palm Sunday, April 25th, I heard Bishop Nikolai preach to a large and crowded congregation, and on the previous day had accompanied him to the springs of Ohrid, about 1½ miles out of the city, where Children's Day had been celebrated.

My visit to Kosjerić was of great interest, as giving me an insight into the Serbian country parish. I met all the leading officials of the village and had a long talk with them about the state of Serbia and the difference from this country. They were most anxious to have information about England. The work of a Serbian parish priest is, in many ways, a hard one, as so much of the religion is a religion of the

home. The people are attached to their church, and are ready to support it. Their attendance is irregular. On Feast Days the church will be crowded, and every family in the place represented: on ordinary Sundays the congregation may be very small, but the parish priest has to visit every house in connexion with every family event of importance, and particularly in connexion with the Slava Day—the commemoration of the traditional date on which the family became Christian. We were very hospitably and comfortably entertained by Dragoljub Popović and waited upon by his wife and sister. I noticed that there was a little library of tracts for the people in the church, an imitation of what is so often done in England, and he told me that whenever there was a congregation of any size he always preached. The people are all peasant proprietors and work hard. As it was a busy time of the year, they were in the fields from five in the morning to sunset. The women work as hard as the men. Previous to the war they did not plough or do heavy work. During the war they had to do it, and they have kept on the practice. I visited the village school. Education is compulsory, but the laws of compulsion are subordinated to the needs of agriculture, and at this time of the year many of the children were engaged in looking after the flocks of sheep, goats, pigs, and cattle.

Let me speak now of the state of the country. There was no country in Europe which suffered more during the war. It had been depleted of almost all its wealth; there was hardly a railway bridge which had not been destroyed; typhus and other diseases abounded. The material recovery seems to be remarkable, as will always be the case in an agricultural country with a peasant proprietorship. Flocks and herds have been restored, the land is cultivated, and there were everywhere signs of moderate wealth. The railways have been restored and the bridges rebuilt; some new railways have been made and many others are contemplated, and the train service is carried on with some irregularity and no great regard to comfort, but the people were obviously travelling in large numbers, and there were no signs anywhere of poverty or destitution. Almost every village now seems to have its motor car, but the roads are for the most part very bad in old Serbia, and particularly in Belgrade and its neighbourhood. In some cases over the mountains in the south there were good, well-paved roads.

The country was confronted with a very difficult problem after the war. Previous to 1912 it was a small homogeneous people of one race and one Church. The war left it the united country of the Jugo-Slavs, with the addition of Croatia, parts of Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and a large part of Macedonia. There has been much controversy between those who demanded a Federal Constitution and those who supported a Central Government, but the Serbians, who represent the strongest section of the people, have insisted upon



the Unified Government. No doubt it means difficulties, friction, hardship in some cases, but I do not doubt that the decision is right, and I believe that the people everywhere are settling down in friendly relations with one another. The political difficulties are probably greater. Part of the new country was the difficult district of Macedonia, through a considerable part of which we travelled, and I have no doubt that it is true to say that that country has never for many centuries enjoyed such a peaceful Government. There has been friction in some places, so I am told; the officials have not always been very conciliatory. There are, of course, two great difficulties: there is the Albanian brigand on the one side who can escape across the frontier to his mountains, and there is the Macedonian patriot on the other side, whose idea of peace is to murder as many people as possible in the supposed interests of either Bulgarian supremacy or Macedonian autonomy. The Komitadjis have, it is hoped, nearly come to an end. The people themselves are determined to enjoy peace, and the habit of confusing insurrection and revolution with progress will gradually die out. Two facts which are, I believe, undoubted, help to show that the Government is on the whole good. Directly the war was over and peace was established, there was a large emigration of the Mohammedan population to Asia Minor; that migration has not only ceased, but those who left have, in many cases, come back with their money lost and sadly disillusioned. They find that the rule of the Christian in Serbia is more favourable to their religion than the rule of the Turk in Anatolia. Moreover, many of those in the Greek territory who bear the name of Bulgarian and are exchanged for Greeks living in Bulgarian territory are anxious to settle not in Bulgaria but in Serbia. In Macedonia there are great plains amongst the mountains—the Kosovo Polje, the great traditional battlefield of Serbia, and the Pelargonian Plain, between Prilep and Bitolj. These until recently were entirely given up to the pasturage of flocks and herds; now new settlements are being made and they are rapidly coming under cultivation. There are, of course, garrisons in every town, and the roads in the more dangerous districts are well patrolled by the Gendarmerie. The impression that one gets is that law and order are being preserved and the agricultural wealth of the country is being developed.

Let me pass to the state of the Church. The Serbian Church found itself faced with much the same problem as the Serbian State. Before 1912 Serbia was a homogeneous Orthodox country, and the adherents of any other religion were a negligible factor. The extension of the country faced it with the problem first of all of making one united Church and then of dealing with a Roman Catholic and Mohammedan population. The Church of Macedonia had been for long a territory in dispute between the Bulgarians and the Greeks; the Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina was subject to

the Patriarch of Constantinople; the Church of Montenegro was an independent Bishopric; the Church of Dalmatia was an autonomous Orthodox Church; the Church of the Hungarian territory was subject to the Patriarch of Karlovci. The first thing that was necessary was to weld these into one united Church, and this has been done. Complaints have been made to me that there had been much controversy and dispute over this. It is difficult to conceive such a process taking place without this controversy. We have only to consider what would have happened in England if we had had the same problem before us, and how irreconcilable would have been the claims put forward by all the different independent Churches. It must be remembered that they had their different systems of Canon law and different customs, and that there was great variety of status, of training and of outlook.

Another problem has been created by the presence of a considerable Roman Catholic population. In Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Herzegovina there is a considerable Catholic population, and a section of the Albanians in Macedonia are also Roman Catholic. Directly after the war the relations of the two Churches were friendly, and the relations of the peoples are still quite friendly, but the attitude of the Roman Clergy has completely changed. They refuse now to have friendly relations and, wherever it is possible, attempt to carry on their usual programme of proselytizing and are causing great bitterness. While the Slovenians are very much in the hands of their priests, there is a strong anti-clerical element in Croatia, and also there is a considerable number of old Catholics. Negotiations have been proceeding for some time with a view to a concordat, but they have not so far been successful. The difficulty arises not so much from any unfriendliness on the part of the Orthodox population and politicians as from the opposition of the Croatians, who are anti-clerical. The two main points upon which difficulties have arisen are: the College of St. Jerome in Rome and the old Catholics. The College of St. Jerome was founded for the benefit of the Slavonic Roman Catholics in Austria, and the Austrian Emperor appointed the Rector. The Jugo-Slav Government makes the same claim, which the Vatican is not willing to concede. The other cause of dispute was, I believe, the treatment of the old Catholics in Croatia. It must be remembered that there are considerable traditions of an anti-Vatican policy in that district, which was the home of Bishop Strossmayer. The Vatican, I believe, demands that the Jugo-Slav Government should refuse to recognize the old Catholics, and that it will not consent to. I should like to add that so far as I was able to judge and was informed these disputes are much more the disputes of politicians and political ecclesiastics, and do not represent dissension amongst the people. The Serbian people are, I think, anxious to live in friendly and kindly relations with their neighbours,



and are not controversial in their habits or intolerant in their nature.

I visited two Theological Seminaries. The Seminary of Belgrade is at present established at Karlovci, and there two of my old pupils, Arsitch and Maritch, are Professors. At Bitolj Bishop Joseph and Bishop Nikolai between them have succeeded in founding a Theological Seminary at which there are over 300 students. There are also, I believe, Seminaries at Prisrend and Cetinje, and it is proposed to found one at Sebenico. There is not, I gather, any great want of candidates for holy orders. The discipline of the Seminaries is severe, and I think the tendency is to overwork the students. The Continental custom of compelling them to learn something of everything and pass an examination in it gives them, of course, a certain training, but also has the effect of depriving them of any great desire to learn anything else for the rest of their lives. Many of the teachers in the Seminaries are Russian refugees, and so are the choirmasters. The Serbians are musical people. Their music, as all who have heard it will know, is attractive and moving and, with the additional advantage of Russian teaching, it should become even better than it has been.

The great problem before the Serbian Church is to adapt itself to completely new conditions. Up till now the duty of the Serbian Church has been to preserve the national tradition and the national religion. Its clergy for long were as much national leaders as religious leaders—more often military leaders as well. Now this side of their work has gone. The national life is centred in the Government, and their work will be in the future entirely of a spiritual character. To adapt oneself to such different conditions is difficult enough. Some of the bishops and clergy are good preachers, and are beginning the work of instruction, but many, of course, have only the traditions of former days. Up till now there has been little demand for intellectual guidance, but continental intellectualism is beginning to influence the country, and again new demands will be made upon them. There is a Theological Faculty in the University at Belgrade in which Father Irene Djorgevitch, one of the Oxford students, is a Professor, but the work of the Church so far has been that of supplying the gaps of the priesthood and of the ordinary education of the priest, and it has not yet been able to turn to the higher University work. That is the problem of all Eastern as of Western Churches at the present time, and if this country could give the Church of Serbia any help in trying to build up the intellectual religious life of its people, it would be help well bestowed.

If I may sum up my impressions—in England we had learned to like the Serbian refugees, and our Serbian pupils. The same feeling which I had always for them in England was corroborated and strengthened by my visit to their country. They are pleasant, kindly hospitable people. They expressed great gratitude for what this

country had done both for their nation and for their Church; they were anxious to repay in some measure the debt that they have incurred; they are enjoying for the first time for many years a period of peace, and the people wish to live at peace with one another and at peace with their neighbours. They have a large well-disciplined army, for the position of Jugo-Slavia will not allow them to trust to a continuance of peaceful relations, but they are not eager to have another war. They want to enjoy the fruits of their victories, and I do not think that it would be the action of Jugo-Slavia that would break the peace of the Balkans. They wish to make friends with Bulgaria; they have concluded treaties with all their neighbours. Certainly every thoughtful person will pray that the storm-clouds of war may not gather together again over this part of the world.

## CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

LETTERS from Constantinople point to the almost certain postponement of the Orthodox Pro-Synod at Mount Athos, at least until next year. Thus, at the end of May, only four of the ten autocephalous churches invited had replied; and of these, while three accepted, the Rumanian Church had expressed its inability to do so until 1927.

The two important articles which, together with the engaging and valuable record of the Third Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage, fill exactly our quota of pages, render it impossible for us to say more than a word or two in this issue about the election of the Patriarch Meletios to the throne of Alexandria. We propose to write at our ease in September about that event which in all human probability is likely to prove pregnant with results of the first magnitude not only for the Orthodox Church but for Christendom in general. Here we will only say that none of his many devoted friends can be more thankful than ourselves that the period of the inactivity of this tried worker for Reunion has been brought to an end and that he has been called to an office of such dignity and opportunity as the Patriarchate of Alexandria. *Eis polla ete, Despota.*

On June 29, the anniversary of last year's Westminster Abbey Nicæan Commemoration, Canon Douglas is to preach on Reunion at All Saint's, Margaret Street, at 11.30. The Bishop of Gibraltar will be the guest at a luncheon at 1.30 p.m., and the Dean of Salisbury will deliver the inaugural lecture of the Nicæan Commemoration Lectureship at King's College at 3 p.m.—his subject being, "The part played by Eustathios at the First Œcumenical Council."

On the preceding evening, Father Bulgakov and Bishop Benjamin will lecture at Sion College at 5 p.m. under the chairmanship of Lord Hugh Cecil.



AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE, BEING THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF 1926.

"TOMORROW, Saturday morning, at 7 a.m., I shall say Mass on Calvary. If the pilgrims care to come, let me know in order to arrange that a great portion of the Mass should be said in English and to prepare a short sermon in that language."

Thus the Archbishop of Jordan. The pilgrims gladly availed themselves of the invitation, and, although the greater part of them were absent on an extension to Galilee, the little Chapel of Calvary was full to overflowing. It was a delightful gesture on the part of the Archbishop, and a further proof of the growth of friendship between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom was sung, and the Archbishop read, as he had promised, some portions of the Mass in English. These included several of the Intercessions, the Gospel, the Nicene Creed, the words of Institution, and the Blessing. As an additional intercession the Archbishop interpolated the Prayer for the Church Militant, and towards the end of the Liturgy gave us a delightful little address in perfect English. "I wish to remind you," he said, "that you are standing on the most sacred spot in Christendom, the Holy Place at which were enacted the final scenes of the Passion, and that beneath this Altar shines the silver disc which covers the place where once the Cross of our Lord was fixed. You are on Golgotha, where countless pilgrims have knelt and prayed, and when you pilgrims return to your distant homes you will recall the joy of this morning and pray for the peace of Jerusalem."

The pilgrims greatly appreciated this privilege, and are not likely to forget the scene of an Orthodox prelate singing Mass on the site of Calvary, with an Anglican Bishop in close proximity. Archbishop Themelis said to me afterwards, "You must ask for this privilege on every pilgrimage, and in a few years' time the whole of the Liturgy may be rendered in English."

I present this little cameo as an introductory to a short article on the third official Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage, for when Anglican and Orthodox can meet together as one body on Calvary, Reunion cannot be far distant.

Once again it may be truly said that we were fortunate in our choice of President. By unanimous approval of the committee Dr. Howard Masterman, Lord Bishop of Plymouth, was chosen, and he, after careful consideration, consented to lead us. We were glad to have the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote: "I am much interested to hear that Dr. Masterman is going with you on your next Eastern Pilgrimage. I am sure that you will find him



Archbishop of Beth- Nazareth: Metropolitan on Archimandrite at  
lehem & President. Palm Sunday. Jaffa.  
On the road to Emmaus. President saying Mass at Tiberias.  
Nazareth: Metropolitan & President. Prelates at Bethlehem.

THESE PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN BY PILGRIMS, TO WHOM WE TENDER OUR THANKS.



a stimulating and forceful leader and companion." Dr. Masterman did not disappoint us; he made himself thoroughly at home from the very beginning, and proved himself to be not only an excellent and dignified President but a pleasant companion to all the pilgrims.

The Primate is kept in touch with the proceedings of each pilgrimage, and although, for obvious reasons, we do not ask for his official approval, he has written several very gracious letters to the Hon. Secretary of the pilgrimage, and an extract of one of these letters may well be quoted:—"What you say about those who are to accompany the pilgrimage this time interests me greatly. I have been looking through your programme, and I think it is very well arranged. Of course, to me, whose journeyings in the Holy Land fifty years ago were always conducted on horse-back, with no wheels anywhere and no speed beyond what the horses could accomplish, it sounds strange to think of the distances which you will cover in a day. The printed summary which you give seems to me to be very well drawn up."

On this occasion the pilgrims sailed from Marseilles in the newest steamship of the Messageries Maritimes, the *Champollion*, so named after a renowned French Egyptologist. Our good friend Captain Piétri, formerly of the s.s. *Sphinx*, met us at Marseilles, and straightway presented us to the Commandant of the *Champollion*, Captain Monod, who from that time became the friend of the pilgrims. Our first thought was accommodation for the services; there was a delightful little playroom set apart for children, but as there were no children on this voyage Captain Monod handed it over to the pilgrimage committee, and here Masses were said every day, Confessions were heard, pilgrims could pray, and on one occasion Fr. Mather held a Quiet Day, for which there were so many applications that the Chapel could hardly hold the retreatants. Fr. Cornibeer was in entire charge of the devotional side of the pilgrimage, both on board ship and in Palestine, acting as Confessor-in-Chief to the pilgrims and rendering much assistance to everyone who needed it. Evensong was said daily on the "poop," and a short address given; pilgrims were provided with hymn sheets containing many favourite hymns and including John Bunyan's:

"Who so beset him round  
With dismal stories,  
Do but themselves confound—  
His strength the more is.  
No foes shall stay his might,  
Though he with giants fight:  
He will make good his right  
To be a pilgrim."

As we were a smaller party on this occasion, the whole pilgrimage



was accommodated in the second-class dining saloon, and here after dinner lectures were given, followed by Compline, which was said by the President. On one evening Dr. Masterman gave an interesting lecture on the History of the Crusades, on another Fr. Usher talked to us of the work of the Anglican Church in Palestine, and on the evening before we arrived at Jaffa, the Secretary gave an address on "What to see, what to do, and how to behave in Jerusalem."

On the Sunday on board the *Champollion* the Captain gave permission to hold solemn Mass in the Winter Garden. All the pilgrims attended, and a large number of French officers and other passengers. The Captain and the Commissaire were both present, and given places of honour near the Altar. Fr. Leach, Vicar of St. Oswald's, Birmingham, sang the Mass, the President assisting pontifically in cope and mitre, Fr. Usher and the Secretary acting as his Chaplains. The pilgrims who formed the choir sang Merbecke for the Ordinary of the Mass, and favourite hymns were sung in the usual places. After the last Gospel we stood in silence while the "Marseillaise" and "God Save the King" were played. It was indeed a most impressive and dignified service. Fr. Tayler, of St. Matthew's, Westminster, was our musical director throughout the pilgrimage, and the pilgrims owe him a debt of gratitude for the diligent care and trouble he took in the reverent and devotional rendering of the hymns and the music of the Mass. A special Bidding Prayer was drawn up by the Committee and approved by the Bishop for this occasion as follows:—

Ye shall pray for the good estate of the Church in Alexandria and for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on those who are called to choose a Patriarch.

Ye shall pray for the good estate of the Orthodox Churches of the East, and for the reunion of Christendom.

Ye shall pray for all persecuted Christians in the Near East and in Russia, especially for the Metropolitan Peter now imprisoned.

Ye shall give thanks to Almighty God for the glorious example of the martyrs of the Eastern Churches in the recent persecutions in Russia and Asia Minor.

Ye shall pray for the President of this pilgrimage and for all the pilgrims.

Ye shall pray for the peace of the world.

And among the faithful departed ye shall pray especially for the soul of Sister Fisher, a former pilgrim, and for all who laid down their lives under the British and French flags, on or in the neighbourhood of the sea on which we are now sailing; on whose souls, and on the souls of all the Faithful departed, may God have mercy.

Later in the day we arrived at Alexandria, and it was with much

disappointment that we heard that Dr. Gwynne, Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan, was unable to welcome us owing to an engagement in Cairo. The pilgrims attended evensong at St. Mark's Anglican Church, where the sermon was preached by Fr. Pinchard. Early the next morning we drove to the Orthodox Church, where we were received with much ceremony by Archbishop Theophanes, the *locum tenens* of the Patriarchate, the Archimandrite Constantine, Secretary of the Patriarchate and the other clergy. After the Archbishop had saluted our President and placed him on the throne on his right, Dr. Masterman read the address drawn up by Canon Douglas and published in the March number of *Christian East*. In reply the Archbishop of Tripoli expressed his joy at receiving the pilgrims once again, wished them a prosperous visit to the Holy Land, and hoped that the day would not be long before the two Churches were united. After the ceremony was over some of us had a private interview with Mgr. Theophanes, who then asked the Bishop of Plymouth to put in writing the substance of the conversation. On our return visit to Alexandria, rather more than a fortnight later, we read the Bishop's letter in the *Egyptian Gazette*, in which it had been published by the Secretary of the Patriarchate. As it contains the substance of our interview with Mgr. Theophanes, and as by the time these words appear in print the new Patriarch will probably have been elected, it may be of future interest to give the letter in full:—

Alexandria, April 12, 1926.

My dear Archbishop,

I have the honour to repeat to Your Lordship all that I had the exceptional pleasure to tell you during our conversation of to-day. We are informed that a rumour is current to the effect that the leaders of our Church have endeavoured to exert influence over the election of the Patriarch of Alexandria. We are in a position to assure Your Lordship that this rumour is altogether unfounded, and has greatly afflicted our Venerable Archbishop, whose only desire is to hold out the right hand of fraternity to whoever will occupy this highest dignity.

We have prayed, and we shall continue praying, so that the Holy Spirit guide those who will elect the Patriarch, and we fervently hope that no mischievous influence will prejudice the friendship which we feel increasing between the two Churches. We are also informed that you have been troubled by certain people who pretend that we aspire to the union with the Latin Church, rather than with the Holy Orthodox Church. We assure Your Lordship that such statements do not at all represent the general opinion of those on behalf of whom we claim to speak. We pray for the visible unity of all the Churches with the help of God. Such being the case, our exertions aim specially at the communion with the Holy Orthodox



Church. We thank God for the *rapprochement* effected between the Anglican and the Orthodox Eastern Church during the last years, because we hold that either contributes somewhat to the perfection of the life of the other. Anglo-Catholics will not in any way participate in any course of action tending to prejudice or delay the full communion towards which God guides us.

Assuring Your Lordship of our great respect and of our sincere gratitude for the very kind reception accorded by you to our pilgrims, I remain Dear Archbishop

Yours in Jesus Christ,  
✠ JOHN HOWARD,  
Bishop of Plymouth.

In justice to our Bishop I would add that the letter was translated into Greek and afterwards retranslated into English.

Visits were then paid to the Coptic and Armenian Churches, where special services of welcome were held, and in each case the Bishop was asked to bless the people. Later, the President entertained representatives of the Anglican and Eastern Churches to lunch at the Hotel Majestic, and a spirit of great friendliness prevailed.

Early the following morning, in brilliant sunshine, we sighted the picturesque terraces of the ancient Joppa, and, the sea being fairly calm, the pilgrims were able to disembark in comfort. On reaching the landing stage, we knelt in joyful thanksgiving, and said an *Our Father*. The Reverend Charles Steer, Chaplain of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem, met us with other Anglican representatives, as did also Archimandrite Constantine, of the local Orthodox Church. Up the steep steps and on to the terrace above, and then we found ourselves once again inside the little Greek Church beloved by pilgrims, where a short service of welcome was held, and our Bishop offered prayers of thanksgiving and petitions for unity, standing in front of the Ikonastasis.

Then with a thrill of expectancy most of the pilgrims hastened to the train that was to take them to the Holy City, while others did the journey by motor car. Never before have we had such a gathering of Eastern clerics to meet us on our arrival in Jerusalem. There was our good friend, the Archbishop of Jordan, representing the Patriarch of Jerusalem; the Archimandrite Cyril, representing Mgr. Tourian, the Armenian Patriarch; a Russian priest, representing Archbishop Anastassy, Bishop Antou of the Syrian-Jacobite Church, a Coptic Priest, representing the Abbot of the Coptic Church, who is now a Bishop; and Fr. Bridgeman, representing the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. It was a goodly company indeed! To our old place, conveniently situate below the hill of Evil Counsel, we walked in solemn procession, the pilgrim choir singing the gradual psalms, followed by the hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden." Prayers of

thanksgiving were said, and then our President blessed us in English, and the Archbishop of Jordan in Greek. Before us on our right was Mount Syon, beneath us the Cedron, and across the valley the Mount of Olives—the pilgrims' first view. "Our feet *shall* stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem!"

But even pilgrims must unpack and must rest, and so we adjourn to our *logements* until the Archbishop of Jordan calls for us in the early afternoon to conduct us to the Church, which all pilgrims must acknowledge as Christendom's most Holy Place—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Punctually at 3 p.m. the pilgrims foregather at the Grand New Hotel, and, headed by the Archbishop of Jordan, the Bishop of Plymouth and his Chaplains, the clergy in academic dress, the slow and stately procession wends its way through the ancient streets and down the Beggars' Steps into the Courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre. Here we are met by the Archimandrite Kyriakos, who, with the Archbishop of Jordan, conducted us into the Church and, after prostrations at the Stone of Anointing, the pilgrims gather round the entrance to the Holy Tomb.

At this moment the magnificent bells of the Crusaders' Tower clang out their joyous welcome with barbaric gaiety, and when they are silent the Archimandrite greets the pilgrims with the following words:

"Bishop, Faithful Pilgrims,

The Holy Mother of Churches, Jerusalem, first and most ancient of all Churches, feels very glad to receive again this year, with full love and sympathy, in this most historical and revered Church of the Holy Anastasis, the third Anglican pilgrimage, pious and devoted, coming from the God-preserved and glorious Empire of Great Britain. With God's protection, faithful pilgrims, you have safely arrived here in this most holy cradle of the Christian Faith, and the Mother of the Churches is very pleased to lead you in the Holy Sepulchre, where is the divine Tomb, in which the most Holy Body of the Saviour of the World was entombed and whence He rose, granting Salvation to man, sanctifying all those who believe in Him and granting eternal life to them.

"You are happy, dear brethren, because you have been blessed by God to achieve a sacred duty to every Christian, the duty of visiting the Holy Land, out of which dawned the light of knowledge and enlightened all the world. You must consider yourselves happy, because to-day you realize your sacred wish, which eagerly enflamed your noble hearts. You must consider yourselves happy even, because, coming to the Holy Tomb of our Jesus with affected hearts, you will be filled with benediction and grace which springs forth and overflows from this extraordinary rock, and whose benediction will be a precious and encouraging *viaticum* for all your life.



"On behalf of the most Reverend Leader of the Mother of Churches, His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Monsignor Damianos, I greet you and welcome you, pious and brave children of the sister Anglican Church, with which we unite happily in close bands of sincere sympathy: I pray heartily our Saviour Jesus Christ, at the Name of Whom 'every knee should bow in heaven, and on earth and beneath the earth,' that He may safeguard you and protect you unaffected by every harm and strengthen you in the paternal faith and virtue, granting to all of you His Divine gifts. Amen.

ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS."

The President then entered and venerated the Holy Tomb. He was followed by the clergy and then by the lay pilgrims, and when this devotion was finished the pilgrims were led in parties to the Chapel of Calvary. Under the Altar of the 12th Station, the Crucifixion, we kissed the silver disc which marks the place of Crucifixion, and one by one the pilgrims came up, knelt and prayed, on this the most sacred spot in Christendom, for the peace of the Church and for the peace of the world. But we could not remain long, for the daily Franciscan procession to the holy sites was almost due, so the Archbishop took us to the Convent of St. Abraham, and showed the pilgrims where the Patriarch allows Anglican priests to say Mass, Mgr. Themelis reminding us that this Chapel adjoined Calvary, so that every priest may know that when he celebrates here he stands close to the very place where our Lord was crucified. Permission for this privilege must always be requested, and shortly before leaving England the Archbishop of Jordan on behalf of the Patriarch wrote me that "the Chapel of Abraham will be at your disposal." As Anglicans, we are under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem; so, naturally, his approval is also asked, and he wrote:—"I shall be very glad to make the usual arrangements for you in the Chapel of St. Abraham." Then, still with the Archbishop as our guide, we visited the Russian Church adjoining the Holy Sepulchre, where remains of the second wall, viz., the city wall at the time of Christ, may be seen, and also the remains of the great Basilica of Constantine. Close to Calvary two Churches were founded by Constantine, that of the Holy Sepulchre and the Basilica of the Holy Cross. The atrium of this latter, with the bases of its columns, still remains, and there are also remnants of walls and a gateway belonging to the Basilica in this Russian building.

This evening Dr. MacInnes came to dine with us at the hotel, and made an excellent speech of welcome to the pilgrims. Afterwards he met the Committee and very kindly promised to give us all the assistance in his power, including the necessary arrangements for our ceremonial visits. Of the permanent Committee only the

Revds. Arnold Pinchard, A. E. Cornibeer and the Secretary were able to take part in the pilgrimage, but the following were co-opted for present purposes, viz., the Revds. H. Mather, Philip Usher, W. H. Tayler, and Sir Hubert Miller, Bart.

It was my privilege to say the first Mass on our first morning in Jerusalem at 5 a.m. The Holy Sepulchre is at its best at that early hour. The sun is just rising and, looking down from the convent terrace on to the Courtyard below, we can see the native women arrive and watch the myriads of swallows flying round and round the glorious Crusader's Tower and the south-west front of the Church, and the words of the psalmist come to our minds:—"The sparrow hath found her an house, and the swallow a nest where she may lay her young: even Thy Altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God."

As we walk along the corridor to the Chapel of St. Abraham we pass a small Greek Church, and through the window can see that Mass is already being said. An ancient Russian nun looks after our needs, lights the lamps and candles, places charcoal and incense in the censer, and puts out the vestments. We cannot talk her language, but make ourselves understood by signs. Pilgrims arrive, and Mass begins. On this first morning most are anxious to come early. Fr. Cornibeer serves my Mass and then I serve his Mass at 5.30 a.m. Afterwards we enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to say our thanksgivings. Several Latin Masses are in progress, and the Copts are singing their liturgy in the little Chapel that adjoins the Holy Tomb.

Our visit to Bethlehem did not differ from previous visits on these occasions. But on our arrival in the great courtyard of the Basilica, while waiting for the rest of the pilgrims to arrive and form into line, we saw a procession of what looked like Orthodox clergy issuing from the great Church, and we were about to go forward and greet them when we discovered that they were accompanied by several Franciscans. It was a company of Greek Uniats, headed by the Bishop of Beyrout, and beyond a friendly stare they took no notice of us whatever.

Then came Gregorios, Bethlehem's titular Archbishop, whose designation is really Archbishop of Hierapolis, to welcome us as an old friend, surrounded by his clergy, together with Mgr. Themelis and the Archimandrite Kyriakos. With great joy we enter the famous Basilica once again, and so down the broken steps to the Grotto where Christ was born and laid in a manger. Then Gregorios puts on his vestments and begins the service of welcome to the pilgrims. When this is over the President kneels and kisses the famous silver star, the priests follow after him, and then the rest of the pilgrims one by one, for we have the whole morning before us. Before we leave the Basilica our Archimandrite reads an address of



welcome in excellent English, and then we file out into the sun-bathed courtyard of the Convent, and the pilgrims sing "O come, all ye faithful," "Once in Royal David's City," followed by the recitation of the Nicene Creed, omitting the *Filioque* clause.

To most of the pilgrims it is a first visit, and so we climb up the steep stairs to the roof of the Convent, and looking towards the "Field of the Shepherds" we sing "While Shepherds watched their flocks by night." Nothing gives the Orthodox clergy greater pleasure than to hear English hymns—and Fr. Tayler sees to it that we sing them tunefully and in strict time.

A few days later some eight pilgrims were invited to spend a night at the Bethlehem Convent, Mgr. Themelis and Fr. Kyriakos accompanying us from Jerusalem. We visited the Field of the Shepherds and saw the foundations of Constantine's Basilica over the Shepherds' Grotto. The view was superb and the colours at their very best. It was my first visit, and I did not mind the admission when I discovered that one of the Orthodox clergy had not been there before. Archbishop Gregorios gave us a hearty welcome to the Convent, and gracious hospitality, and after dinner, from the Convent terrace we saw the whole of the little town bathed in moonlight, and thought of those words—

"O little town of Bethlehem,  
How still we see thee lie!"

Early next morning we all heard Mass in the Grotto of the Nativity, which was filled with Bethlehem peasants, the Mass being said by the village priest and greatly shortened for our benefit; then we returned to breakfast in the garden under the shade of an apricot tree, for although the hour was still early the sun was shining with much power. Before we returned to Jerusalem we went into the schools, where the children were already assembled, although it was only 7.30 a.m., and heard them read in English and sing "God Save the King." And so, after many salutations to the genial Archbishop and his clergy, we drove back to the Holy City, grateful indeed for the precious privilege of our visit, and full of memories not likely to be forgotten.

The Latins have not been unfriendly to us on this pilgrimage, although the Franciscans at Bethlehem made their annual protest that we came in ecclesiastical (*sic*) garments, and therefore it was a ceremonial visit, that we were not Orthodox, and therefore the Greeks had no right to invite us. To which Mgr. Gregorios, a prelate with a pretty wit, replied that he knew nothing about our garments, but he could assure them that we were most certainly Orthodox. The Latin Patriarch has been absent for some months, and no one seems quite sure as to when he will return. According to the New York *Sun* he is in America "to establish in this country chapters of

the Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Knighthood is only bestowed on those who perform some great service for the Church." I do not wish to be unkind, but I shall not be greatly surprised if his Beatitude is not inundated with applications for this Knighthood! Meanwhile, an Apostolic Vicar, Fr. Pascal Robinson, has been sent to Jerusalem by the Vatican for diplomatic reasons, and has made himself very popular with all and sundry religious leaders. It was suggested to the President that we should make a friendly call, and with this object in view we visited the Convent of the Flagellation, where he was in residence. Unfortunately he was away from the city, and when he, with much courtesy, returned our call, we were at Bethlehem. That charming Dominican, Père Vincent, a man of great learning and with a knowledge of Jerusalem and its monuments probably unequalled in the city, paid me a visit one morning and gave me much information that was up-to-date, and was much pleased when I reminded him that on my first visit, now six years ago, I looked upon him as my guide, philosopher and friend, and described him in my book as the *fons originis* of all I did and all I saw, for he furnished me with many useful introductions that I could not otherwise have obtained. One can safely say that on this pilgrimage we were greeted with friendliness on all sides.

His Excellency, the High Commissioner, Lord Plumer, was most kind to the pilgrims, and held a special reception for us at the Residency on the Mount of Olives. This building, a hideous eyesore, was, as everyone knows, built by the Kaiser as a great hostel, and is German property now rented by the British authorities in Palestine. It will shortly be returned to the Germans and Lord and Lady Plumer must find another home.

Early in the afternoon of the second pilgrimage day all the pilgrims visited the beautiful cemetery on Mount Scopus, where hundreds of British officers and men who fell in Palestine lie buried. The President in purple cassock took up his position by the great Cross of Sacrifice, surrounded by his clergy, and a short but very impressive service was held. "De Profundis" and "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel" were sung, prayers were said, and then the hymn—

"Think, O Lord, in mercy  
On the souls of those,  
Who in faith gone from us,  
Now in death repose."

The Bishop gave his blessing, and this memorable little service was over. The High Commissioner, his aide-de-camp, and the ladies of his household were present. His Excellency expressed his appreciation of the service, and said that he hoped similar functions would be held whenever pilgrims visited the Holy City.

From the cemetery the whole pilgrimage drove to the Russian



Convent Church on the Mount of Olives, and paid a ceremonial visit to Archbishop Anastassy, who gave us a right royal welcome with a special service made all the more beautiful by the plaintive singing of the Russian nuns. After the service the President read the address, already published in *The Christian East*, and then Archbishop Anastassy replied in Russian, which was duly done into English by a youthful and charming sub-deacon named Michael. It reads as follows :—

Your Lordship, Most Reverend Fathers, and all of you pious Pilgrims, It is not easy for us to find words of gratitude to correspond to the eloquence of your sincere Christian love expressed in your address.

The mouth can speak with such a strength only from the abundance of the heart, which in truth is enlarged for us : it embraces not only us Russians living here in the Holy Land, but all our suffering Holy Russia, and even those of her sons who, to our great affliction and grief, have left this world, but are to us still living in Christ.

Our heart is deeply touched by your admiring remembrance of the Great Confessor of the Russian Church, the Patriarch Tikhon, who has entered this day according to your beautiful expression, together with others of his loyal flock who were greatly afflicted, into a triumphant rest.

Divine Providence takes advantage of the very misfortunes of our rebellious time in order to bring us Christians into closer contact. We Russian Bishops could not have been able to learn so well about the interior life of the Anglican Church but that our lamentable dispersion placed us in immediate intercourse with it.

Our beloved brothers in Christ, the Metropolitans Antony and Evlogie, who recently attended the Nicæan jubilee solemnities in London, and I, who had the pleasure of being there a year before, have deeply felt the spiritual ties and relationships that bind us to the English Bishops, clergy, and faithful laity. We found there more than a mere expression of brotherly attitude towards us.

We felt in the Anglican Church the breathing of that Catholic principle, which had always been alive in its secret bosom in spite of the great historical commotions which have been outlived by it, and which manifests itself clearly in these days in that so-called Anglo-Catholic Movement that was started in the beginning of the last century at Oxford University. This mighty leaven will gradually modify the whole body of the Anglican Church, and bring back its teaching, discipline, and divine service to the spirit of the Ancient Apostolic Œcumenical Church ; it encourages the soul of the Anglican Church, gives it life, makes it active, and draws it towards union with the Orthodox Church.

We should be extremely glad to greet you according to your words in an emancipated and a renovated Russia coming to pay honour to her sacred relics, but before that desired day can come, we greet

you with pleasure on this sacred Mount of Olives, which is beloved by all Russian pilgrims, and where you to-day compensate us for their absence, for you are inspired by the same high emotions which they brought with them.

From the top of this Holy Mountain Jesus Christ triumphantly entered into Jerusalem, on the eve of His sufferings ; from here, too, He ascended in glory to Heaven, leaving to us a joyous promise, " Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." We find heart here to pray the Heavenly Pilot to hasten the realization of that time, and through the intercourse of love to lead us to an indivisible unity of faith, to accomplish the fullness of His Church, and to let all of us be one in Jesus Christ our Redeemer.

Permit us to end our greeting with the words of the Psalm, which once the crowd enthusiastically sang at the sight of the Lord's march to Jerusalem, and which up to this day resounds on this sacred Mount, " Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord."

✠ ARCHBISHOP ANASTASSY.

The good Archbishop was greatly disappointed that we could not remain to take tea with him (he was quite prepared to entertain the whole body of pilgrims), but having much to do on this second day of pilgrimage, we promised to visit him again later on. The pilgrims were delighted with the superb view from the Russian Convent, the atmosphere was fairly clear, and the Dead Sea appeared to be within a few miles, whereas it must have been at least 3,500 feet below us. Beyond rose the distant mountains of Moab, looking blue in the haze that covered them ; towards the south-east was the road to Jericho, to the left the village of Bethany, whilst far in the distance to the south could be seen the " Frank " Mountain, with the heights of Bethlehem and Tirkoah. The ground all around is strewn with crimson anemones (these *are* the advantages of an earlier pilgrimage)—the almond tree gives out its blossoms, and the fig-tree its tender leaves. It is all very beautiful, and so was the pleasant though steep descent by the Church of the Paternoster to the traditional site of the *Dominus flevit*, where it is said that the Lord wept over the city, and so to the foot of Mount Olivet and into the Garden of Gethsemane. The Franciscans have now built a handsome Basilica over the traditional site of the Grotto of the Agony, where our Lord knelt apart on the night in which He was betrayed, the actual stone being now in front of the altar, but the Church does undoubtedly dwarf the Garden, which is only just saved from looking like a modern Italian garden by the presence of the ancient and gnarled old olive trees. By these trees the pilgrims knelt and prayed, the while the courteous Franciscan in charge plucked various flowers as a friendly offering to the Bishop. On leaving the Garden



the pilgrims paid their devotions at the little Church of the Tomb of our Lady close by, said to be the most ancient church in Palestine.

One morning I heard Mass in four different languages. After my English Mass in the Chapel of St. Abraham, a Welsh pilgrim-priest celebrated in his native tongue, then to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for part of the Coptic Mass, at the conclusion of which the priest distributed *pain bénit* and sprinkled his congregation with rose water, so that, as the Coptic Bishop told me later, the people might smell the fragrant perfume and thus know that they had been to Mass. Then to the Chapel of Calvary, where the Latins were celebrating High Mass, and a young friar was professed. They were singing *Missa de Angelis* quite nicely, in spite of nasal voices and a wheezing harmonium.

On this same morning we paid ceremonial calls on the various heads of the Eastern Churches. The Bishop in Jerusalem kindly sent his *cavass*, who, with heavy silver staff, kept the course clear for our procession. The President with his Chaplains led the way, and he was accompanied by most of the priest-pilgrims in full academics. Our first visit was to Mgr. Tourain, the Armenian Patriarch, who fortunately speaks French fluently. He was obviously glad to see us again, and gave us a very hearty welcome. When the President had read the address drawn up by Canon Douglas and already published in *The Christian East*, he conversed freely with us, and expressed his joy at welcoming the pilgrimage for the third time; especially was he grateful for our continued sympathy with and help given to the suffering Armenian refugees. From the Armenian Patriarch we proceeded to the "House of John Mark," the Syrian-Jacobite headquarters. It was with great pleasure that we greeted Bishop Antou once again. Some of us had met him last year in Stockholm, and he always expects an annual visit from the pilgrims during their stay in the Holy City. In the Bishop's house we found the Syrian Patriarch, who was on a visit to Jerusalem. He is a handsome man and reigns over a Patriarchate, so he told us, greater than the size of Europe. The Anglican Bishop's secretary was with us on these visits, and acted as interpreter throughout. The next visit was to the Coptic Abbot, who since last year has become a Bishop, and then to our dark friends the Abyssinians, whose Bishop, recently elected, is quite youthful and very friendly. Fortunately there is now a layman attached to the Abyssinians who speaks English, and thus conversation was not so difficult as in former years.

The Anglican Bishop held a reception for the pilgrims, as usual, on the Saturday afternoon, and invited the heads of various Churches to meet us. On this occasion I had a long talk with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the aid of Mr. Said, his major-domo, who acted as interpreter. He spoke of his experiences in England with much

pleasure, of his sorrow at the death of Patriarch Photios, who, he said, was only slightly younger than himself, of his affection for our Primate and the Bishop of London, and regretted very much indeed that Canon Douglas was not of our number. Then he told me of the Patriarchate troubles connected with the Commission; of this he spoke very fully, and seemed anxious that it should be known that the Patriarchate was anxious to help the Commission in any way that did not involve its humiliation. Later on Mr. Said came to see me at the Patriarch's wish about the differences between him and the Colonial Office in the matter of selling property towards the payment of a debt which now amounted to £45,000. Up to the beginning of the War accounts balanced, but since that date, owing to the lack of pilgrims, the Patriarchate had suffered great losses. Therefore a Commission was appointed and accepted by the Patriarch, but there had been constant friction between members of the Commission and His Beatitude, which seems to have been caused by the action of a junior official who has since been removed, and therefore matters were likely to be smoother in the future. Things have also been made less difficult by the appointment of Lord Plumer as High Commissioner in the place of Sir Herbert Samuel. The former is absolutely impartial, and neither assists nor opposes the Patriarchate, whereas Sir Herbert Samuel was bent on playing into the hands of the Zionists. However, most of the lands of the Patriarchate, always excepting those of religious or historical value, have been sold. To sum up, the Patriarch is co-operating with the present Commission out of respect for the senior personnel under a new presidency, though he refuses to recognize the Ordinance.

*En passant*, the mention of Lord Plumer's name recalls to my mind a very prevalent rumour in Jerusalem, which let us trust is not true, namely, that the present High Commissioner will not remain long at his post, possibly two years at the utmost, in order to regulate matters, and then Sir Alfred Mond will be called in to succeed him. This is confidently believed by the Zionists—Heaven grant it may not be true! There are some burdens that not even the long-suffering and much-enduring Arab will bear!

To return to the Bishop's garden party, I had a long and interesting talk on the general religious situation in England with the Armenian Patriarch and Archbishop Anastassy. They were greatly interested, and one was able to note how much more friendly the heads of the Eastern Church have become year by year. After a photograph had been taken of a very representative group of Orthodox and Anglican prelates and priests—the Bishop of Jerusalem in the centre, with the Patriarch on his right, and the Bishop of Plymouth on his left—Dr. MacInnes greatly interested the pilgrims by showing them his wonderful collection of treasures, and then explaining their meaning.

The following morning, Good Shepherd Sunday, many Masses



were said by pilgrim-priests in the Chapel of St. Abraham and St. George's Cathedral. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre presented a wonderful sight in these early hours, all sorts of types and conditions of people worshipping at their different altars, several squatting—I can use no other word—on the floor, looking very much at home and with a complete absence of self-consciousness. The Patriarch was pontificating at the Solemn Liturgy in the Greek Catholikon—it was the Orthodox Passion Sunday—and on his departure the bells of the Crusaders' Tower rang out in their customary barbaric but altogether delightful manner.

Later in the morning the pilgrims attended High Mass at St. George's, the Cathedral clergy officiating, the musical portions of the service being sung by the pilgrim choir under the direction of Fr. Tayler, the Bishop of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Plymouth being vested in cope and mitre. The service was preceded by a short and excellent sermon from our President, who gave a very lucid explanation of the *raison d'être* of our pilgrimage.

Preaching from the text, "What mean ye by this service," he said that this was the third time that a body of Anglo-Catholic pilgrims had come to offer their devotions at the Holy Places. Who were these pilgrims? They were a body of men and women who had seen the vision that they believed our Lord had seen in this city of Jerusalem; the vision of a world-wide society, one, not only in inner sympathy, but openly, manifestly, one Catholic and Apostolic Church. It was to further this unity that our pilgrims come year after year. And every year we grow more conscious of the warmth and sincerity of the welcome that is offered to us by the great Churches of the East. We bring no rich gifts such as the Wise Men brought to the home at Bethlehem, but we bring our greetings and our prayers. We bring our greetings—the greetings of many thousands of Christian men and women for whom we speak. We know that the official leaders of the Churches have to move cautiously, for many misunderstandings have to be cleared out of the way. But just because we are an unofficial body we can speak and act more freely, when we tell our brethren of the Eastern Churches that there is a great company of men and women who are prepared to give much and risk much for the fulfilment of our Lord's high-priestly prayer.

And we bring our prayers. We have come here to learn how to pray better; to learn how to understand better the mind of Jesus Christ as we offer our devotions in the places where He lived, and prayed and suffered. For we believe that the key to reunion is here—in Jerusalem, Olivet, Bethlehem, Nazareth. In deeper devotion to Jesus Christ we shall find a force strong enough to sweep away all barriers of isolation and misunderstanding, and make us one in the sacramental fellowship of His Cross and Passion.

After Mass several of us lunched with Lord Plumer, and then drove

to that delightful and most picturesque of all villages, Ain Karim, the birthplace of St. John Baptist, and the scene of the Visitation of our Lady to St. Elizabeth, to pay a visit to that wonderful lady, Miss Carey, who has a House of Rest in this charming spot, where she delights to welcome pilgrims. Many of our pilgrims visited her on this Sunday afternoon, and many teas were provided. But the President, Fr. Cornibeer, Fr. Tayler, and I were due at Archbishop Anastassy's Convent near by; he had come from Jerusalem to receive us, and prepared a very sumptuous tea *à la russe* in our honour. And while we drank his tea, all quietly there entered some Russian nuns, who sang to us as only those trained women can sing, pathetic and entrancing. Michael was there also, and we kept him busy at his translations, which he seemed thoroughly to enjoy.

The following day saw the last features of organized arrangements for the pilgrims. We began the day with Corporate Communion at St. George's at 6 a.m., the Bishop of Jerusalem officiating, and practically all the pilgrims made their Communions. This morning the Patriarch received the pilgrims, having been unable to do so before owing to slight indisposition. As a matter of fact His Beatitude looked very tired, and therefore the ceremony was cut somewhat short. We walked in solemn procession from the hotel, headed by the Patriarchate and the Anglican Bishop's *cavass*, and the Patriarch received us *more solito* in the great salon. After presenting our President, the Patriarch said a few words of welcome, mentioning the fact that he received us "as Orthodox pilgrims," and he was altogether very gracious. Dr. Masterman then read our address of respect to His Beatitude (see *The Christian East*, March, 1926), who then made reply as follows:—

Most Reverend and Beloved Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,  
Faithful Pilgrims,

It is a pleasure to us to welcome you in the country which God from the outset loved, and which was sanctified and glorified by the life, teachings, and miracles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The British nation is entitled to be proud of the marvellous civilization by which they illuminate the world, but this glorious nation can rather boast for the deep piety by which it is adorned, and which is the only source and true cause of its grandeur and magnificence.

We have a striking evidence of this piety in your yearly pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which on one hand strengthens your devoutness, and on the other supplies you with great spiritual benefits, and through you to all your grand and blessed fatherland.

We beg to express to you our congratulations for your piety and devoutness, pray the Almighty God to help you to complete your holy pilgrimage and return to your homes safely and in good health,



and to invoke upon you and all your countrymen the abundant blessing of the Holy Grotto, Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre, and all the other Sacred Shrines.

May the Grace of God be always with all of you. Amen.

The clergy and lay pilgrims were then presented individually, and each received a photograph of the Patriarch and a souvenir album, and when all had been presented, a special honour was reserved for Fr. Humphreys (our oldest pilgrim, and this is his third pilgrimage), who, representing the Church of Wales, handed to the Patriarch a letter of cordial respect and greeting from the Archbishop of the Province. Fr. Kyriakos made the introductions, and looked after us generally.

Shortly after this reception the Patriarch conferred the ancient order of Knight Commander of the Holy Sepulchre, with certificate and insignia, on the Reverend Arnold Pinchard, Secretary General of the English Church Union, in token of appreciation for his labours on behalf of Reunion, and the President of the pilgrimage handed the decoration to Fr. Pinchard and congratulated him, in the presence of the pilgrims, on the same evening.

From time to time one of the St. George's clergy came to dine with us and discuss matters with the Committee, and we owe a debt of gratitude to Fr. Steer and Fr. Bridgeman for the help they rendered us on many occasions. We were all sorry that Dr. Danby was on furlough, and I know that he regretted having to leave Jerusalem before the arrival of the pilgrimage.

Sir Ronald Storrs gave us great assistance. He had been absent from Jerusalem during our first few days in the city, but on the day of his return he dined with us and afterwards gave a very interesting lecture on the Pro-Jerusalem Society and the work it had done during the past six years of its existence—I can remember its opening day and the speech that G. K. Chesterton made on that occasion—undoubtedly the Society had been the salvation of the ancient city from the vandalism of those who wish to modernize it. No vulgar advertising sign posts are allowed to appear in the fields of any part of the country. *O si sic omnes!*

Some of the pilgrims who are taking the shortened tour left Jerusalem to-day for Galilee and Nazareth in charge of Mr. Pickering and Canon Steele, Vicar of the Church of the Ascension, Victoria Docks, and others, under the guidance of the Archbishop of Jordan, went to Jericho, Jordan and the Dead Sea. The Archbishop is indefatigable in his care and attention towards us, and nothing is too much trouble to him. He took a company of pilgrims to the valley of the Cedron, and showed us many things we had not noticed before, explaining them in his own charming manner. Needless to say, the pilgrims were delighted.

On two evenings different groups of pilgrims made the devotional

walk from the Cenaculum to Gethsemane, accompanied by several of the St. George's clergy and laity. We met outside the traditional house of the Last Supper, where the Gospel story of the Institution was read and prayers were said. Then we descended Mount Ophal, while the pilgrims meditated or prayed silently. The experience was beautiful in its simplicity as in its silence. The night was perfect, still and warm, the whole landscape bathed in moonlight and even every stone was clearly outlined. After crossing the Brook Cedron we skirted the village of Siloé, where we could hear the Moslem inhabitants practising dances in preparation for their approaching festa, Nebi Musà, and so by "Absalom's tomb" along the valley of Jehoshaphat until we reached Gethsemane. Archbishop Anastassy had invited us to visit the upper part of the Garden, which belongs to the Russian Church, which is considerably more natural and picturesque and less superficial than the Franciscan enclosure. Here was read the Gospel story of the Agony, and the pilgrims knelt among the olive trees and pictured to themselves the scene of that awful night. It was a memorable evening—the walk, the silence, the Gospel story, the Garden by moonlight—and was to most of us one of the most impressive events of the pilgrimage.

Before leaving the Garden, the Russian priest who had accompanied us asked us to visit the Church of St. Mary Magdalene. Here lies buried the saintly Grand Duchess Elizabeth Theodorovna, granddaughter of Queen Victoria, who founded the Community of Mercy in Moscow. She was murdered by the Bolsheviks in Siberia, and during the "White Army" occupation her body was found and ultimately conveyed to Jerusalem "and laid to rest beneath the Church of St. Mary Magdalene on Mount Olivet, a church built by the Emperor Alexander III.," as Mme. Alexeieff tells us in a recent number of *The Christian East*. We prayed for the soul of this glorious martyr, then the Russian priest blessed us, and the pilgrims departed to their homes.

One glorious morning some of us paid a visit to Emmaus, "which was from Jerusalem about three score furlongs" (St. Luke xxiv., 13). There seems to be a great difference of opinion as regards the authenticity of this site. A Jewish historian says, "it is a place truly named Ammaus, distant some 60 stades from Jerusalem, evidently the Emmaus of the Gospel." However that may be, we motored some distance along the Jaffa road, and at a certain place, in full view of the village of Ain Karim, we had to take donkeys to accomplish the remaining 3½ miles through a beautiful and undulating country. This, according to tradition, was the country of St. Cleopas and of his son St. Simeon, who afterwards became the second Bishop of Jerusalem. The strongest support to this tradition lies in an ancient church, the ruins of which were discovered in 1870, probably of the Byzantine period. The present church, built on the traditional spot



of the meeting between Christ and the two disciples, dates from 1901, and is a truly magnificent romanesque edifice, but the old stones of the ancient church, kept in their places with much care, form its finest ornament. Close by is shown the site of the house of St. Cleopas, with its stout wall, which may still be seen rising above the ground.

The day before the pilgrimage finally broke up into two parties, a banquet was given under the auspices of Sir Henry Lunn, who was represented by Mr. H. R. Pickering, in the great hall of the New Grand Hotel. The invitations were, as on former occasions, sent out by Sir Ronald Storrs, who also most kindly made himself responsible for the somewhat difficult matter of precedence in seating. The President of the pilgrimage, the Bishop of Plymouth, took the chair, and was supported by the Governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, the Archbishop of Askalon representing the Patriarch, Mgr. Tourain, the Armenian Patriarch, Ignatius Elias III., Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, the Russian Archbishop Anastassy, Bishop Antou, the Coptic Bishop Basilios, the Abyssinian Bishop, Archimandrite Kyriakos (Orthodox), Archimandrite Kyrillos (Armenian), the Revd. Charles Steer, representing the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, who to our regret had to go to Cairo, the Revd. C. Bridgeman, the American Chaplain, the Revd. Saleh Saba, pastor of St. Paul's Arab Church, the Revd. J. E. Hanauer and the Revd. M. L. Maxwell, of Christ Church. The pilgrims were represented by the Revds. Arnold Pinchard, A. E. Cornibeer, H. Mather, W. H. S. Tayler, and G. Napier Whittingham, Sir Hubert Miller, Bart., Major Baillie Hamilton, and Mr. H. R. Pickering. The *menu* card, which was drawn up by Mr. D. N. Tadros, who in these matters relieves a somewhat overworked Secretary from all embarrassing details, describes the dinner as "given by Sir Henry Lunn, M.D., J.P., in honour of the President and the Committee, together with their friends, in the Holy Land," a dainty and suggestive legend. Below follows a double *menu*, one *gras* for the pilgrims, the other *maigre* for their friends, for according to Eastern reckoning we are in Greater Lent. Many were the speeches in different languages, and many the toasts given—a most enjoyable and useful evening from every point of view.

The next morning what was known as "A" party, some 68 in number, departed to Jaffa on their return journey to England under the care of the Revd. Arnold Pinchard and Mr. H. R. Pickering. It was a very happy thought, conceived by our President, to give these pilgrims a good send-off. Accompanied by the Secretary, he drove ahead some three miles along the Jaffa road, and there, close to a stone quarry, awaited their coming. It had been kept a secret, and great was their surprise when they found themselves held up, but not by brigands but by a Bishop. When all had dismounted and were comfortably settled in the quarry, we sang "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds," with its glad refrain, the Secretary said a

few words, and the Bishop gave his farewell blessing, a stay of not more than five minutes, which as some of the pilgrims remarked just made all the difference. The rest of the pilgrims remained two days longer in Jerusalem, a very happy time for most of them, with complete freedom to visit and revisit favourite spots: some went in the early morning to watch the sun rise over the Hills of Moab, by the Dead Sea: other adventurous spirits motored to Transjordan, and had a most enjoyable time, and some of us spent the days in farewell visits and interviews with leading ecclesiastics. One must not forget the kindly hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Tadros, who invited several of us to spend our last evening at their very charming villa, a *beau geste* greatly appreciated.

On our last morning I said the first Mass in the Chapel of St. Abraham, and was served by Mr. Beale, of the Air Force, who was already known to several of the pilgrims, and spent his furlough with us in Jerusalem: and afterwards some of us paid a farewell visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We kissed the Holy Tomb and prayed on Calvary, and in those quiet moments were able to sum up all the blessings received during this wonderful pilgrimage.

The Archimandrite Kyriakos, on behalf of the Patriarch, comes to bid us farewell, Archbishop Anastassy sends an offering of home-made cake and a great jar of honey, several other of our friends are anxious for a last word. The pilgrims lead the way, the Bishop and Committee follow behind in the last cars. We bid a final adieu to the Holy City from the top of Mount Scopus—and depart along that glorious route to Nazareth which I have described often before. We stop at Jacob's Well, where we hope that some day the Anglican Church may rise to the occasion and, as a splendid gesture, complete the noble structure begun some years before the war and never finished. How one would love to see a magnificent church built over that holy spot where our Lord once had converse with the Samaritan woman! And so between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim to Nablus, where in the spacious and cool dining room of the Hotel Palestine we found lunch awaiting us, and where the pilgrims could rest during the great heat.

Shortly after our arrival at Nazareth we paid a visit to Mgr. Cleopas, its Metropolitan, who was overjoyed to greet us again, and was delighted that we were going to spend the week-end in that lovely city. At once he insisted that we should take advantage of his private Chapel at the Metropole for our Masses, that we should take a prominent part in the Palm Sunday procession—for the next day was Orthodox Palm Sunday—and that we should use the terrace of the Greek Convent for our Masses at Tiberias, and that he would go to Galilee with us to make the necessary arrangements. He had not forgotten the question put to him by a member of the Committee last year as to whether dragons could still be seen on the banks of



the Jordan, and asked for the name and address of his questioner, so that he might write him full proofs.

Next morning at an early hour the pilgrims went to Mass at the C.M.S. Church, which is served by an Arab Pastor; the Bishop celebrated, and most of the pilgrims made their Communions. Later we went to the Greek Church of the Annunciation in full robes, the Bishop vested in cope and mitre. The Mass had already begun as we processed through the Ikonastasis into the Church, where seats were arranged for us in a circle round the Metropolitan's throne, the Bishop being given a throne to himself. The little church was thronged by a homely crowd, who all seemed so enthusiastic that they could not keep still for a moment, especially the children; it was so evidently their Father's house. While the Epistle was being sung the Deacon came to me and asked if one of our priests would read the Gospel in English after it had been sung in Greek; I told him to ask the President, who was then within the Ikonastasis. At the given moment the Bishop of Plymouth came to the entrance, and there read the Gospel for the feast of St. Mark in English, it being that Saint's day according to Western Kalendar. At the conclusion of the Mass a monster procession was formed, in which our Bishop walked with the Metropolitan, the former in cope and mitre, the latter wearing his crown, all the priests wearing their cassock, gown, and cap, following behind, and the lay pilgrims and countless Nazarenes walking, running, and cheering after them. It was a wonderful sight, and one which will be remembered in Nazareth for many a year, and will not be forgotten by our pilgrims. Thrice we perambulated the church, and then, the others dispersing, Mgr. Cleopas invited us into the Chapel of the Annunciation, in which is situated the Virgin's Spring. Many prayers were said in Greek and English, and then each pilgrim knelt and drank from the well, on the traditional spot where Gabriel appeared to Mary. Then the Metropolitan spoke to us words of welcome in Greek, of which the following is a literal translation, done into English by one of his priests:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I warmly welcome you and do thank the Almighty God for this great privilege of meeting you in this holy town—Nazareth—even in this most ancient Christian historical holy place.

"In this memorable moment you are standing in that holy place, which tradition as well as history testify to the fact that in this very place the Archangel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary, and announced to her in a miraculous way that she was to become the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Hence this church has ever been known as the Church of the Annunciation, and from this very town Christianity sprang and spread over the world.

"From the earliest centuries of Christianity, a large Cathedral

was built on this very place, but owing to the successive conquests in Palestine and the severe persecution of Christians, that famous Cathedral was destroyed, and only this small church remains standing on this sacred spot.

"Beneath this church runs the only spring known as St. Mary's Well, from which the old as well as the present inhabitants of Nazareth drank and still drink. These are the old stairs on which the Nazarenes used to descend, on their way down, to fill their jars with the fresh water of this spring, and these are the other stairs which they used to ascend, on their way up.

"Now, picture to yourselves, for a moment, the Holy Virgin coming to draw water from this very place, with a water jar on her head, and catching her little baby, Jesus, by the hand, and coming down these stairs. Then picture again how often that little boy Jesus, playing with other little boys, his neighbours and friends, would come to this very place to drink, worn out with play and sweating all over, just as you see little boys nowadays still do.

"Kings and princes, generals and prominent men, rich and poor, have visited this holy place and drunk from this spring. Now if Nazareth can well boast of being the source from which Christianity sprang and spread all over the world, then this spring can also well claim a very great honour with regard to its connection with the life of our Saviour.

"No doubt you have read and heard of the holiness of this place which you have now seen and heard a short history thereof. Therefore, let us bow with reverence and pray to the Almighty God to grant peace and salvation to all the world, pray for yourselves and for those who are dear to you, for his Majesty our great King George the Fifth, for the Royal Family, for the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and for the Church in general, that the time may soon come when all will be true worshippers of the real God and His Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

✠ CLEOPAS,

Metropolitan of Nazareth."

Then we adjourned to the Metropole for refreshment, and complimentary speeches were made by Anglican and Orthodox.

The same afternoon several of us made the ascent of Tabor, the Mount of Transfiguration. The road has now been completed, and one can drive to the summit. It is somewhat dangerous, and needs a careful and skilful driver. We visited the Greek church, which, according to tradition, marks the scene of the Transfiguration, and here we were greeted by a priest also named Constantine; afterwards we inspected the Franciscan church. Throughout this archdiocese Latins and Orthodox seem to be on very friendly terms with each



other—a delightful change from the atmosphere of Jerusalem; this is undoubtedly due to the benign influence of the Metropolitan. The interior of the Franciscan church is magnificent, one of the finest modern basilicas I have yet seen.

"Tabor rises up to heaven like an altar that the Creator built to himself," says Guérin most truly, for the majestic dome soars quite suddenly up above the adjoining valley and is some 2,550 feet above the Lake of Galilee. Its shape is graceful, its site most picturesque, its vegetation fertile, while the panorama is altogether splendid; indeed, it stands out among all the mountains of Palestine. The summit forms a vast tableland nearly a quarter of a mile in length. The natives call Mount Tabor *Jebel et Tour*, which means *mountain par excellence*, or holy mountain. The peaceful situation and the charm of its holy atmosphere made it difficult to tear ourselves away.

Later in the evening we went on the terrace of the hotel, with candles to light us, and the Bishop conducted a short service, which included "Magnificat," "Ave Maris Stella," and the "Angelus."

The next morning Fr. Mather and I arrived at the Metropolitane shortly before 5 a.m., just as Mgr. Cleopas was descending the iron staircase to open the Chapel for us. He conducted us behind the Ikonostasis, and there made us robe, and saw to it that we lacked nothing. One of his priests stood by the Altar while I said Mass, and the Metropolitan was, with another priest, in the Chapel. So the Masses went on one after another until 7 a.m., and Mgr. Cleopas, as our kindly host, remained throughout, either within or without the Chapel.

At 9 a.m., by which time the sun was high in the heavens and the heat already great, we called for the Metropolitan and with him drove to Cana of Galilee, or *Kefr Kenna*, as it is called by the natives, where we had a great reception from the clergy and some faithful laity; prayers were said in the Orthodox church, and our Bishop asked to give the blessing. After this (a delightful gesture) the Metropolitan took us to the Latin church, where he was treated with much respect by the Austrian friar, who showed us the objects of interest.

Then through the valley of Zabulon, where the pilgrims of the Middle Ages placed the Field of Wheat through which our Saviour passed on the Sabbath Day, when his Disciples, being hungry, plucked the ears of corn, past the Horns of Hatten (*Quorum Hattèn*), the last stand of the Crusaders, and so through the plain of Sharon of Galilee down the steep hill that takes us to the modern town of Tiberias. Mgr. Cleopas insisted on our going direct to the Greek convent, which comprises a small picturesque chapel in a crypt and lodgings for the twenty Greek families that live in Tiberias, and a great terrace right on the Lake, with a splendid panorama. In a

corner of this terrace there is a summer-house built of dried palms, and here the Metropolitan suggested that we should say our Masses, quite an ideal spot, with nothing between it and the Lake. The local priest, Arcadios, was summoned and asked to prepare the chapel for use on the following morning. Mgr. Cleopas lunched with the pilgrims; we drank his health and thanked him for all his kindness and courtesy, and he, in his turn, made a charming little speech in French, expressing his pleasure at being able to do something practical for the cause of Reunion.

Afterwards we had a long talk about many things. He was most anxious that the Archbishop of Nubia should be elected Patriarch of Alexandria, chiefly because he was a good man, a great friend to England, and enthusiastic in the cause of Reunion. He did not think that we in England quite realized what a tower of strength it would be to us were Nicholas of Nubia elected. For himself he felt assured that this would be the case. Cleopas was on the list of candidates for this Patriarchate, but withdrew his name of his own volition.

Possibly he will be appointed Archbishop of Sinai, as he is a learned man, and the monks are anxious to have him for their head. If this becomes a *fait accompli* it will be a very great loss to Nazareth, and future pilgrims will miss him, as he is undoubtedly one of the most charming and courteous prelates we have met. He is a great scholar and has visited for research work most of the famous libraries and museums in Europe, but he has never visited England. On the question of Latin propaganda he was very definite, and as a matter of fact I found throughout Palestine that this question was engaging Orthodox attention very closely. In Jerusalem I was told by a Latin priest that one of the objects of the visit of the Apostolic Vicar was to form a closer *liaison* between the Uniates and the Roman Catholics, and a Greek Archbishop informed me that it was quite likely that in the event of the resignation of the Latin Patriarch a Greek Uniat would be appointed in his place as a means of undermining the Orthodox Church and of obtaining a large number of adherents to the Papacy. Cleopas, more in sorrow than in anger, told me that Latin propaganda was very rife in all parts of the country, and that this propaganda was amongst the Orthodox and other members of the Eastern Church, for the work of the Latins among the Moslems and Jews had but little result. Many were the questions I was asked about the attitude of Anglo-Catholics to the Papacy and Reunion with Rome. The unfortunate statement made by an Oxford divine and published in a recent tractate has found its way to Palestine. Assurance was given that only a negligible minority of Anglicans imagined that Reunion with Rome was of greater importance than Reunion with the Orthodox Church, and it was pointed out that one of the chief objects of the Pilgrimage Association was to do all in our power to bring about unity between the Anglican



and Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Metropolitan of Nazareth, in expressing his enthusiasm for such reunion, added that such unity would probably effect the reunion of the Armenian and other Eastern religions with the Church of Constantinople, which would mean the strengthening of the power of all the Churches concerned.

Next morning at a quarter to five Fr. Cornibeer and I escorted many pilgrims to the Greek convent, where at the place before mentioned I said the first Mass, and he served me. It was a glorious experience! The priest Pascal had arranged everything for us, and was present throughout the Mass. The Altar was just above the lake, and faced the mountains of Gadara, and just as the offertory was reached the sun appeared above the hills. It was altogether beautiful. Outside our little palm-roofed chapel several Greek women were watching the service. On the other side we could see people leaning out of their windows and straining their eyes to see what was going on; one of the Greek women, obviously with the approval of her priest, made her communion, and all were most reverent. Fr. Cornibeer's Mass followed at 5.30 a.m., and the Bishop said Mass at 6 a.m., and all the while, besides our own pilgrims, who were deeply impressed, the little group of Eastern women knelt or stood with great devotion, realizing perhaps for the first time that the English were neither heathen or schismatic. All the priests who celebrated said a votive Mass of St. Andrew, and what could have been more appropriate? The last Mass was at 7 a.m., by which time the sun was hovering over the lake, and those in our little chapel were feeling its effect. A collection was made at each Mass, and the proceeds given to our good friend Fr. Arcadios.

Such was the intensity of the heat wave that we did not stir from our hotel, "The Tiberias" (and by far the best in Palestine, which, perhaps, may not be saying very much) until the late afternoon, when we paid our visit to Capernaum, known to the natives as *Tel Houm*, where our Lord took up His abode after leaving Nazareth, and which became the centre of His Messianic work. We were received by the same Franciscan brother in charge of the excavations who has welcomed our pilgrims year by year. Great advance had been made in the work of excavation since our last visit, the four Corinthian columns are now in position, a great number of fresh portions of pillars, etc., have been discovered, and the plan of the whole synagogue, the gift of the Centurion to the Jewish nation, is now fairly clear. The Franciscan brother told us that in all probability the re-setting of the whole building would be *in situ* within the next two years.

Tiberias itself is anything but impressive; it is an ugly, noisy modern town with a large Jewish population, a smaller Moslem, and only a handful of Christians. Practically no attempt is being made here for the conversion of the Jews and the heathen. The Bishop of

Nassau, President of the first pilgrimage, was most anxious to develop a scheme by which an English religious order placed under the ægis of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem should form a settlement in this district, the nuns of Horbury have been praying in this wise ever since; the Bishop of Plymouth, our latest President, is equally enthusiastic. Bethsaida, the "House of Fishers," which our Lord so frequently visited, and which was the native place of Andrew, of Peter, and of Philip, is obviously the place. A hostel for English pilgrims, an Anglican community, might indeed make all the difference, and be a veritable centre of good and useful work. Perhaps some wealthy Anglicans will give this suggestion due consideration, and I am sure that the Anglican authorities in Jerusalem would not oppose such a scheme. It is a perfect site, close to the Lake of such holy memories, and near to the "desert place" where Jesus fed miraculously the "five thousand."

In the very early hours of the following morning, and in the presence of many pilgrims, Fr. Mather said Mass on the hillside above the Lake, "Clear silver water in a cup of gold," overlooking the hovels of *El Mejdél*, more commonly known as Magdala, once the home of Mary Magdalene.

It is our last day in Palestine, and we are now at Haifa, a town that would be devoid of interest were it not for Mount Carmel and the ancient city of Acre (Akka). Here we spent less than twenty-four hours, and there was much to be done. Our first business was to call on the Reverend Yacob Khadder, Chaplain of the English Church, which is under the care of the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund. He lives in a beautiful little house with a charming garden packed with flowers. He took me to visit Mr. Sheoghi Rabani, the leader of the Bahai sect, who recently succeeded his grandfather in this position, Sir Abdul Baha Abbas. "Bahaism," working for world-wide spiritual and social reconstruction, irrespective of caste and creed, was an outcome of Babism, which took its name from a Persian youth named the Bab, which means a gateway. The latter was martyred in 1850 by the Moslems in Persia after six years of missionary work. Like his grandfather, Sheoghi Rabani is held in the highest reverence and respect by the inhabitants of Haifa and Akka, irrespective of creed. He lives in a pleasant villa in the Persian colony on the slopes of Mount Carmel. He was very friendly, but not in a happy mood, for he had just received a cable that thirteen of his followers had been murdered in Persia by fanatical Moslems. He is a cultured man and speaks English perfectly, having resided for some years at Oxford and in London. He told me that the foundation of the movement was "Tolerance"; this is their main inspiration, which probably accounts for the hatred of the Persian Moslems, who look upon the preaching of tolerance as the worst of all heresies. At the same time he is on friendly terms with the



Moslems of Haifa. Many Bahai pilgrims visit him, and several hostels have been built in the colony to house them.

While the pilgrims were exploring Mount Carmel in all its glory, the Committee accompanied the President and drove to the ancient fortified city of Acre—St. John of Acre it should rightly be called—the one-time stronghold of the Crusaders, which ever since its existence has been in every battle save only the last great war. We passed through palm groves along the sands, where all kinds of shells are to be found, including the spiny shells of the fish from which the Phœnicians in olden times obtained the Tyrian purple; thence across the ancient river Kishon into the city. On entering the town through the ancient gate one steps at once into mediæval history; the streets are narrow even for an eastern city, and at every turning one comes upon something fresh and thrilling. It is indeed one of the quaintest and most interesting little cities in the civilized world, a real bit of ancient East. We visited the site of that important church of the Crusaders, St. John, where, alas, to-day stands a great Mosque. But our objective was His Grace, Keladion, Metropolitan of Ptolemais (Acre's ancient title), in whose diocese we now found ourselves, and to whom we had been given an introduction by Cleopas. Mgr. Keladion is a handsome man, and very charming and courteous in manner. Fr. Khadder came with us and acted as interpreter. He was keenly interested in the question of Reunion and asked many questions about the Church of England and her faith; he also wished to know our attitude towards the Orthodox, and I think we satisfied him. We adjourned to his church, where, after a few prayers, he blessed us, and then we drove back to Haifa, to call on the Governor and to visit the small British cemetery and pray for the souls of our brave men who fell in Palestine.

Before leaving Haifa on the following morning, Solemn Mass was sung with full ceremonial at the English church. Fr. Cornibeer was celebrant, Fr. Mather served, and Sir Hubert Miller was thurifer, the Bishop presiding in cope and mitre. Besides our own pilgrims, several members of the English community attended, including nurses from the British hospital and girls from the local High School, many of whom were delighted with the rendering of the pilgrims' hymn, "He who would a pilgrim be." The collection was made on behalf of Fr. Khadder's work. It was a delightful service and a fitting finale to our glorious adventure in the Holy Land. Fr. Khadder, like all the other Anglican clergy whom it was our good fortune to meet, was most helpful to the pilgrims, and his kindly courtesy, and that of Mrs. Khadder, helped to make our little visit to the borders of Syria a really happy one.

Thanks to the efficiency of Mr. D. N. Tadros, the pilgrims were able to board the good ship *Sphinx* by 9 a.m. and to sail on their homeward way in due course.

"Honour to whom honour is due" is an apostolic injunction. In the first instance the pilgrims owe a debt of gratitude for the great interest that Sir Henry Lunn evinced in this third pilgrimage, making every arrangement possible for our comfort before he departed on his world tour. To Mr. Brian Lunn, who "carried on" after his father's departure; to Mr. Pickering for his unfailing courtesy and efficiency; to Mr. Tadros, without whose help in Palestine we should indeed be at a loss, and also to M. Dionis du Séjour, of the *Messageries Maritimes*, who once again did all in his power to make the pilgrimage successful.

Once again we are on board the *Sphinx*, and this time without our good friend Captain Piétri. However, we found our new Commandant, M. le Mens, very charming, and anxious to do everything for us in his power, and he and the Commissaire hastened to make arrangements for the reverent saying of Mass, placing a room at our disposal. Day by day the Holy Sacrifice was offered as before, and in the late afternoon Evensong was sung on the poop. On the Sunday Mass was solemnly sung at 8 a.m. with full ceremonial. The great salon had been arranged for the purpose under the instructions of the Commissaire, French and British flags decorated the Altar, and palms were placed on either side. The Bishop pontificated in cope and mitre, with Fr. Usher in attendance as Chaplain, Fr. Whittingham sang the Mass, and was served by Fr. Mather, and Fr. Cornibeer acted as Master of Ceremonies, and Sir Hubert Miller, with Mr. John Street to assist him, was thurifer. The Commandant and Commissaire were given seats of honour near the Bishop. There were many present besides the pilgrims, both English and French, and the pilgrim choir under the direction of Fr. Tayler rendered the simple music of the Mass and several well-known hymns delightfully.

There was also a small number of Venezuelan pilgrims on board with three of their priests, and their Mass followed almost immediately after ours. An official notice was put up announcing "8 a.m. Messe chantée Anglo-Catholique; 8½ Rite Catholique Romaine."

On this Sunday the Bishop preached an excellent sermon at evensong on St. Athanasius, whose feast we were observing, and many of the Archaeological Society, who had lately been in Palestine and were now travelling home with us, were present besides the pilgrims. Four of them very kindly gave us "talks" in the evenings, namely, Professors Garstein, Sayce, Sarolea, and Dr. Masterman, our President's brother.

On the day before we arrived at Marseilles a general Communion was held; the Bishop celebrated, and all the pilgrims made their Communions. Next day found us once again at Marseilles and, thanks to the representative of the *Messageries Maritimes*, who met us on arrival, to Sir Henry Lunn's representatives, who met us at Paris, Calais and Dover, we had a pleasant and comfortable journey home, in spite of the general strike and the wintry weather.



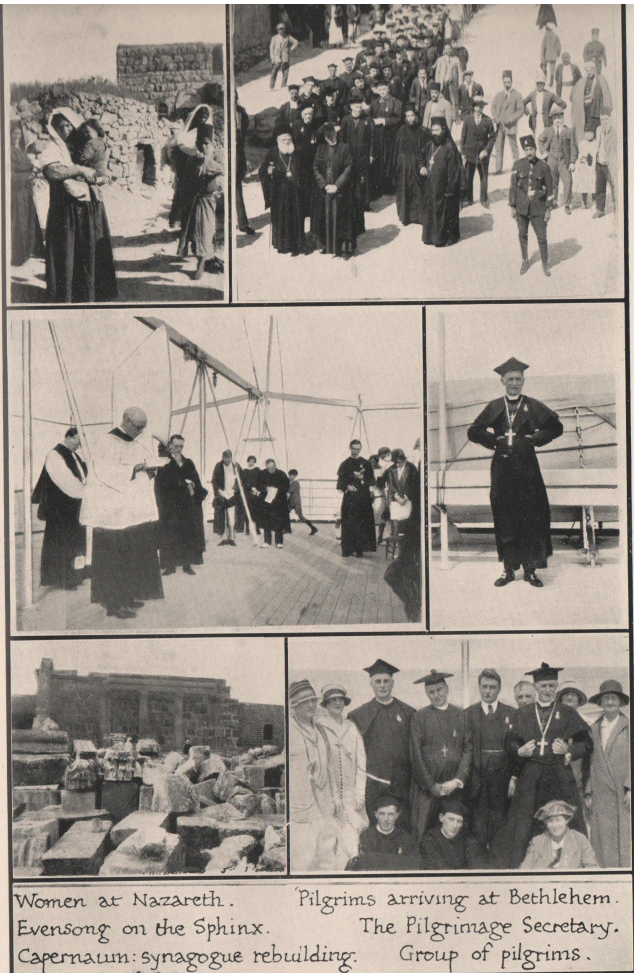
The pilgrims were a united, congenial, and happy body, and the Secretary has already been the recipient of many delightful letters full of gratitude for the benefits received and for the fullness of their joy at being permitted to visit and pray at the Holy sites. Generous, too, were they in their gifts. One presented fair linen cloths for the Altars at St. George's Cathedral, another made a substantial offering to the Russian nuns at Ain Karim: one evening at dinner in Jerusalem a collection was made for the upkeep of the Holy Places in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which with the collections in the Chapel of St. Abraham (for the same object) amounted to over £40; this was handed over to the Orthodox Secretary before leaving the Holy City; many donations, large and small, have been received for distribution, and when other promised sums come in, we shall be enabled to send cheques to all those whom we have been privileged to assist before. The gifts will not be on such a large scale as those of 1924 and 1925, as on this occasion our numbers were considerably reduced.

We hope in time that all who have been on these pilgrimages will join the Pilgrimage Association; many 1926 pilgrims have already done so. This Association was formed to encourage English people to visit the Holy Land, it organizes lectures with or without lantern slides, and it forms a bond of union and fellowship between all our pilgrims. In time we hope it may also be able to send a few persons, especially priests and ordinands, to the Holy Land; already it encourages the faithful laity to save a sufficient sum of money to pay the expenses of one of their parish clergy.

An adventure like the pilgrimage just accomplished, lasting a month, during which time pilgrims must have seen more places and taken part in more interesting and history-making events than they have ever done before, must have left many impressions which should be worth recording and passing on to those less fortunate than themselves. Therefore we trust that pilgrims will give lectures, addresses, sermons and informal talks wherever and whenever they find opportunity, and thus spread the good news. The Secretary is always pleased to give information about the Pilgrimage Association, and lantern slides and names of lecturers can be obtained from Miss Clarke at Westminster House, Great Smith Street, S.W.1. A reunion of members is held yearly during the autumn, of which due notice is sent to members of the Association.

Then we would suggest that, to further their practical interest in the Orthodox Church and their knowledge of all that concerns the churches in Jerusalem, pilgrims should subscribe regularly to *The Christian East* and also to *Bible Lands*, the latter being obtainable at 12, Warwick Square, S.W.1.

Every pilgrim loves Bethany and its memories, that little white village nestling on the slopes of Olivet, amidst its palms and olives,



Women at Nazareth.

Evening on the Sphinx.

Capernaum: synagogue rebuilding.

Pilgrims arriving at Bethlehem.

The Pilgrimage Secretary.

Group of pilgrims.

THESE PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN BY PILGRIMS, TO WHOM WE TENDER  
OUR THANKS.



its gardens and its ruined houses, the place of quiet retreat for our Lord during the last days of His life on earth. He bade farewell at Bethany, and with Bethany will be for ever associated the romantic story of the Magdalen. Tradition tells how Lazarus, Mary and Martha and others of His Disciples, saturated with divine knowledge received from His lips, went forth to spread that knowledge with an enthusiasm that carried all before it.

In a little back street in Marseilles stands an ancient church, built, it is said, over the cave-tomb of Lazarus. In that church is to be seen a statue of him whom Christ raised from the dead, holding a crosier in his left hand and his right hand uplifted in blessing; on either side are images of Mary Magdalene and Martha. He is still spoken of as being the first Bishop of Marseilles, his festival is yearly observed on the first day of September, and on the pedestal of the statue can be read this legend :—

Divo Lazaro  
A Christo Suscitato.

Thus, when the pilgrims reached Marseilles after a long and pleasant voyage from Palestine, some of them entered this little church, and, mindful of the memories of the village of Bethany, knelt for a while and offered their vows of thanksgiving. Presently the parish priest approached and told them the history of the church and the story of Lazarus. When he knew that they were pilgrims from the Holy Land his joy was great.

Thus one more pilgrimage has been accomplished in a truly humble and devotional spirit, as Sir Walter Raleigh thus describes those of olden days :

“ Give me my scallop shell of quiet,  
My staff of faith to walk upon,  
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,  
My bottle of salvation,  
My gown of glory (hope's true gage),  
And then I'll take my pilgrimage.”



## RESERVATION IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

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

TO state that a resort to the Reserved Sacrament for the purpose of Adoration or of intimate Prayer is unknown among the Eastern Orthodoxy is correct. But, often though it has been stated, to state that such a resort is condemned *per se* by Eastern-Orthodox doctrine and practice has no warranty whatever.

That, from the Orthodox point of view, such Devotions before the Blessed Sacrament as Benediction or Visits to the Tabernacle are an innovation is perfectly true. But to write them down as, from the Orthodox point of view, an illegitimate innovation is a very different thing. In my own judgment, if and when Terms of Intercommunion come to be agreed between the Orthodox Churches and the Anglican Churches, whether or no such practices obtain vogue among the former, their existing vogue in the latter will not be alleged as an impediment by the Orthodox. In writing this, I should safeguard myself very explicitly against being construed as judging that the attitude of the Orthodox in the matter should form an argument in favour of the spread of such practices among ourselves, or of their express authorization in a revised Prayer Book, but desire simply to point out that the absence of such practices among them cannot rightly be utilized as an argument against our adopting them. Individual Orthodox theologians may dislike them and even condemn them. But I submit that that condemnation is motivated by another consideration than that of the legitimacy of their development. When in the eleventh century the Patriarch Cerularios scheduled several scores of innovations which had differentiated the Latin Church from the Greek Church, he was motivated to declare them heretical, less for themselves than because they had been made by the Roman Papacy, which had advanced the claim that *proprio motu* it had power to supersede Œcumenical Canons and Œcumenical Customs. Thus, whatever fog of controversy has since veiled the essential issue, if most Orthodox theologians agree that the famous *Filioque* in itself is very susceptible of Orthodox interpretation,<sup>1</sup> none the less, one and all, they still contend that its insertion in the Œcumenical Creed which had been stereotyped by Œcumenical decision as the only Creed of the Œcumenical Church, was an act of schism, that in itself was the natural fruit of the heresy which had arrogated to the Papacy power and authority to supersede the incontrovertible decisions of the whole Church as delivered in the

<sup>1</sup> E.g., see Fuller, *Continuity of the English Church*, x-xii, and *passim*.

decrees of the first four Œcumenical Councils. This is not the place to discuss the validity of the Papal claims, and I refer to them only because their secular rejection by the Orthodox and the tragic happenings and disasters which on account of that rejection the Orthodox world has experienced, have created an atmosphere in which it has become almost instinctive that Orthodox theologians should regard every particular Western development, however legitimate and natural a growth in itself, as to be suspected *prima facie* of being the product of the "Papal Heresy."

Judged apart from that prejudice, I should contend that the cult of the Reserved Sacrament is exactly what is covered by the well-known formula of the Patriarch Photios, which is received as authoritative throughout the Orthodox Church.<sup>2</sup> "(In cases) where the thing disregarded is not the Faith and is no falling away from any general and Catholic decree, different rites and customs being observed among different people, a man who knows how to judge rightly would decide that neither do those who observe them act wrongly, nor do those who receive them break the law." That is to say, for the Orthodox there must be no "addition, diminution or alteration"—the formula is stereotyped—in regard to the Faith of the Church of the first eight centuries, *i.e.*, the Faith as set forth in the teaching of the Fathers and as defined by the decrees of the Seven Œcumenical Councils. Nor may there be any trenching upon the Canons of those Councils, or for that matter upon any Œcumenical custom. But outside those limits, local developments of practice are right and proper. Accordingly, since the *cultus* of the Reserved Sacrament is in no way either inconsistent with the ancient doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament as interpreted by the Orthodox, or in conflict with any Œcumenical Canon or Custom, I should anticipate that on viewing it dispassionately, Orthodox theologians would find no bar to Intercommunion with us in its existence among us, but would declare the practices in question to be a matter on which they were indifferent.

### I.

#### THE ORTHODOX DOCTRINE OF A REAL CHANGE IN THE ELEMENTS.

I ground this anticipation upon the fact that, while in that it does not adopt scholastic definitions of the manner of the change in the Eucharistic species, the Orthodox doctrine of *Metousiosis* does differ from that particular doctrine of Transubstantiation which it is admitted was intended to be condemned in our 28th Article, it does

<sup>1</sup> Quoted as final, *e.g.*, in *The Answer of the Great Church of Constantinople*, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Epistle III, 6.



not differ appreciably from it as to the effect of the change effected in the Eucharistic bread and wine by consecration.

*Metousiosis* is, no doubt, strictly to be rendered *Transessentiation* rather than *Transubstantiation*, and, for that reason, especially in Russia, care is often taken to repudiate the latter term.<sup>1</sup> But Transubstantiation is frequently used as its synonym. And that the Orthodox Church holds that at the Consecration the Bread and Wine are factually changed into the Body and Blood of Christ is indisputable.<sup>2</sup>

Passages to that effect can be quoted indefinitely from synodical decrees, from catechisms, and from authoritative writers.<sup>3</sup>

Three illustrations will be sufficient here.<sup>4</sup>

(i) Metrophanes Kritopoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria, 1630-1640, the disciple of Cyril Lucar, who lived in England and carried on the tradition of the approach to Anglicanism of Lucar's predecessor, Meletios I., writes in his *Confession*, itself a polemic alike against the Latin Church and German Protestantism and reckoned a Symbolic book by the Orthodox . . . "The Consecrated Bread is truly (the) Body of Christ, and that which is in the cup (the) Blood of Christ without doubt. But the method of such change is unknowable and not to be interpreted by us. For clear vision in such matters has been dispensed to the elect in the Kingdom of Heaven, in order that through single and incurious Faith they may obtain greater grace from God."<sup>5</sup>

(ii) His contemporary, Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kiev, 1632-45, who contended against a vigorous Uniat campaign and in a less degree against German proselytization, but had his eye rather on local than general conditions, writes in his *Confession*, which is also taken as a Symbolic Book :<sup>6</sup> "In the Moments of Consecration of the Holy Gifts, the Priest must firmly and undoubtedly resolve within himself that the Substance of the Bread and the Substance of the Wine are changed into the very Substance of the very Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, by the operation or working of the Holy Ghost, whose Power and Influence let the Priest invoke in these Words, in order to the due Performance of this Mystery : O Lord, send down from Heaven Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Gifts now lying before Thee ; and make this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in this Cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit. At these Words

<sup>1</sup> Birkbeck and the Russian Church, p. 246. S.P.C.K. 1917 ; and W. J. Birkbeck's *Life and Letters*, pp. 22, 271. Longmans. 1922.

<sup>2</sup> See Androustos, *Dogmatike*, pp. 348-9 ; *Dyovouniotes, Ta Hepta Mysteria*, pp. 87-92, Athens, 1923 ; and cf. Gavin, *Greek Orthodox Thought*, pp. 328-336, Mowbrays 1923, who, however, does not refer to the distinction made in Russia between *metousiosis* and *transubstantiation*.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox*, Appendix I, pp. 141-7, for a specimen catena.

<sup>4</sup> Reference to the Synod of Bethlehem is made on the next page.

<sup>5</sup> Mesloras, *Symbolic Books*, p. 137, Athens, 1885. <sup>6</sup> IV, pp. 1, 107, in the same.

there is wrought the Change in the Elements, and the very Bread becomes the very Body of Christ, and the Wine His very Blood ; the species only remaining, which are perceived by the Sight. . . . This Holy Mystery is also offered as a Sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians as well living as those who sleep . . . and this Sacrifice shall never fail, nor be discontinued, even unto the End of the World."<sup>1</sup>

(iii) The Longer Russian Catechism, drawn up in 1823 by the famous Philaret of Moscow, says : "The Communion is a Sacrament, in which the believer, under the forms of bread and wine, partakes of the very Body and Blood of Christ, to everlasting life.

"The most essential part of the Liturgy is the utterance of the words which Jesus Christ spake in instituting the Sacrament : 'Take, eat, this is my Body.'

"At the moment of this act, the bread and wine are changed, or transubstantiated,<sup>2</sup> into the very Body of Christ, and into the very Blood of Christ.

"In the exposition of the Faith by the Eastern Patriarchs it is said that the word 'transubstantiation' is not to be taken to define the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord ; for this none can understand but God ; but only this much is signified, that the bread, truly, really and substantially becomes the very true Body of the Lord, and the wine the very Blood of the Lord."

## II.

### LATRIA TO CHRIST IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT JUSTIFIED BY AUTHORITATIVE ORTHODOX DOCUMENTS.

*Latria*, i.e., the worship due to be rendered only to the Divinity, is very expressly prescribed in many authoritative documents as to be rendered to Christ present in the Blessed Sacrament. Thus, taking two easily accessible to the ordinary reader :

(a) The *Confession* of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, appended to the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem (sometimes called the Council of Jerusalem), held under him in 1672, in which representatives of all the Orthodox Churches except the Russian,<sup>3</sup> took part, lays it down . . . "That under every part or smallest bit of the Bread and Wine there is not a part of the Lord's Body . . . but the entire

<sup>1</sup> *The Longer Russian Catechism*, pp. 90-2.

<sup>2</sup> Wherever transubstantiation, etc., occurs in these extracts the original is *Metousiosis*, etc. We have Mogila's *Confession* only in Greek, the Slav original having been lost. *Presuschestvlenie* is the Russian equivalent of *Metousiosis*, and careful theologians prefer to use it instead of transubstantiation.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in my *Relations*, p. 146, from Trans. in Williams' *Orthodox and Non-Jurors*, Rivington, 1868.



whole Lord Christ according to His substance ; that is with the soul and divinity as He is perfect God and perfect Man. So that, though there be many Eucharists celebrated in the world at one and the same hour, there are not many Christs, or many bodies of Christ, but one and the same Christ is present in all and every Church of the Faithful and there is one Body and one Blood. Not that that Body of the Lord which is in Heaven descends upon the Altar ; but because that Bread which is laid on the Altar, and there offered in every Church, is by Consecration changed and transubstantiated and made one and the same with that which is in Heaven . . . Also that the same Body and Blood of the Lord in the Sacrament is to be adored in the highest manner that may be and to be worshipped with Latria. For one and the same worship ought to be paid to the Holy Trinity and to the Body and Blood of the Lord. It is also a true and propitiatory Sacrifice which is offered for all the faithful, both living and dead, and for the benefit of all, as is expressed in the prayers of this Sacrament. . . . Also before the use, immediately after the Consecration, and likewise after the use, that which is kept in the Sacred Pixes for Communion of those that are dying, is the true Body of the Lord and not in any the least respect different from what it was ; inasmuch as after Consecration before the use, in the use and after the use, it is in all respects the true Body of the Lord."

(b) The Œcumenical Patriarch, answering the *Lovers of the Greek Church in Britain*, in 1672, writes a Synodical Letter which informs them that : " Which Sacrament is and is called Latria ; and therein the Deified Body of Christ our Saviour is worshipped with divine worship ; and is offered up as a Sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians living and dead."<sup>1</sup>

### III.

#### LATRIA TO CHRIST IN THE RESERVED SACRAMENT PRESCRIBED IN SLUJEBNIK.

Outward acts of Worship, or Latria, to the Reserved Sacrament are expressly enjoined in the *Slujebnik*, i.e., the Slavonic Prayer Book, which is used in Russia and all Slav countries, and which, of course, possesses an authority practically past all question.<sup>2</sup>

Thus,

- p. 520. The servers must walk with fear and trembling when near the Altar Throne (sc. the Holy Table), for on it are reposing the Divine Mysteries,<sup>3</sup> and passing by or approaching it they must make reverence.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my *Relations*, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> In all editions the pagination must be the same. S.P.C.K. has an edition printed for the Serbs in 1919. I give these quotations in this section rather than in the next section, so as to illustrate the latter.

<sup>3</sup> *Taini*, equals Sacraments, Greek, *mysteria*.

<sup>4</sup> *Blagolepnoe*, equals that which is comely, customary and appropriate.

- p. 523. The Ark<sup>1</sup> (kibot) with the Divine Mysteries must always stand on the Throne and not in any other place.
- p. 524. On opening the Ark with the Divine Mysteries, the priest must wash his hands, bare his head and make deep profound obeisance.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 525. On drying the Reserved Sacrament the Priest must spread open the antiminsion,<sup>3</sup> place on it (the intinctured Lamb) cense it round about and then making comely obeisance cut it into small pieces with all possible devotion.<sup>4</sup>
- p. 526. He places the Reserved Sacrament, when dry, in the Ark, makes a fitting<sup>5</sup> obeisance and folds up the antiminsion
- p. 527. (All the ministers must) make an obeisance to the Divine Mysteries such as fits their sanctity.
- p. 529. (The communicant) must prostrate<sup>6</sup> himself to the ground once before the Christ who is present in the Mysteries under the form of Bread and Wine.
- p. 530. On entering the holy temple of God the clergy and laity must look towards the Holy Altar (sc. the Sanctuary, not the Holy Table) and must with awe make a fitting obeisance. . . . On entering the Altar (sc. the Sanctuary) the priest must first of all bare his head and make an obeisance. . . . On approaching the Holy Table he must make the deepest obeisance. . . . On leaving the Sanctuary the priest must first make a deep obeisance to the Divine Mysteries.
- p. 531. Likewise, every time you pass the Royal Doors, make an obeisance ; Further, having completed the service, . . . make obeisance devoutly to the Lord God, . . . for because of such obeisance to the Divine Mysteries you will receive abundant Grace from Christ the Lord. . . . The servers must needs enter the Holy Sanctuary with the greatest awe, trembling devotion and reverences and so perform their appointed task, because Christ is present there upon His Altar Throne. On entering and on leaving they must make deep obeisance.
- p. 532. Because of the honour due to the Divine Mysteries none of the laity may enter the Sanctuary.
- p. 533. Not only the clergy and servers, but all devout lay people, whether in church or in the street, on seeing the Divine Mysteries carried to the sick must reverence them with an obeisance of divine worship.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kibot, i.e., Ark. Darochranetelnitza, gift-holder, is the more usual term for a Tabernacle.

<sup>2</sup> Poklonenie (i.e., an outward act of reverence such as bowing and kneeling) and so below.

<sup>3</sup> See note, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Blagogovenie*. <sup>5</sup> *Dostodoljnoe* equals "appropriate." <sup>6</sup> *Poklonetsa na zemlu*, lit., bow to the ground.

<sup>7</sup> *Blagolepnoe*, technically equal to "of Latria."



#### IV.

#### THE RENDERING LATRIA TO CHRIST PRESENT IN THE RESERVED SACRAMENT NORMAL AMONG THE ORTHODOX TO-DAY.

Many Anglican visitors have concluded that acts of *Latria* to Christ present in the Reserved Sacrament are unknown among the Orthodox. That quite erroneous impression is due to many causes. Thus for us the custom of full genuflection whenever we take cognisance of being in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament and of taking cognisance of that presence whenever we come into the sight or move in sight of the ornament where it is reserved, has become a custom so practically obligatory and instinctive that its absence is startling. The Orthodox have no such custom. Normally their acts of *Latria* in the presence of the Sacrament are rendered by prostration. Moreover, as, though aware that the Sacrament is reserved in a church by which we pass or in a chapel within a church in which we are, we take no cognisance of the fact; so, generally, the Orthodox do not take cognisance of the presence of the Reserved Sacrament unless the Tabernacle is opened. And further, not only have the causes which during the Middle Ages gave free play to the Eucharistic *cultus* in the West been absent in the Near East, and not only have the prejudices of the Schism kept the Orthodox always disinclined to assimilation to the Latin Church, but any such parallel development among the Orthodox was effectively prevented by helotage to Islam. As is well known, the Turkish and Arab peasantry is superstitious enough and has always revered, and resorted blindly to, Christian thaumaturgic shrines and objects of devotion. But to Moslems the Divinity of Christ is anathema and the attraction of their attention to the fact that *Latria* is paid to Him in the Reserved Sacrament would have invited their fanaticism to profane the Churches and the Tabernacle in which it was reserved. In consequence, throughout the Turkish dominions *Latria* to Christ in the Reserved Sacrament could not be obtrusive and became repressed. Therein lies one of the principal explanations of the seeming irreverence with which the unlettered laity—and clergy—in parts of the Balkans will actually handle the Tabernacle<sup>1</sup> and sometimes even its contents. The traditional mind of the Orthodox Church, as evinced not only in the lands and countries where it has recovered freedom or has always been unaffected by Moslem oppression, but even in those areas where

<sup>1</sup> In 1923, during a conversation with Professors Dyovouniotes and Alivisatos in Athens, I ventured to point out that we Anglicans are inclined to complain of such lack of outward reverence, and gave a striking instance which I had observed in Old Serbia. Both assured me that it was altogether to be repudiated on all Orthodox principle and tradition and was explicable only by the clergy and laity of such areas being *amathoi* and by their having been for centuries in the condition of *rayah* to the Turk.

it is most depressed, is very different and is expressed in the Orthodox method of Reservation and in their behaviour when the Reserved Sacrament is moved or approached with cognisance.

(a) *The Orthodox Method of Reservation.*<sup>1</sup> Except for the purpose of the Liturgy of the Presanctified, which, according to Canon 42 of the sixth Œcumenical Council, 680 A.D., is prescribed as to be celebrated on all weekdays in Lent except Saturdays and the Annunciation, the Blessed Sacrament is reserved once only in the year, namely on Maundy Thursday. At the Liturgy, which on that day is of St. Basil, the Lambs<sup>2</sup> are cut from one or more extra loaves, consecrated as usual, and intinged each with a few drops of the Precious Blood poured on it from a spoon. These are placed in the Small Artophorion<sup>3</sup> which is placed in the Great Artophorion.

On Easter Monday or Tuesday,<sup>4</sup> he comes alone except, if one be available, for a deacon, into the Sanctuary, spreads the *antiminsion*<sup>5</sup> on the Holy Table, places on it the *diskos* (paten), censes the Holy Table, opens the Great Artophorion with due prostrations,<sup>6</sup> which are repeated through the ceremony, takes from it the Small Artophorion, places it on the *antiminsion*, takes from it the Lamb, separates the Lamb with the spear<sup>7</sup> into small particles, dries<sup>8</sup> them and replaces them in the Small Artophorion and it in the Great Artophorion which he locks.

During this process, and in ministering the Reserved Sacrament, he wears the Epitrachelion (stole) over his ordinary dress, but has his head uncovered.

<sup>1</sup> These descriptions should be read in connection with the preceding section.

<sup>2</sup> The central square of the small cottage loaf, of pure unleavened bread, of varying size, but now usually 3-3½ inches diameter, which is used by the Orthodox. It is cut out at the Prothesis with the "spear," a knife, placed in the *diskos* (paten), brought to the Holy Table at the Great Entry, and is alone consecrated.

<sup>3</sup> The Blessed Sacrament is reserved by the Orthodox in a small plain box of metal, which is known as *mihron artophorion* (Slav., *kovchev*) to distinguish it from the Great (*mega*) Artophorion. The latter is a cupboard of metal or wood and stands on the East side of the Holy Table, on the North of the centre. In Constantinople the older artophoria are frequently of gilt wood, about 6-8 inches square, with four columns, surmounted with a perfect semi-dome, provided with folding doors, lock and key, and covered with a glassshade. The more modern are of metal. A good specimen is to be seen at St. Sophia, Moscow Road, W.I. In Slav countries and Roumania they are much wider and usually have three domes. The symbolism is that of the Grave of Christ and the Shrine of the Anastasis. At the Phanar itself, on account of the smallness of the Altar, and in some other places on account of the damp or for like reasons, a large round pyx hanging behind the Holy Table, is used, but the innovation dates only from modern times. In comparatively recent years in places, e.g., at St. Sophia, Bayswater, cupboards affixed to the East wall have been introduced as artophoria, but in the latter case, the *mega artophorion* still remains on the Holy Table. When visiting the Phanar in 1925, one of my companions asked the Metropolitan of Sardis, who, with bare head and after many prostrations, opened the hanging pyx to show us the *mihron artophorion*, why a lamp burnt in front of it. His answer was, 'Because Christ is present in the Holy Sacrament, and is to be adored therein.'

<sup>4</sup> In some lands, e.g., in Russia, immediately after the Liturgy on Maundy Thursday. <sup>5</sup> The Orthodox *corporas*, of silk or linen, always embroidered with the Entombment and with relics sewn into it. <sup>6</sup> Which are repeated on occasion and throughout the ceremony. <sup>7</sup> The knife always used to cut up the Eucharistic bread before or after consecration. <sup>8</sup> In Constantinople in the sun. In damp and cold countries, as in Russia, over one or more clean hot bricks placed on the right corner of the Holy Table, and with charcoal to keep them warm.



At least one taper must be alight.

In the case of necessity the Sacrament is reserved after any Liturgy.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *The Liturgy of the Presanctified and Communion of the Sick.*

(i) The Liturgy of the Presanctified<sup>2</sup> was an ancient practice in the seventh century before the Sixth Œcumenical Council, its present form being attributed by the Orthodox, probably without ground, to Gregory, the Great, "the Dialogist." *Mutatis mutandis*, in its structure it resembles the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the essential difference being that at the Great Entrance, the Reserved Sacrament,<sup>3</sup> which has been previously taken from the Mega Artophorion with great ceremony and placed upon the *antimension*, is carried into the nave and through the Holy Doors. Allowing for the contrasts between East and West, noted above, from the time of the opening of the Artophorion until the Ablutions, the Latria rendered to Christ, present in the Mysteries, is comparable to that rendered, e.g., by Latins at Benediction. Repeated prostrations are made before It. It is preceded by a lighted taper and so forth. In short, the study of the Liturgy of the Presanctified leaves no doubt but that it is replete with acts of Latria to Christ in the Reserved Sacrament. Thus the hymn which at the Great Entrance replaces the Cherubic Hymn of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is: "Now the Powers of Heaven with us invisibly worship; behold, the King of Glory enters in. Through the prayers of our Holy Fathers, have mercy upon us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God. Amen. Behold the mystic and perfect sacrifice here escorted; let us draw near with faith and longing, that we may become partakers of life everlasting. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia."

(ii) *Communion of the Sick.* When the sick are to be communicated, the priest, wearing his epitachelion and with uncovered head, takes the Reserved Sacrament after prostration from the Great Artophorion and, if the distance and circumstance of the place permit,<sup>4</sup> preceded by torches, goes to the house of the recipient. As he passes, every devout Christian uncovers and kneels. Much the same practices are described by mediæval writers, e.g., by Simeon, Metropolitan of Salonika<sup>5</sup>, thirteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> As has been said, the method of Reservation varies in details in different countries. For Russia the treatment of the Reserved Sacrament was ordered minutely, as above in III, in 1667, by the Council of Moscow, Act XI, which further enjoined that the priest must inspect the Reserved Sacrament every third day to avoid the possibility of mould, on the detection of the least sign of which he must dry the species again, or, if needs be, consume them at his next Liturgy and reserve afresh.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent translation is to be had of Williams and Norgate, 1918. <sup>3</sup> The Liturgy is celebrated with a Lamb specially consecrated on the preceding Sunday and not from that consecrated on Maundy Thursday. Laity as well as Clergy communicate. It is not dried, but is simply reserved in the Artophorion. It is intined with the Precious Blood, of course.

<sup>4</sup> In Constantinople and the Balkans even under the Turks. <sup>5</sup> Ed. Goar, *passim*, pp. 161-194.

The Reserved Sacrament, having been intined in unconsecrated wine and hot water, is ministered with a spoon.

There is no special Orthodox Office for the Communion of the Sick. Portions of the Liturgy or other prayers are recited at the priest's discretion.

Especially in larger centres the custom has obtained of late years that those who cannot fast long, or are precluded by reason judged adequate by the priest, from communicating during the Liturgy, should do so before its commencement. They receive the Sacrament reserved on Maundy Thursday. Where there are many communicants, some are communicated after the close of the Liturgy, but with the elements consecrated therein.

(iii) *Conclusion.* While the evidence quoted above establishes, I think, the postulate that by tradition and by direct precept the Orthodox Church requires the rendering Latria to Christ present in the Blessed Sacrament, it may be urged that that requirement does not imply the sanction of resort to the Blessed Sacrament for adoration or for prayer.

That counter-contention has validity in that such resort is an innovation upon the established practice of the first nine centuries,<sup>1</sup> but if the Orthodox Church condemn it, that condemnation must be for its own people and not because it is wrong *per se*, but because it is undesirable, or it must be motivated by the old suspicion of everything "latinising." The Orthodox cannot condemn it on the ground that it is an innovation which involves a heresy from the doctrine of the Church of the Fathers and the Seven Œcumenical Councils.

It is true, indeed, that, to the Orthodox, the predominant thought in regard to the Blessed Sacrament is that It is the true Body and Blood of Christ and that as such It is to be received for the salvation and sanctification of the soul, and is to be offered as the Unbloody Sacrifice in propitiation for the living and the dead. The aspect in which It presents itself to us, that thereby and therein the living Christ is really present in the fullness of His Glorified Humanity and of His Divinity, and that to come into Its presence is to come into His presence, may be unfamiliar to them. But it is difficult to see how they can dispute its legitimacy or the inference that it is not for them to play the part of those who would not suffer children to come to the Christ and to forbid those among us who desire access to the Blessed Sacrament in order to worship Him or to make our petitions to Him.

In the *Preaching of the Orthodox Catholic Faith*, issued with the *imprimatur* of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church in 1900, it is laid down that, "Of obligation the devotion<sup>2</sup> which should be

<sup>1</sup> The Western custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament for adoration and prayer dates at earliest from the eleventh century, see, e.g., article on the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in the Catholic *Encyclopædia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tchesl*.



rendered to those awful Mysteries is the same as is rendered to the very Christ. Just as St. Peter, speaking for himself and with the mouth of all the Apostles, exclaimed, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' so each of us ought to say in adoration to the Holy Mysteries, 'I believe, Lord, and confess that Thou art the very Christ, the Son of the Living God, who didst come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.'"<sup>1</sup>

In face of that identification, I submit that it is hard to see how the Orthodox could require the prohibition of the customs in question by the Anglican Church as a condition of Intercommunion. But that submission must be taken to involve neither the contention that they should approve them as desirable or adopt them, nor the contention that Anglicans should do so. It amounts simply to the anticipation that the Orthodox would declare them to be a matter which they could treat as indifferent.

<sup>1</sup> *Pravoslavnoe Ispovedanie Katoletcheskoe*, Moscow, 1900, p. 71. See also the passage from Dositheos quoted above in I.





*Thomas Randall*

HIS GRACE, THOMAS RANDALL, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN.

## The Christian East

HIS GRACE, THOMAS RANDALL, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN.

THAT our portrait of the month should be a photograph of the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by himself for *The Christian East*, will be held appropriate by all of us, and will be especially welcome to our Eastern readers. For of all workers for the cause of Reunion, and among all practical sympathizers with the suffering Christians of the Near East, no Anglican has rendered services comparable to those rendered by His Grace.

That to attempt a summary of the part which he has played in making history would be to undertake an epitome of the history of England and of her Church during the past fifty years would be obvious to anyone who opened *Who's Who*.

From his Oxford days, when first he visited Lambeth to find there his life's partner in the sister of his college friend and the daughter of that great Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Archibald Tait, there has been little in the English Church and State of or in which he has not had cognizance and intimate concern.

Graduating at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1871, and ordained in 1874—he kept his Jubilee two years ago—His Grace gained experience of life as a parish priest at Dartford, and then, in 1874, became Domestic Chaplain at Lambeth. A moment's reflection would lead anyone to conclude that, the Archbishop's Domestic Chaplain being in a measure his private secretary and needing to possess distinct qualifications of discretion, method and intuition, that office was a severe test and a great opportunity of service. That the present well-known efficiency of the bureau at Lambeth is largely due to the line which he himself laid down in the seventies, is very probable; at any rate, its efficiency no less than his extraordinary power of directing the details of its administration is the admiration of all who realize the complexity of the matters which are handled there, and which include in their scope the affairs of



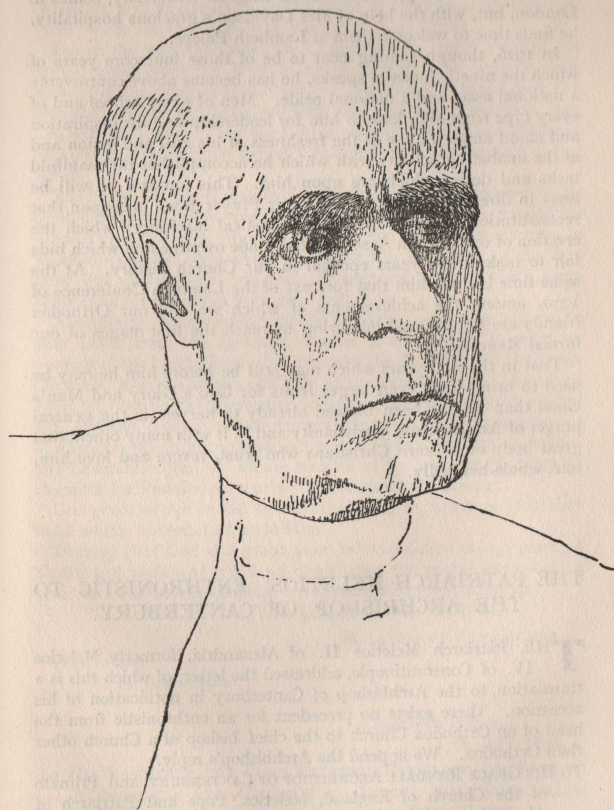
the world-wide Anglican Church, and of nearly every phase of British public life.

In 1883, having remained at Lambeth under Dr. Benson, Dr. Tait's successor at Canterbury, His Grace was chosen to be Dean of Windsor by Queen Victoria, who is recorded to have given him her fullest and most intimate confidence as a wise counsellor and beloved friend in both public and personal matters. His Grace thus began that close relationship with our Royal Family which has continued to the present.

In 1891, when (for England) at the early age of 43, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, everyone had realized his great zeal and ability and esteemed him ripe for the episcopate. In Rochester, as in the great and more important diocese of Winchester, whither he was translated in 1895, his rule was always wise and highly successful, though withal courageous and inspiring, so that in 1903 the public voice, as well as the decision of those whose knowledge justified their forming a judgment, pointed to him as the inevitable successor of Dr. Temple at Canterbury.

He has to-day reigned longer than all but eight of the ninety-five English Metropolitans who have preceded him on the Throne of St. Augustine and have held it, except for the vacancy under Cromwell's tyranny (1643-1660) in an unbroken line since 597 A.D., and longer than any since Archbishop Warham died in 1533. But apart from their actual number, the tale of the twenty-six years which have passed since his return as Primate to the Lambeth Palace of his youth, has been incomparable for its crowded history, both in their salient events and in their less noticed evolution of the life of our Church and Nation as of the World. Throughout their period he has laboured unceasingly, always with the consummate wisdom which makes far-seeing caution a first requisite for his high responsibility, but always also with the vision and the inspiration of a whole-hearted Christian. The debt which the English Church and Nation, and indeed the totality of World Christianity, owe to him is inestimable and will remain for its setting down to the writers of a future generation.

In the midst of weighty preoccupations and in spite of ceaseless administrative routine, the like of which have fallen upon few if any public men, he has never ceased to labour to create goodwill between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches. The part he took as far back as 1881 in dispatching the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrians, and his striking actions in the tragedies of the past decade, *e.g.*, his championship of the Armenians or that intervention of his which prevented the Patriarch Tikhon's murder in 1923, evidence unmistakably his lifelong affection for and interest in the Christians of the East.



AN IMPRESSION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, BY MR. POWYS EVANS.



Nothing of importance which happens in Eastern Christendom would appear to escape his attention and no Eastern visitor, from a Patriarch to a simple student at an English University, comes to London, but, with the help of Mrs Davidson's gracious hospitality, he finds time to welcome them at Lambeth Palace.

In 1926, though coming near to be of those fourscore years of which the ninetyeth psalm speaks, he has become above controversy a national asset and a national pride. Men of every school and of every type trust him, look to him for leadership and for inspiration and stand amazed alike at the freshness of his zeal and vision and at the unabating activity with which he accomplishes the manifold tasks and duties which are upon him. This autumn he will be busy in directing the Revision of our Prayer Book and upon that reconstitution of much of our ecclesiastical machinery which the erection of our Church Assembly has made overdue and which bids fair to make these years epochal in our Church history. At the same time is upon him that forecast of the Lambeth Conference of 1930, among the achievements of which we and our Orthodox friends are hoping and labouring to reach the first stages of our formal Reunion.

That in the rich years which may still be before him he may be used to bring forth even larger fruits for God's Glory and Man's Good than he has been blessed already to harvest is the general prayer of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and in it with many others that great body of Eastern Christians who trust, revere and love him, join whole-heartedly.

#### THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS' ENTHRONISTIC TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE Patriarch Meletios II. of Alexandria, formerly Meletios IV. of Constantinople, addressed the letter, of which this is a translation, to the Archbishop of Canterbury in notification of his accession. There exists no precedent for an enthronistic from the head of an Orthodox Church to the chief bishop of a Church other than Orthodox. We append the Archbishop's reply.

TO HIS GRACE RANDALL ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY and Primate of the Church of England, Meletios, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and of all Africa, Greeting in Christ Jesus, our God.

Exactly a year ago to-day Photios, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, in company with many other chief bishops of the Eastern and of the Western Churches, by joining with your Grace in West-

minster Abbey to commemorate the sixteenth centenary of the First Œcumenical Council of Nicæa, aroused general expectation among Orthodox and Anglicans as to the cause of their Reunion into one Flock under the One Shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ.

But at the very time when the Church of Alexandria awaited his arrival home from the West in order to hear from him his own account of the progress of the work of Reunion, it received only the grievous news of his departure from life, and, being widowed, laid him with his fathers. For the God of all spirits had taken suddenly his spirit to Himself that it might find rest in the Tabernacle of the Saints.

The Church of the Evangelist St. Mark being thus bereaved of its chief bishop and we having been called by God's condescension to succeed the Patriarch who has entered rest, we cannot express in words the comfort with which we received in Kephissia, on the day after our election, the telegram of congratulation in which your beloved Grace expressed your good will to us.

Accordingly, in forwarding this the first letter which we address to your Grace from the Apostolic Throne of Alexandria, in order, on account of the bond which exists between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, to acquaint you officially, as the Primate of the Church of England, with God's dispensation as to this Throne, our heart is filled with gladness. For not only do we rejoice to renew those personal bonds of affection which were begun between us when we were at Athens and Constantinople, but we are sensible of the vocation to carry on the work for Reunion enterprised by our great predecessor.

God grant us not to fall behind him either in intention or in that work which, indeed, is dear to Him.

Praying that God will grant your beloved Grace many years of health and work and will send down upon the people entrusted to your care His fullest blessing, we remain with great affection,

Your Grace's brother in Christ,

MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Alexandria,  
16/29 June, 1926.

Lambeth Palace,  
17th July, 1926.

TO HIS BEATITUDE THE LORD MELETIOS, PATRIARCH AND POPE OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ŒCUMENICAL JUDGE, GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER AND OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

It is with the highest satisfaction that I have received the important letter which Your Beatitude was good enough to write to me in connection with your Enthronement in the great historic See—the Chair of St. Mark.



With a full heart I pray the Lord of all the Churches that you may be sustained day by day with all the strength and wisdom that are needed for the carrying forward of the duties of so great an office. Your Beatitude has been called thereto at a time of anxiety and difficulty in the life of the world.

We cherish in England the recollection of the visit paid to us by your venerated predecessor, the Lord Photios, and of the part which he took in our solemn commemorative service in Westminster Abbey as well as the counsel he gave to us both in England and in Scandinavia in connection with all that promotes the unity of the Churches of Christ upon earth. Your Beatitude has been called to succeed him, and we thank God that you will bring to the task now laid upon you the ripe experience and the varied knowledge with which a life of high responsibility and even adventure has endowed you for the good not of your own flock alone but of the Churches of Christ with which you are associated in fraternal bonds of love and concord.

Pray rest assured, my dear brother, that our prayers will be joined with your own in Alexandria that under the Guidance of the Divine Spirit the Kingdom of our Lord and Master may be enlarged and faith in His Gospel deepened in all lands wherewith we have to do in our daily life and work.

I have the honour to remain,  
Your Beatitude's faithful brother and Servant  
in Our Lord Jesus Christ,  
RANDALL CANTUAR.

#### A SON'S BLESSING.

Usually the son asks for the father's blessing. But on this occasion it is the father who asked the son's blessing. The happy father, who is eighty-five years of age, kneeling from old age and deeply touched, asked his sixty-year-old son to bless him and give his benediction. This act happened the day when the news came to Athens, Greece, that His Holiness, the ex-Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Meletios, had been elected to the throne of Alexandria. The old man learned the good news of the election of his son quite late, took his turn in the line of those who were waiting, and kissed the hand of his son, asking him his blessing. And the Patriarch-son, handing his hand over to the father, said: "Have the blessing of the Church of Alexandria, my good father." And the old, happy peasant-father could not hide himself any more and shed his tears privately, as wherever he would move someone would follow him and congratulate him for giving to the Greek Orthodox Church such a son. A happy father, indeed, he is to live long enough to see his son as the spiritual head of the Church of Greece, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and now the Church of Alexandria.—  
*The Living Church.*

#### BISHOP BURY'S LAST OFFICIAL TOUR.

ON May 10th I set out for Riga by the Riga-Ostende express, and had the unique experience of being the only passenger to leave that port, owing to the general strike in this country. Literally, though accompanied by our chaplain at Ostende, I was the only other person on that large platform. All the officials received me with interested and welcoming smiles, and one of the conductors called out at the end of the platform, "Here comes the traveller for Riga," at which summons the conductor for the through carriage for Riga came forward with smiles and bowed me into my *coupé* in the *wagon-lit*. I suppose such an exceptional experience will never come to one again.

I will only just touch upon matters that I think may be of general interest in connection with this Visitation, assuming that my readers will picture me as taking the usual services and Confirmations in each place visited. At Riga, however, the outstanding experience was my visit to the Orthodox Cathedral on the Saturday evening, where I addressed the congregation, accompanied by Archbishop John, and did my best to cheer and encourage them as usual. The great church was crowded to the doors, and everybody keenly interested in my message, when interpreted by a Russian friend. I also took part in the service, and blessed them from the altar steps, and as I left, and outside, there was a stirring scene which reminded me of the Kremlin in other days. The Archbishop came to dine with me at the Legation and, on the Sunday evening, after our own services, at which his two arch-priests had been present to represent him, as he could not leave his own Liturgy, I learned to my great amazement and abiding gratitude that my visit to them under the same circumstances and at a similar service a little more than two years ago had saved that Cathedral from being turned into a State museum. I could hardly believe that such a thing was possible, but he assured me it was so, and told me how the President had summoned him on the Monday morning and had asked the meaning and purpose of the English Bishop's visit to his Cathedral on the Saturday evening, and why I had not visited the Roman Catholic Archbishop, nor their own newly appointed Lutheran State Bishop. He had informed him, he said, that I had come on behalf of the Church of England, bringing messages from its clergy and laity of cheer and encouragement, and because of the long-standing friendly relations between our two Churches which had been so greatly strengthened by Anglican sympathy with the Orthodox Church in its time of travail and suffering. He told me this had made a great impression on the President and had, he repeated, saved his Cathedral. I took care, therefore, to call on the President before I



left, as I knew he would hear of my visit and of the Archbishop being entertained at the British Legation. He lives in the greatest poverty in a cellar under his Cathedral, as the Government took away his official residence from him, but this, of course, he does not mind, as he, like every other Russian Bishop, is a monk, and pledged to great austerity of life.

From Riga I went on to Esthonia and found that the financial position there is a very anxious one, perhaps more anxious than in any other of the Baltic countries. I crossed over the Gulf to Finland, through the ice fields still there, seeing seals dive from their floes as our vessel approached, and so on to Helsingfors. Finland is the one bright spot in the Baltic countries, just as Czecho-Slovakia is in the Balkans, and is marked by just the same strong Anglophile feeling and sympathy. Building is going on in all directions, and from all parts of the country one hears of industry and prosperity and increase of patriotic feeling. Apart from our English services, I had an especial interest in having the oldest church placed at my disposal for an evening service, to which about 700 Finns came to increase our congregation, and thoroughly entered into our worship, as Psalms and Canticles and hymns were printed in Finnish for their use. Great numbers of Finns, however, speak English, and it is being taught largely by Anglo-Russian refugees, and so many were able to follow not only the prayers but the sermon. The visit was in some ways an historic event, as it was the first time an English Bishop had preached to Finns for 800 years, the last one being Bishop Henry, who is now their patron saint, and who was martyred at Abo almost as soon as he began his mission. An Anglo-Finnish Society has already been formed, and I attended its second meeting, when the room was crowded to the doors, many being unable to get in, and a great many new members being enrolled at the close. I am sure it will interest my readers to know the very keen interest and sympathy which are being felt in Finland towards this country, and especially towards our Church, as they, too, have an Episcopal Church, their succession having been obtained from Sweden, and it was the Bishop himself who had placed the church at my disposal.

In Leningrad, where I was the guest of the British Mission, apart from our services at the Mission, which were extremely well attended, I made the acquaintance of the Chief Commissar, M. Weinstein by name, and found him quite agreeable and ready to give me the permission which I went to ask of him to see our English church and the buildings connected with it. It is under the charge of an official to whose care all Embassy property has been entrusted, and, accompanied by the "Agent," as the Consul-General is now called, I went carefully over that very familiar sanctuary of ours, and found, although burglars had entered it early in the Revolution, that it was very little changed and hardly at all injured. It seemed even as if

there were no dust after all these years, for books were in their places, the organ open as if it had been played the day before, all the altar ornaments in their place, and everything looking just as if there were going to be a service next day. Many things, however, I could see had disappeared from the sacristy, but on going into the chaplain's house I found that his chief articles of furniture all appeared to be there, carefully labelled, and his study just as I recollected it, pictures upon the walls, chairs in their places, and books upon the shelves. I am hoping it may be possible to secure the return of his property.

At Moscow, where I went in due course, I found, just as I had in Leningrad, that the Soviet Government is considering itself the trustee of Russia's artistic treasures. The Hermitage, at Leningrad, that far-famed collection of pictures and gold and jewelled treasures, and *objets d'art* of all kinds is, I should say, absolutely intact, and I was taken over by the Director himself. At Moscow, where this time I was allowed to visit the Kremlin and the Art Gallery, things were just as I left them as far as I could judge, but M. Weinstein had told me that his Government was particularly anxious not only to keep up the artistic traditions of Russia, but to make them more general, and so I was not surprised to see little parties of very poor children and of working people going about with lecturers to explain both the pictures and artistic furniture. I wish space permitted to describe how interesting and discerning were these lectures to those who could have little knowledge of what art really means. In Russia, however, this time I was very careful about calling on Bishops or Archbishops, or attending any services of the Russian Church, lest I should bring any of them into trouble or suspicion, for the number of exiled and imprisoned clergy and Bishops, I am told, is greater than ever.

Let me, however, though there are so many things one could describe, say a few words with respect to Leninism as a new religion, for that is what I feel sure it is going to be. It will be an irony, indeed, if that Government which has done its best to root out religion from the hearts of its people should only succeed in giving another one to the world. This is what I saw everywhere—in shops, at the opera, in railway stations and other public places, a bust or portrait or picture of Lenin. The old portraits of the Tsar, the pictures of Our Lord, of the saints, of the Holy Mother, are gone, and in their place everywhere is Lenin, always Lenin, and no one else. In one of the largest stores I saw his portrait arranged and draped in red with a light thrown upon it, and his name and date. In the great factories and workshops, I am told, also is a Lenin corner, where his portrait or bust appears with hangings of black and red and a light thrown upon it, and with some such text as "Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives." Then, too, there is his mausoleum, the large wooden erection outside the Kremlin, which is not without



some taste, and very impressive, and surrounded by guards. Every day, from five to six, a long procession enters and passes round Lenin as he lies there embalmed. There was a long queue of many, many thousands, but my arrival with the British flag on the front of the car secured my immediate entrance, and I was much impressed by all the arrangements. One goes along a long passage draped in red and dimly lighted, then descends many steps, and along another passage of scarlet, and with lights, and then enters a large space brilliantly lighted, in the middle of which Lenin's body lies, the face very wax-like in appearance, in a glass case. Soldiers are on guard, just as we have seen them at a Royal Lying-in-State, and are deeply impressive with their solemn appearance and downcast look. Men, women, and children pass all round and out in the same way they entered. A bright light burns over it by day and night, and as I left I could not but say to myself, "There is the beginning of a new religion." A strong leader, for he was that, though he failed, he has left much in the way of writings, and to whose shrine pilgrims come from all parts of the world. Already he is being considered as more than man, for no one may sit in the empty chair at the head of the Council table, which is roped off, and with the dates of the time in which he occupied it. He was more than man they are feeling already, and no ordinary man may sit in his place. Think of what this means in the way of impressing a deeply religious and mystical people like the Russians, with propaganda ever at work amongst them. Some pilgrims to his shrine will have visions in which Lenin has appeared and said this or that, and then things will happen at his shrine, and in due time cures take place there. It is a terrible thing to contemplate, the coming of Leninism—Communism in its worst and most deadly form, so different from the Communism contemplated by the first believers, in which they gave everything for the common good, for Leninism aims at taking all from those who possess and giving it to those who do not possess, and killing and starving to death those who have possessed. I can only say, "God preserve us from Leninism," but I must confess to great forebodings.

I must hurry on this account of my last official Visitation, merely mentioning Warsaw, which I took on my way to Vienna, and where I had my usual inspiring services and Confirmations for the Jews, and dined on the Sunday evening in a house which had been shelled and riddled with bullets during the Pilzudsky revolution. The balcony had been shot away and all the walls badly injured, as I have said. Some of the furniture and hangings showed still how dangerous it had been to be at all near to the President's residence. My last official ministrations were at Vienna, in the beautiful little Embassy church that we possess there, for I cannot call it by any other name, though we have only a Legation now. I was the guest of Lord Chilton, our Minister there, who read the Lessons, and attended every service and

took me out on the Sunday evening to the famous Benedictine Monastery known as Klosterberg, where the Librarian, who is next in official importance to the Abbot himself, received us, and showed us the many interesting things there, and told us of the very arduous, though by no means hopeless, conditions under which the Benedictines are now keeping their various monasteries together under the Republic, and doing their useful and valuable work in so many parishes. If I except one or two countries on the Baltic, I should say, on the whole, that things are improving in the countries I visited, and I feel much more hopeful than I did last time I was there about Russia. The peasants have made good their position of private proprietorship. The New Economical Policy which Lenin inaugurated, after confessing his failure as a Communist, is more and more promoting private enterprise. The conditions of the working classes, especially as to houses, are definitely improving, and I believe, though the Terror still persists with respect to so many of the clergy, that the Government is becoming more disposed to recognize that their religion means much to the Russian people, and that it undoubtedly helps them to be good and loyal citizens. On the morning I left Moscow I learnt that a priest in the village where some of our Staff have little country places, had, after a month's waiting, been allowed on the previous day, a Sunday, to have his religious procession, banners, and lights, out of doors while offering prayers for rain. This is a little ray of hope with which I will conclude, hoping that my readers will not be disappointed that I have not told them more of my experiences and perhaps more about our perfectly delightful English Church services, with their goodly numbers of Communicants, and the British Agent in both places reading the Lessons morning and evening, as well as finding us the room and everything else necessary for the services.

HERBERT BURY, Asst. Bishop of London,  
Lately Bishop for North and Central Europe.



## THE RUSSIAN ROYAL TRAGEDY.

THE poems of which the following translation has been made by Mr. Maurice Baring, were found in a copy-book belonging to the late Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, daughter of the Emperor of Russia, in her handwriting. The book was found at Ekaterinburg, and the poems were published in the late N. A. Sokoloff's detailed report, which is entitled "The Murder of the Imperial Family." There can be little doubt that the poems were composed by the late Grand Duchess. She was known to write verse, and the internal evidence, both as regards style and subject matter, seems conclusive.

The original is obviously the work of a cultured mind, but an inexperienced writer, who has nevertheless studied the best models. But the interest of these poems is other and more than literary. In commenting on them in a Russian newspaper, *Les Dernières Nouvelles*, published in Paris, a Russian critic, M. Hadasevitch, wrote as follows:—"In reading these inexperienced verses, which are truly prayers, written not to order, and hidden, perhaps, from her nearest and dearest, it is impossible not to bow down before the astonishing moral loftiness which they express. This is not 'literature'; but here, in the direct and literal sense, the victim prays for her executioners in the full and clear consciousness of what she is doing."

### BEFORE THE EIKON OF OUR LADY.

Queen of Heaven and earth,  
Solace of the afflicted,  
Hear the prayer of sinners,  
To Thee—our hope and our salvation.

We are sunk in the slough of passion,  
Lost in the darkness of sin,  
But . . . our country, Oh, upon her  
Look down with Thy all-seeing eye.

Holy Russia, Thy bright dwelling  
Has almost perished.  
We call out to Thee, the Interceder,  
We know of no other.

Abandon not Thy children,  
Hope of the desolate,  
Turn not away  
From our sorrow and our suffering.

### A PRAYER.

Send us, Lord, endurance,  
In the day of darkness and storm,  
To bear the persecution of the people,  
And the pains of our Tormentors.

Give us strength, God of Justice,  
To forgive our brothers' trespass,  
And with Thy meekness to bear  
The heavy, the bloody Cross.

And in the day of tumult,  
When our enemies despoil us,  
Help us, Christ, Our Saviour,  
To bear the shame and the affront.

Lord of the world, God of the Universe,  
Hear our prayer,  
Give peace to our soul  
In the dreadful, unbearable hour.

And on the threshold of the grave,  
Breathe on the lips of Thy servants  
The more than mortal strength  
To pray meekly for their enemies.

## THE OLD PATHS OF NICÆA.

By J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., PH.D., Hon. Canon of Southwark,

being a Sermon preached at All Saints', Margaret Street, on SS. Peter and Paul's Day, June 29th, 1926, on the occasion of the First Anniversary of the Westminster Abbey Nicæan Commemoration.

*Each of you saith, I am of Paul, . . . and I of Cephas and I of Christ. Is Christ divided?* — Cor. I, II.

*Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.*—Jeremiah VI, 16.

TO rebuke the divisions of the Corinthians St. Paul confines himself to asking the single question, Is Christ divided? He does not need to write the instantaneous negative which is its one and inevitable reply. Christ cannot be divided. Then it is a glaring contradiction of the natural order that the members of the Church, which is His Body, should be divided.

Christ is not divided. According to the categories of God, that Christians are divided is a manifest impossibility, a monstrous, grievous sin, which exists, but exists only, as all the impossibilities that are sin's root and fruit exist, in the face of the Divine Order.

For the individual Christian our divisions are a catastrophe of disease. The more he lives and loves by the Gospel of Christ, the more he must rebel to end them. He can no more be patient of them than any member of a man's body can be restful when another member is in pain. He needs must labour and pray to be used by the Great Physician for their healing.

Love is the principle, irresistible and compelling, which in all ages has constrained Christian effort to achieve visible Reunion. There is no escape from the eternal law. Our divisions are a wound in the Heart of Christ. If a man be in mystic communion with God, he cannot but will to be in visible communion with his brother also.

But viewed with the eyes of men, that Christians are divided is a disaster of the first magnitude to the Church Militant.

Every age needs its particular pessimists, and the age in which we live has no special need of its own. On the contrary, we have reason to be optimistic of the progress of God's Kingdom in earth. But why has the conscience of World-Christianity been impotent hitherto to end war or to sweep away social injustice? Why does heathendom remain strong to contend against the Gospel, or does practical atheism prevail to infect Christian countries and vice to flourish in Christian nations?

Among the immediate causes of the failure to succeed, can anyone fail to perceive that it is because, though Christ is not divided, Christians are divided?



Experience of the cataclysms of the past twelve years and alarm and consternation at those present disorders which are their consequences and which threaten the social fabric, have brought home to thinking men broadcast the fact that Christian division is a danger to modern civilization. If only for practical ends, as witness that Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm of last August, which had its genesis in the 1920 Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the demand is insistent that the whole Christian Name should speak with one voice.

The same considerations have cleared the vision, intensified the zeal and multiplied indefinitely the number of those who labour for Reunion and pray *ut unum sint* as for an end in itself. Not to succeed is to fail. If all Christians were united and in one Church, they would be mighty to establish the Kingdom of God among men.

Repentance for the divisions which hinder its paramountcy is instinct in such documents as the Lambeth Appeal of 1920 or as Pope Pius XI's Encyclical of 1922, and the effort to amend has produced the many formal interecclesiastical discussions and conferences which have been held in the past six years and the agreements of which are to be summed up in the World Conference of Faith and Order next autumn at Geneva.

The question of Reunion is in the air to-day. Can it be brought to the solid earth? Can all Christians be reunited? I do not mean in the consciousness of membership in an invisible Church—for we know that every man whose heart beats to Christ and who follows the light that is in Him, is somehow knit with Him in the mystic Unity of His Church—but in the extension of a single visible Church which is known and knowable among men, which is a single family in the spiritual intimacies of which each member has a share, a single Host pressing on to the accomplishment of one purpose, a single City of God into which all men and nations enter and bring their treasures?

In the days of the Captivity the Chosen People was dispersed and broken. Its Holy City lay in the dust. Its sense of vocation, of being consecrated to God's Purpose, had wellnigh disappeared. As its exiles sat and mourned its failure and their fate by the waters of Babylon, the prophet Jeremiah stirred them to be up and to seek restoration. "Ask for the old paths," he bade them, "where is the good way, and walk therein and ye shall find rest for your souls." The Good Way—that was the direction in which in conscious union with the will of God their fathers had moved onward towards the goal of His purpose. The Old Paths, they were the statutes and ordinances delivered to them through Moses, in the forsaking which they had lost the Good Way.

In the end they obeyed the prophet's summons. The Captivity returned to the Old Paths and set their feet in the Good Way. Jerusalem was rebuilt. The divine vocation was resumed.

For every Jew of the Captivity those Old Paths of which the prophet spoke were the same. To find them, the nation must go back to the Torah and the Testimony, to the Traditions of the Fathers, to the tithing of mint and anise as well as to mercy and the weightier matters of the Law.

For divided and dispersed Christendom it is not the same. In whatever manner or degree its differentiated elements may confess their particular failures, each and all of them are confident that, in that they find Christ, they have not wholly lost the Good Way. They cannot deny their present experience. Moreover, while they agree that their Reunion in a single Church can only be achieved on the Old Paths which first were beaten by the feet of the Apostles, every one of them is convinced that the lines of its own tradition guide back to the starting point. They cannot repudiate their past.

Our differences are so extreme and are so deeply cut in mentality and conviction that their antitheses appear wellnigh irresoluble. For some on the left, the "Old Paths" show a Church which is a divine society because those who come together to form it are in Communion with God, of which the Faith and Practice are fixed only by their conscience and which would cheerfully accept of itself Khomiakov's satirical definition of the Lutheran Church—a fortuitous if providential society of good men, earnestly engaged in trying to discover the Truth, but certain that they will never find it. For others on the right the "Old Paths" show a Church which is divine because Christ created it, which is single and unique, outside the communion of which, as the only sure ark of salvation, there are no covenants of Grace, of which the Faith is precised and the discipline prescribed inerrantly by the authority of Christ Himself through the mediated channels of a Ministry in sacramental succession to His first Apostles. How can the "Old Paths" be reconciled to be the same for the Catholic and for the Protestant Modernist?

As the Union, which was no Union, proclaimed at Florence in 1439, taught us, the wound of the daughter of Sion is not lightly to be healed with equivocal and ambiguous terms of agreement, worked out at tables of negotiation, by saying Peace where there is no Peace. None the less there must be a way to achieve the external objective Reunion of Christians. Christ is not divided. Where the Spirit lists to blow, men's hearts will crave for Reunion and in His Own Way and in His Own Time He, the Great Physician, Who never fails in any case, will appease our unhappy divisions. God prepares miracles. It is for men to be the instruments of their accomplishment.

The last wise words of Pirke Aboth in the Talmud are, "My son, to undertake the whole work is not for you."

Let us look on to the Reunion of all Christians. So that they be true and rightful, we cannot dream of lines too large and wide for the rebuilding of external Christian Unity. Let us prepare the



ground for the edifice by labour and prayer and love. But in doing so, do not let us overlook the work, the doing of which comes to our hand, and let us do it with our might.

Where, without compromise of principle, the "Old Paths" run indubitably as the same, let us set ourselves to agree to meet with our brethren and to walk together along them.

It is a coincidence that on this Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul a year ago, by the motion of the Convocation of Canterbury and in the presence of the greater part of our English Episcopate, the Holy Liturgy was celebrated in Westminster Abbey in commemoration of the Sixteenth Centenary of the first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa. The historic interest of that event was enhanced by the participation in it not only of the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria—whom God rest—the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem, and the official delegates of the other particular Orthodox Churches, but by the presence at our Archbishop's invitation of Mar Shimun, the Assyrian Catholicos, the Archbishop of Upsala, and representatives of other historic Churches.

That was a happy augury. For, as was pointed out by the present Bishop of Gloucester in his inspiring Bampton Lectures of 1922, it was by the holding of the Council of Nicæa that the One Visible Apostolic Church achieved the realization of the principle of ecclesiastical Œcumenicity.<sup>1</sup> Except for relatively insignificant groups which soon disappeared. The decrees of its 318 Fathers were accepted by the whole of Christendom as incontrovertible, their precisions of the Faith were received as the Œcumenical Symbol and their canons were obeyed as obligatory in every Christian jurisdiction from Great Britain to the Euphrates. To-day its Creed is still the one Creed of historic Christianity, and all historic ecclesiastical polities derive through the Œcumenical policy which it regularized.

No reminder is needed that in the sixteenth century the English Church made her appeal from Rome and against Geneva to the authority of an Œcumenical Council as the supreme organ and tribunal of the Church, and in doing so claimed that in her reforms she willed only to return to the Faith, Practice and Policy of Nicæa and of the Œcumenical Councils by which its work was continued.<sup>2</sup>

Humanly speaking, what are the present possibilities of our agreement upon the "Old Paths" with all those who to-day accept and appeal to the authority of the Council of Nicæa?

For us Christians there have been three chief disruptions which shattered the Œcumenical Unity of Christendom achieved at Nicæa, and belong to three periods.

<sup>1</sup> The word "Œcumenical" has latterly been used unhappily of such gatherings at last year's Stockholm Conference. Its proper content is to denote the aspect of the Church not as all-embracing or catholic but as possessing a single organization.

<sup>2</sup> Explicitly of the first four Œcumenical Councils, implicitly of the first six. (See B. J. Kidd, *How can I be sure that I am a Catholic?*—pp. 17-21, 1914.)

The first was that which, in the fifth century, broke away the bulk of the Semitic and Egyptian Christendoms, but left united the Greek and Latin Christendoms, of which we form part.

The second was the Great Schism of 1054, which separated Grecian and Latin Christendom into the Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic Churches.

The third, of course, was the Reformation, which split Western Catholics into many bodies and in consequence of which our English Church became isolated, on the one hand being disrupted from Communion with the Roman Obedience, and on the other entering into union neither with any of the Protestant Churches which came into being nor with the Christendom of the East.

What are the prospects of us Anglicans agreeing with those four Christendoms as to what are the fixed lines of the "Old Paths" of Nicæa—with the Eastern Orthodox and the Separated Eastern Churches, with Rome and with the Liberal Evangelical Churches which lineally represent the Protestantism of the Reformation?

To take the natural order, and to consider the last first. Surveying world-wide Liberal Christianity, it may be said that its position in the twentieth century shows this contrast to its position in the sixteenth century. In the latter it accepted broadly the Theological standards of the Nicæan epoch without question, but went back behind it to the authority of Scripture in order to rediscover and to reconstruct the life and polity of the Church. To-day it has ceased to recognize the Bible as infallible and, in consequence, the position is reversed. Liberal Christianity, as a whole, and especially Continental Liberal Christianity, repudiates the incontrovertibility of the Nicæan precisions of the Faith as a principle. On the other hand, it appears prepared, for the practical purpose of Reunion, to consider the acceptance of much of the Church order of Nicæa, as, for example, a constitutional episcopate.

In other words, for the left wing of Liberal Christianity and for ourselves Nicæa would seem at most to offer a meeting ground not of principle but of equivocal compromise.

The Conservative currents in Anglo-Saxon Liberal Christianity are much larger and stronger than in Continental Liberal Christianity, and no happier sign of the times exists than the replacing in the past thirty years of the old social quasi-political antagonisms between Anglicans and Free Churchmen in England by intimacies, comradeship, and brotherly goodwill. That does not mean, however, that even our English Free Church brethren are ready to agree that the firm ground of their "Old Paths" is to be found by going back to Nicæa. "My skin is nearer to me than my shirt," says the proverb. They are bone of our bone. They are of our blood, our race, our mentality. They are our comrades, often our leaders in Christian enterprise. We are inspired by their zeal and by their vision. We



honour them for their achievements. We are very conscious of our need of them, and must be eager to get nearer and nearer to them. But while the present facts give reason for optimism as to our and their increasingly close co-operation in practical Christian work, they do not open the prospect of our speedy Reunion, on the basis of the Faith and Practice of Nicæa.

As for the Church of Rome, no question exists as to her "Old Paths" running through Nicæa. That, if more defined, her Faith is the identical Faith of Nicæa and that, if evolved and developed, her Church life is the identical Church life of Nicæa is her necessary fundamental position. That to go back to Nicæa is to return to her, is essential to her claim for our submission.

That by the fearless logic of her system, by her unswerving consistency in principle, by the great part that she has played in Christian history many of us should be drawn to her, is natural. We admire her, reverence her, love her. We know the treasures she possesses in her people's devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, in their love of the Saints. And we hunger to be in communion with them.

None the less, the difficulty remains. The Church, as seen by Rome at Nicæa, is not the Church, as seen at Nicæa by us. Whatever were the cross currents, we believe that when the Church of England broke with her it was to return to Nicæa, to the Church of the Œcumenical Councils. We cannot repudiate our past. We may have learnt to recognize that, as Dr. Gore has phrased it, the Papacy has played a providential part in history. We may be eager and ready to find in it a centre of unity, to accept it as "a higher command" of the Church Militant. But as we understand it, Rome's definition of the seat of supreme authority and of infallibility in the Church is an alteration of and an addition upon the Faith of Nicæa. "Probably there are but few Anglo-Catholics," writes Dr. Stone in his recent book, and he has a right to speak in that name, "who are so far inconsistent in remaining in the English Church that they are ready to acknowledge the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope."<sup>1</sup>

The "Conversations" of Malines have changed the atmosphere of our controversy with Rome and so have given us a great hope which is not closed by the lamented loss of Desid  re, Cardinal Mercier, and of the simple Abb  , Fernand de Portal, those apostles of goodwill to whose inspiration the Church owes a debt past expression. But again, no optimism can see more than a rainbow of our future agreement with Rome as to what are the "Old Paths" of Nicæa.

In regard, however, to the Orthodox Church of the East and to the Churches which separated from it in the fifth century, things are very different. The appeal of both is to a Nicæa which we recognize as identical with our own.

<sup>1</sup> *Faith of an Anglo-Catholic*, Longmans, 1926.

Of the latter, the so-called Nestorians and Monophysites, it may be said that in whatever measure their Christology was ever heretical—and recent research goes far to show that their schisms were realized more in opposition to the attempts of the Roman Emperors to byzantinize the non-Hellenic nations of the East than through theological wrong-headedness—they are probably free from Christological heresy to-day.

Thus on the one hand, in regard to the Assyrians who with their daughter Church of Malabar, are the only twentieth-century representatives of that once widespread Church of the Patriarchs of the East and Catholici of Seleucia, of whom the present Mar Shimun is the lineal successor, and which planted its missions a thousand years ago in India and China, I myself was privileged last year to submit to very competent Anglican theologians the Mappaq b'Ruha, *i.e.*, the Apology, of Mar Timotheos, their ablest living theologian, and to receive the unanimous answer that its Christology was satisfactory.

The same may be said in regard to the Monophysites, that is to say to the Jacobite Syrians, to the Copts who, with their daughter Church of Abyssinia, have been in full union with them since the sixth century, and to the Armenians who are in economic though not formal communion with both. Thus in 1922, at his own request, a Christological questionnaire was submitted by the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee to Mar Ignatios, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. His answers were pronounced satisfactory by the same theologians, who considered Mar Timotheos' Mappaq b'Ruha, so that, if they are endorsed by his bishops suffragan and by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, the requirement of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 will have been met, and there should be no obstacle to their accepting the offer of intercommunion which it envisaged.

It is true that from the utilitarian standpoint, the Separated Churches of the East do not bulk largely. The Assyrians are homeless and total in all at most 100,000. The Jacobites are about the same in number and are poor and depressed. In Egypt the Copts are a small minority. The Armenians probably still number from three to four millions, of whom one and a half millions are able to realize their nationality in an autonomous state—the little republic which is a member of the Soviet Union. The rest are a homeless dispersion. While, as having preserved the character of a Byzantine C  sardom for 1,000 years, the Habash<sup>1</sup> Empire is of profound interest to the student, and may be at the beginning of a Renaissance under its Negus, Ras Taffari, appraised by European standards, it is, of course, only a backward African state.

But the significance of Reunion with the Nestorians and Monophysites is not to be estimated in terms of their numbers, culture, and so on. They are the remnants of once great and distinctive

<sup>1</sup> Abyssinian.



Christendoms, which, except for them, have been destroyed by Islam, which have been oppressed unspeakably, have been thrust down into ignorance and poverty, and have been massacred in recurrent seas of blood for 1,300 years. They are dear to us for the romance of their faithfulness to the Cross. They still preserve those ancient traditions and characteristics which differentiated them in the first six centuries from Graeco-Latin Christendom. They have no small contribution to bring to the reunited Catholic Church. Their Reunion with the Orthodox would stabilize Eastern Christianity and would open a door to the Conversion of Islam, to which, as possessed of the same categories of mentality, language, and life, they seem the destined ambassadors of the Cross.

Above all, it would recompense them for some of those injustices which they have suffered from Graeco-Latin Christendom. That their fourteen centuries of isolation from the rest of the Christian world should be ended must be the profound desire of us all.

If the practical statesman who concerns himself with Christian Reunion as a prophylactic against war and social disorder may be forgiven for ignoring Reunion with the Nestorian and Monophysite as of little but sentimental value, he cannot fail to attach the greatest importance to Reunion with the Orthodox.

Roughly speaking, as throughout the past millennium, whatever remains Christian in Europe, east of the line from Venice to the Baltic, still remains faithful to the Orthodox Church.

History leaves it incontestable that the splitting of East and West by the Great Schism, which culminated in 1054, not only opened the door to the spread of Islam and gave it the strength which makes it still aggressive, but retarded European progress and brought countless ills upon the Christian name.

If that division was an inestimable disaster, its repairing will be an inestimable gain.

It is true that since the dark year of 1453, when the Crescent first desecrated St. Sophia, the Orthodox Church has never been so harassed and persecuted as in the last ten years. No one can forecast, it is true, how the hundred millions of Russia will escape from that Bolshevik régime which has set itself deliberately to destroy the Christian Religion. The Greek race has been decimated in a martyrdom which is more than comparable to any martyrdom of the early Church. Not a bell calls to the Liturgy in Asia Minor, once the homeland of the Gospel. The Cross and the Christian are extirpated from the Seven Cities of the Apocalypse. The Orthodox nations of the Balkans have been liberated from Turkish helotage too recently to have caught up with Western knowledge and modern progressive ideals of Christian Service. But whether it emerge the weaker or the stronger from its present bitter trials, that the Orthodox Church must be a great, perhaps at times a decisive, factor in the complex of World Christianity, borders on the incontestable.

Accordingly, to achieve solidarity with the Orthodox Church in practical work, presents itself as a laudable, practical end to all Christians who, however much by mentality or outlook they may be impatient of the spirit of its life and traditions, realize how much help in common effort and advance Reunion with it would enable them to give and to receive. And it is thus that, in order to create and to develop brotherly relations with it, American Protestant organizations, such as the Council of Federated Churches, have devoted to it great pains and attention, which, we may indeed rightly be glad, are resulting in good will and in mutual co-operation between them and it in those fields in which their mutual co-operation without compromise of principle is possible.

For us, however, to whom, without assessing its practical consequences upon the world, the restoration of the visible Unity of the Church of Christ is a first end both of duty and desire, Reunion with the Orthodox is to be sought for its own sake; and happily it would appear not only to be possible, more possible probably than with any other category of Christians from whom we are separated, but also in human foresight to be nearer—far nearer than it would seem to be with Rome or with any other Western Christian Communion.

For, in the first place, speaking with every caution, the examination of our respective positions leads to the conclusion that, as the Metropolitan Anthony and others have declared recently, dogmatic agreement is probably possible between the Orthodox and ourselves. In saying this, I do not mean dogmatic agreement between the Orthodox and a section of the Anglican Church—for that would be profitless for the purpose of Reunion—but between the Orthodox Church and the whole Anglican Church, as represented by the totality of its Episcopate. And I forget neither that there are questions, such as the *Filioque*, which, though they appear capable of solution without compromise on either side, present difficulty, nor that the existence among us of that liberty of thought which is a distinctive note of Anglicanism, is no small stumbling block to Orthodoxy. They ground themselves as having preserved "without addition, subtraction, or alteration," the Faith and the characteristics of life and worship of the Age of Nicæa and of those Ecumenical Councils to which throughout the sixteenth century the Church of England appealed as the standard of her Reformation, and allowing for those differences which do not "touch the Catholic Faith or any Ecumenical canon" and which, as far back as the ninth century, the Patriarch Photios declared to be wholly permissible, it would appear that, as set forth in our formularies, our Faith is the same and, as evidenced by our Sacramental system, our Sacred Ministry, and our Ecclesiastical Polity—if we do not dispute over terms—our Church life is of *pari materia* with their own.

And, secondly, the Church is an organism of Love no less than of



Faith, and Reunion is the business of the heart no less than of the head.

Accordingly, we may take encouragement at the very marvellous growth of the bonds which have always existed between Orthodox and Anglicans, but which have been fostered and developed most wonderfully by our common experiences in the past twelve years. I well remember how in August, 1912, at my last conversation with the venerable Ecumenical Patriarch, Joachim III., he observed that, before it would be possible even to approach the discussion of Reunion, the will to it must be generated in the people of the Orthodox Church and of the Anglican. Such an impulse would be irresistible.

To imagine that that will is universal and complete would be to dream deceitfully. On our side, the apathy among many who might be expected to be eager and active remains lamentable.

But in comparison with twelve years back, the number of us Anglicans, laity and clergy, who have first-hand knowledge of the Orthodox, have formed ties of personal association with them, and care greatly about them, is as hundreds to one. The goodwill, as often the keen interest of the great majority of Anglicans, has been won towards Reunion by the splendid courage and fortitude displayed by the Greeks and the Russians in the tragic persecutions which they have undergone. The names of the Martyr-Confessor Tikhon, of the Martyr Chrysostom of Smyrna, and of the brave Patriarch Meletios are familiar enough to the Anglo-Saxon public.

On their part, the Orthodox have repaid the all too little practical sympathy which we have shown them in their trials and sufferings with a grateful affection that would be astounding to anyone ignorant of the Greek or Russian genius. The name of our Archbishop of Canterbury is hardly better loved or trusted in England than it is in the Near East.

It is this mutual approach in the bonds of love which is generating the atmosphere for Reunion and upon its advance depends the realization of our hopes.

Its present fruits are to be perceived alike in the progress of theological conversations, cognizance of which is necessarily confined to the few, and in those external official and quasi-official relations between the two Churches, of which outstanding examples are familiar to everybody.

To maximize the importance of these latter would be as undesirable as wrong. But no one can mistake their recurrent and progressively increasing significance.

Admittedly no practical problem of Reunion is more thorny than that of the mutual recognition of ministries. In 1922 the Patriarch Meletios marked his short and troubled but very notable reign at Constantinople by taking the initial step in the official acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Orthodox. That acceptance still waits

formal completion, but the formal favourable solution of the question is presaged by the declarations of the Metropolitan Anthony and of Professor Glubokovsky last September that in their judgment the Anglican clergy should be received in their Orders.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the official participation in that Abbey Nicæan Commemoration, of which to-day is the anniversary, of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, of the Russian Bishops, and of other delegates from the particular Orthodox autocephalous Churches, constituted in itself an act of interecclesiastical comity and amity which had no precedent and than which none more brotherly and intimate between separated Churches can be conceived. At the same time, their use of the opportunities of intercourse and of investigation, given them by their month's stay in England, convinced our visitors for that Commemoration that our Church life presents the characteristics which justify the discussion of Reunion.

It is true, indeed, that the aged Patriarch Photios, who left England with the avowed intention of devoting his remaining days to the mission of Reunion has, to our abiding loss and sorrow, been called to his rest. But the Patriarch Meletios, whom we all know, admire and love, has been summoned from his seclusion to be his successor at Alexandria, and in his hands, and in those of our good friend, the Metropolitan Anthony, with many another, the work will go forward.

To summarize the present position, it may be said without hesitation that the ground is being so prepared by mutual knowledge, intercourse, and goodwill that the time may soon be in sight when official discussions with a view to that full dogmatic agreement without which as its necessary preliminary Reunion is impossible, may be undertaken fruitfully. Meanwhile, unless something untoward should occur, it may be anticipated with reasonable confidence that the Lambeth Conference of 1930 will witness a *modus vivendi* pending that agreement, but which, without any compromise of principle—and, for all the suggestions to the contrary, the Orthodox have hitherto made none and will make none—on either side, the Orthodox and Anglican Churches may mutually recognize each other's Church life and may so enter on the last stage of their full and complete union.

"I long to die in communion with Constantinople," Dr. Frank Weston, of Zanzibar, wrote me in a cherished letter a few months before his death. That heart's desire was not granted him, but God's Providence may vouchsafe it to us who follow him.

In conclusion, let us remember that difficulties which appear to us insurmountable are as nothing to Him Whose will it is that His Church should be one. With God all things are possible. However great, when stated in terms of the human intellect, may be the dog-

<sup>1</sup> The history of the matter since the opening of its investigation by the Holy Synod of Constantinople in 1902 is lucidly summarized in a brochure published this year by the Metropolitan of Athens (*The Question of Anglican Ordinations*).



matic distances which separate Christians, Love and the Divine Prayer of Christ have power to bring them into unity. The Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, whose names have been taken in these later centuries as typifying almost rival theories of Christianity, and with them all the Saints, are not divided. Their prayers are efficacious for the work of Reunion. Let us join with them and seek to be instruments in the Hands of the Great Physician, and the Schisms in His Body, the Church, will be healed, not in our way nor in our time, but in His Way and in His Time.

Though men fail Him, He never fails. Let us labour and pray and trust and love, and before we know, His work will be accomplished.

God worketh not as man hath thought,  
And that man thinks not, God hath wrought;  
So hath each tale an ending.

#### THE CANONICAL POSITION IN RUSSIA.

THE documents printed below are old in a measure, but, though the recent sharpening of the confinement of the Metropolitan Sergios and the continued complete isolation of the Metropolitan Peter have led to that increased disorganization of the central administration of the Russian Church which is the first objective of the Soviet's sustained campaign of its persecution, these documents form, so to speak, the latest incident in its constitutional struggle.

To understand this it must be recalled that, (1) during the long confinement of the Patriarch Tikhon the Russian Church administration had been reduced to chaos partly by direct Bolshevik persecution and partly by the Living Church Council of 1923, which pronounced his deposition and broke away in many decisions from the Ecumenical Faith and Practice of the Orthodox Church; (2) after his release in 1923 the Patriarch's authority, which had always been paramount, was greatly enhanced, but the Bolsheviks prevented his reconstructing the ecclesiastical machine; (3) accordingly, in his testament he provided for a locum-tenency after his death, which occurred in April, 1925; (4) at least a considerable number of the Russian bishops, while declaring their repudiation of his "deposition" in 1923, repudiated his nomination of a locum-tenency as uncanonical; (5) the Council held in 1925 must not be confused with the Living Church Council of 1923, and appears to have declared its loyalty to the late Patriarch and to Orthodox Faith and Practice; (6) the authority of the Metropolitan Peter who assumed the locum-tenency under the Patriarch's testament was rejected by that Council, which he himself in turn condemned, and he has since been imprisoned; (7) under the circumstances no effective central Church administration can

exist in Russia—dioceses, or more often parishes, going their own way; (8) the canonical position is admittedly difficult, only extreme danger justifying a testamentary delegation of authority and function.

The use of the crisis made by the Bolsheviks is apparent, and the Soviet's methods are illustrated by these documents.

It is stated in the Balkans that the Pro-Synod, when it meets at Athos to prepare for the Orthodox Ecumenical Council, will invite the two sides to submit their differences to its arbitration.

FROM THE LOCUM-TENENS, PETER OF KRUTITZ.

In the event of my inability through any circumstances whatever to fulfil my obligations as Patriarchal Locum-Tenens, I commit the performing of such obligations to the Very Reverend Sergios, Metropolitan of Novgorod. Further, if to exercise this commission be not within the power of the aforesaid Metropolitan, then the Right Reverend Michael, Exarch of the Ukraine or, if the Metropolitan Michael be deprived of power to undertake the fulfilment of my commission to him, the Right Reverend Joseph, Archbishop of Rostov, shall enter upon the fulfilment of the obligations of the Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

But the mention of my name as that of Patriarchal Locum-Tenens in Divine Service shall remain obligatory.

(Signed by) The Patriarchal Locum-Tenens,  
the Metropolitan of Krutitz,  
Peter.

23 Nov./6 Dec., 1925.  
Moscow.

1/14 December, 1925.  
RIGHT REVEREND LORD,

I request to inform the Orthodox Hierarchs resident in Moscow (and, if it be possible, also outside Moscow) that I judge myself unable rightly to decline the temporary commission to fulfil the duties of Patriarchal Locum-Tenens under such circumstances as have arisen laid upon me on the 6th of this month of December by the Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

I will endeavour to advise you of the date, if it become necessary and be possible, of my arrival in Moscow. Meanwhile, correspondence in reference to my function as Locum-Tenens should be addressed to me at Novgorod.

Asking your prayers, I remain your Right Reverence's humble servant,

SERGIOS,  
Metropolitan of Novgorod,  
Acting Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.



Printed by the Metropolitan Sergios at Novgorod.

To the Right Rev. the Bishop in temporary charge of the Diocese of Moscow, authenticated by Gabriel, Bishop of Klen, Coadjutor of the Diocese of Moscow.

R.S. Ph. S.R.

National Commissariat for Internal Affairs,  
Administrative Department,  
2 Jan., 1926.

Examination.

No. 2/2.

These presents are to inform Gregory Yatzkovsky (Archbishop Gregorios), B. Ruckin (Bishop Boris), Mogilevsky K. (Archbishop Constantine), Pereyaslavsky D. (Bishop Vassian), Rusanov T. (Bishop Tikhon), and Simiersky V. (Bishop Vasserion), in regard to the petition received from them for consideration and authorization as to the organization of a Temporary Supreme Church Council of the Orthodox Church with its headquarters in Moscow city, in the premises of the former monastery of the Don.

*No obstacle exists on the part of the National Commissariat for Internal Affairs to the proposed activity of the Temporary Council prior to its legal authorization.*

Signed by Zaiev, Acting Chief of the Central Administration, Freiman, for the Administrative Department, at the office of the latter.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE TEMPORARY SUPREME COUNCIL.

1. The Temporary Supreme Church Council constitutes the temporary organ of the ecclesiastical government of the Russian Orthodox Church and is in communion both canonically and in worship with the Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

2. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will superintend all the ecclesiastical affairs of every Orthodox parish in the whole territory of the S.S.S.R., subject to the consent of the government of the latter.

3. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will superintend all matters of Doctrine and Worship, and of the Church's teaching, administration and discipline in consonance with the Word of God and ecclesiastical canon law.

4. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will have for its immediate task the arranging for the convention canonically of a Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in the next months, *i.e.*, not later than the summer of the present year, 1926, to consist of bishops, priests and laymen.

5. The Temporary Supreme Church Council of bishops will have control as to the temporary filling of diocesan thrones and as to the residence of bishops within the bounds of their dioceses.

6. The Temporary Supreme Church Council of bishops shall address the whole Russian Orthodox Church with doctrinal encyclicals and pastoral monitions and will occupy itself with the establishment of communication with the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East.

7. Having the function of pleading with the Government, the Temporary Supreme Church Council will occupy itself where it is profitable in petitioning for the mitigation of the lot of those who are condemned for ecclesiastical causes.

8. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will be responsible for its actions to the Council (*see* above, 4), and shall occupy itself with the above matters until the appointment of a new Ecclesiastical Administration by the Council.

9. The Temporary Supreme Church Council may under necessary circumstances co-opt to its personnel representatives of the clergy and laity.

- (1) GREGORIOS, Archbishop of Ekaterinburg.
- (2) DAMIAN, Bishop of Pereyaslav.
- (3) CONSTANTINE, Archbishop of Mogilev.
- (4) VESSARION, Bishop of Ulganov.
- (5) TIKHON, Bishop of Ustmedvyeditz.
- (6) BORIS, Bishop of Mojaish.
- (7) VASSIAN, Bishop.
- (8) INNOCENTIOS, Bishop of Kamen.
- (9) METROPHAN, Bishop of Urazov.
- (10) ITHANNIKIOS, Bishop of Tchantzev.

FROM THE ACTING LOCUM-TENENS APPOINTED BY THE METROPOLITAN PETER, TO RIGHT REVEREND LORD BISHOP AND GRACIOUS CHIEF-PASTOR AND FATHER.

In "Izvestia" of Jan. 7 of this year under the general heading, "Among Churchmen," appeared the announcement, as made by yourself, that the Supreme Church Council, presided over by your Right Reverend Lordship, was due to inaugurate its business at Moscow in the Donskoy Monastery on an unnamed date; its personnel to consist of the Right Rev. Bishops Constantine, formerly of Mogila, Boris of Mojaish, Bessarion of Ulyanov (Simbir), Damianos of Pereyaslav, Innocent of Kamen, and Tikhon of Ustmedvyeditz. And further, that the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church would be the subject of that Assembly.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the communication, I decide to trouble your Right Rev. Lordship with a respectful request not to leave me for longer than the shortest time possible without information on these points.

(1) Does the statement in "Izvestia" correspond to the fact? In particular, have the above-named bishops acceded to the personnel of the Council and do they continue to remain on it?



(2) Are you and your sympathizers minded to form a special religious group, separated from our Orthodox Church, although, perhaps, not distinct from it in Faith and Practice, and after the type, for example, of the Lubensky schism in the Ukraine? Or is it the case that on your part no such division from the Orthodox Church is contemplated?

(3) In the latter event, then, in what relation do you contemplate being towards the legal, in the ecclesiastical sense, Orthodox Russian Hierarchy, presided over by myself under the commission of the Locum-Tenens of 6/12/25, during the period until the assumption again of his responsibilities as Patriarchal Locum-Tenens by the Metropolitan Peter or the election of a new Locum-Tenens? That is, do you contemplate acting altogether independently of our Hierarchy and without its knowledge? Or is it the case that you have decided not to break communion with it?

(4) If you have not decided to break communion with our Hierarchy then on what canonical principles do you justify your enterprise? And what incontestable, canonical source can you indicate for your absolute authority in order to justify the Supreme Church Council over which you preside, as being self-initiated and self-authenticated, proceeding to separate itself from the Supreme Church Council in previous existence, or to enable the Orthodox Russian Hierarchy to maintain communion with you, and the faithful children of our Church to follow you without peril with brotherly love towards yourself and with sincere good-will towards your sympathizers. I remain your Right Reverence's humble servant,

The Acting Patriarchal Locum-Tenens,

SERGIOS, Metropolitan of Novgorod.

1/14 Jan., 1926.

To the Right Reverend Archbishop of Sverdlov, Gregory of Ekaterinburg.

#### CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

WE learn with regret that the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, who has been head of the Greek Parish of London since 1899, has decided to enter on well-merited retirement this autumn. The Archimandrite, who is a native of Smyrna, has never fully recovered from the shock of learning in October, 1922, that his mother and sisters had disappeared in the Kemalists' holocaust which purged from that famous Metropolis of the Apokalypse its age-long Christian character. We learn that he will probably reside in Alexandria, the particular Church which he served before coming to London, and for the Patriarchal Throne of which he was a candidate in 1898.

Father Leluchin, Nastoyatel, *i.e.*, priest superior, of the Russian Parish of London, resigned his post in June to take up charge of the Russian Parish of Florence. Since he only came to England from Archangel in 1922 and succeeded Father Smirnov in 1923, his work in England was less long than that of the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, but he had formed many friendships in England.

Regret at his departure was tempered by the acceptance of the invitation to succeed him which the Metropolitan Evlogie tendered to Archbishop Seraphim, formerly Archbishop of Finland. Readers of the *Christian East* will call to mind the measures taken by the Finnish Government to compel the Orthodox of Finland to sever their connection with the Russian Patriarchate, and the unsuccessful but very plucky way in which Archbishop Seraphim opposed them. The policy of the Finnish Government, which was motivated by the wish that the Russian majority among their Orthodox nationals, themselves a relatively small minority in a Protestant nation, should be de-Russianized. It became triumphant last year, the Ecumenical Patriarchate having recognized the Finnish Church as autonomous and under Canon 26 of the Council of Chalcedon (454) dependent upon the Throne of Constantinople, and having consecrated bishops who accepted the anti-Russian decrees of the Government. The Archbishop had maintained an unflinching if unsuccessful passive resistance to the demand that the Finnish Church should declare itself autokephalous, contending that Orthodox canon law did not permit the severance of what was a part of the Russian Church from the Throne of Moscow without the Patriarch's consent. That is a controversy in which it would be indiscreet for Anglicans to intrude. None the less, we may join with his opponents in respecting his courage and consistency, which are good auguries for his work among the Russians in England. He was welcomed at Hull on his arrival from Riga on July 11th by representatives of the Archbishop of York, and at King's Cross by a deputation of London clergy. On July 14th he visited the Archbishop of Canterbury and lunched with him at Lambeth Palace.

The anniversary of our Association will be held on Thursday, October 14th. In the morning the Liturgy will be celebrated for it by Archbishop Seraphim at St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, at 11 a.m., when the Dean of Salisbury will preach. In the evening Sir Ronald Storrs, who has recently exchanged the Governorship of Jerusalem for that of Cyprus, will preside at 5.30 p.m. at an open meeting in Sion College, when the chief speaker will be Dr. B. J. Kidd, Warden of Keble. The Metropolitan of Thyatira, who has spent the summer in Macedonia and, as we write, is in Switzerland for the Preparation Committee of next year's World Conference on Faith and Order, and probably the Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris, are also expected to take part in the proceedings.



Anent the World Conference on Faith and Order in 1927, we note with satisfaction that among the ten delegates nominated to represent the Church of England upon it the majority have made definite contribution to our movement and have good knowledge of the Orthodox Church. Among others they include Bishop Gore as leader, and with him the Bishops of Gloucester and Truro, Canon Bate, Canon Douglas, and Mr. Riley.

The Rev. P. H. Ierides, after two years at Oxford, has taken his B.Litt., and has returned to Cyprus to the church of which he is a priest, and where he will undertake an important post on the Archbishop's staff.

It is now ancient history that, thanks to the action of Lord Lloyd, the Egyptian Government abandoned its attempt to control the Alexandrian Patriarchal Election, and that Mgr. Meletios Metaxakis, formerly Meletios IV., now Meletios II. of Alexandria—the first of the name was the famous ecclesiastic and theologian Meletios Pegas—was chosen, on May 19th, by 138 votes, Mgr. Nicolas Evangelides, Metropolitan of Nubia, receiving 122, to succeed the late Patriarch Photios, and, having accepted in his seclusion at Kephissia the formal invitation brought him from Egypt by the Metropolitan of Leontopolis at the head of the customary delegation, was duly enthroned, with the historic ceremonies, in the fourth-century symbolic Church of St. Sabbas, on Sunday, June 13th. His Beatitude received every mark of attention from the Egyptian, Greek and British Governments, and in reply to his enthronistics received warm congratulations from the other Patriarchs and heads of Orthodox Churches. We print elsewhere the letters which were exchanged between himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The new Patriarch has much and difficult work before him in the reorganization of the machinery of the Patriarchate, and especially since it possesses none, in the equipping it with an Organic Law. In the past few months a good beginning has been made by the formation of a register of the clergy of the Patriarchate, the jurisdiction of which extends through Central Africa.

Though absorbed in getting a grip of his particular and immediate task, his Beatitude is clearly not unmindful of the wide and general claims upon himself as the occupant of the second Orthodox Throne. We are not without expectation that he will visit England and the West next year.

Writing of Egypt, we understand that another of the invaluable Unity Conferences convened at Heliopolis—the On of Potipherah, Joseph's father-in-law—these past three autumns by Bishop Gwynne and attended by bishops and clergy of all the historic Eastern Churches, will be held this autumn. Apart from the happy atmo-

sphere of these meetings, considerable solid work has been done at them. We could wish the pages of the *Christian East* large enough for more than a notice of their occurrence.

A very distinguished British architect who has recently visited Constantinople informs us that the condition of the fabric of St. Sophia is deplorable. *The Times* published in August some photos of the tinkering which it is undergoing. Anthemios of Tralles and Ignatios built the Queen of Churches marvellously for Justinian 1,400 years ago, and in their decadence the Cæsars of Constantinople did not fail to keep its structure in altogether sound condition. In result, as Eastern Christendom was too strong to be crushed out of life even by five centuries of Turkish barbarity, so St. Sophia has contrived to survive five centuries of Turkish vandalism.

Every schoolboy ought to know the rival legends; the Greek peasant's that the Great Church's reconsecration will herald the final restoration of Eastern Christendom, and the Turkish peasant's that its collapse will bring the end to Islam. Which will eventuate? We place our confidence in the building of the Byzantines.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate has been permitted at last by Angora to produce an official monthly, *Orthodoxia*, to replace *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, which was suppressed in 1922. The magazine is necessarily edited very cautiously, but makes good reading. We congratulate its editors.

Dr. A. E. Burn, Dean of Salisbury, delivered the first of the Nicæan Lectures—founded by the Society of the Faith in commemoration of last year's Liturgy in Westminster Abbey, and to be delivered annually on June 29th—at King's College on that date, the Bishop of Gibraltar being in the chair. The subject of the lecture, which was well reported in *The Times* and is now verbatim in the press, was Eustathios of Antioch.

We rejoiced to read the splendid protest of the American bishops, backed by the *Living Church*, against the ratification of the U.S.A. treaty with Mustapha Kemal, on the grounds not only of the extirpation of the Armenians from their homeland and the Smyrna holocaust of 1922 and other of his horrible doings, but also on the ground that 30,000 Christian girls and women are still in Turkish slavery. The success or otherwise of the protest is relatively immaterial. Remarking the part which the Chester Concessions played in helping to strengthen Kemal's hand for his work, the protest was certain to annoy Big Money, and needed courage. If the French bishops had taken like action against M. Franklin-Bouillon in 1922 the face of the Near East would have been different to-day.



We who are concerned primarily with the seeking friendship with the Orthodox must none the less grieve that M. de Portal has been called so soon to follow his friend—for the closest bond united the simple Paris abbé with the Prince of the Church—Cardinal Mercier. It was my rare privilege to have been privileged with the kindness of both in these past few years. M. de Portal insisted with me at a time when I was suspicious of the Malines Conversations that I should see the Cardinal for myself, and in May, 1924, I had my first interview with his Eminence, being bidden on the Saturday on which I arrived in Brussels "*à partager son repas familièrement*" the next evening. In consequence I enjoyed five hours alone with him, and left quite sure that, however much he willed that I should change, he would not have me compromise on any principle. That conviction grew in the subsequent intercourse which he permitted me. It was the same with M. de Portal. He was always all eagerness to see us Anglicans reunited with Rome and, if he could have won us over by conviction on the points of difference, he would have known joy unspeakable. But he was loyal and chivalrous beyond measure in everything, and would have been unwilling to have taken what we could not give rightly and from the heart. Both Cardinal Mercier and M. de Portal were alive with sympathy for the Orthodox-Anglican friendship, and, unless I misunderstood them, were of opinion that, humanly speaking, if and when the Orthodox and Anglican Churches achieve full unity and solidarity<sup>4</sup>, the problem of a General Reunion would be near solution. We are all the poorer for the loss of their presence.—J.A.D.

These words of M. de Portal, uttered at that centre of hope for Reunion, the Benedictine House of Mont César, Louvain, shortly before he passed, have been much quoted:—

"If you really desire to do something worth while for the union of Christendom, it is not enough for you who are Catholics to desire union and to work for it. You must find others who will work toward the same end, and you must find them among our separated brethren. They are to be found. All over the world there are Christians who are hungering for union. To find them out, and to attach them to yourselves in all confidence and loyalty, must be your first step. It is the best way for discovering what the difficulties really are, and for learning how the difficulties may be overcome. You can in this way create in the different Churches groups whose members will have the same desire as yourselves; and through them and through you the points of common ground will be extended. In our own matter, if we have been able to produce results that are worth while, then next to God we owe our success to the friendship that has united Lord Halifax and myself."

The collapse of the French franc, whether its cause be over military expenditure or what not, has dragged down the drachma, dinar, etc. The consequence is that a trip to London has become a costly business for our Near Eastern friends, and but few of them have visited us this summer. Our regret for that is in a measure compensated by the fact that Dr. Chrestos Androutsos, of the University of Athens, arrived in London unexpectedly, and stayed a week, towards the end of July. We emphasize the unexpectedness of his visit because, if he had not taken us by surprise, he would have received a welcome worthy of his distinction as a theologian in Greek academic life. As it was, he was received at Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury and was entertained to meet English theologians both in London by Dr. J. A. Douglas and in Oxford at St. John's College by Dr. Leighton Pullan. Further, at Oxford, being accompanied by the Chaplain of King George of Greece, he held a Conference on the nature of the Teaching Authority in the Church with the Regius Professor of Theology (Dr. Goudge), the Warden of Keble (Dr. B. J. Kidd), Dr. Leighton Pullan, Dr. Darwell Stone, and Dr. J. A. Douglas. Remarking that in the treatise on Anglican Ordinations, which was published in 1902 at the bidding of the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III. and formed the initial stage in the Constantinople investigation into their validity, Dr. Androutsos asked as the first of four crucial questions whether the Anglican Church teaches an objective Faith and holds that the totality of the Episcopate has power to precise that Faith incontrovertibly, it is satisfactory to know that he expressed himself as in agreement in the matter both with those with whom he conferred at Oxford and with Dr. Gore, with whom he subsequently went over the notes of the discussion. We hope that he will come to London again very soon and continue his conversations—and also that we shall have longer notice of his advent.

Dr. W. A. Wigram, who has been Legation Chaplain at Athens since 1921, has relinquished that post, and purposes to reside in England and to devote himself largely to our movement. Again it is needless to remind the reader of Dr. Wigram's work as head of the Assyrian Mission of Help or of the part played by him in Constantinople during the War. He is, of course, a recognized authority on all things Near Eastern, civil as well as ecclesiastical, and few scholars have better knowledge of Greek places and antiquities.

The Rev. Harold Buxton left London on Sept. 8th in order to take up a position on Dr. McInnes' staff in Jerusalem. His special function will be to act in liaison with the Orthodox Patriarchate and with the representatives of the Syrian, Armenian, Copt and Habash Churches in Jerusalem. There can be no need to remind our readers



of the part which Mr. Buxton plays in our movement in general nor of his service to the Armenian nation in particular. That 150,000 of the last-named are refugees in French Syria must be an additional attraction to him. We anticipate that his stay in Jerusalem, which will be at least for a year, will be fruitful.

The Liturgy is rendered by the Orthodox in every language spoken by the Orthodox. Therefore, in itself, its rendering in English for an Orthodox congregation would be nothing. Again, the invitation of Anglicans to the Orthodox Liturgy and the presence of Orthodox at Anglican Churches has always been. But just as the sending of delegations by eight autocephalous Churches to take official part in the Nicæan Votive Eucharist in the Abbey last year constituted an unprecedented and striking act of economical acceptance of Anglican Church life, so the special Liturgy in the Chapel of Calvary, which the Patriarch Damianos arranged and the Archbishop of Jordan celebrated on the occasion of the performing of their pilgrimage vow by the members of the Third Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage, was a similar act of recognition of Anglican Church Life.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of the Rev. H. A. Boys, which took place at St. Mary Bourne, Andover, some weeks ago. Soon after leaving Cambridge, where he was a scholar of Emmanuel College, and took honours in mathematics and classics as well as in theology, Mr. Boys became English Chaplain at Patras. There he remained for some years, and laid the foundation of that deep love and intimate knowledge of the Orthodox Church which lasted throughout his long life. Any movement to strengthen the bonds which unite the Anglican and Eastern Churches was sure of his sympathy and support, and the growth of the rapprochement owes not a little to his pen. It will be remembered that he sometimes contributed to the *Christian East*—especially on matters relating to the Kalendar and a Fixed Easter, subjects which particularly interested him. R.I.P.

As we go to press we receive an advance copy of the long-expected "Report on the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem," presented by Sir Anton Bertram and Mr. J. W. A. Young, who have served as a Commission to report to the Government as to what reforms in the Patriarchate may be necessary. A preliminary glance through its 369 pages shows it to be the work of a scholarly pen, and there can be no doubt of its will to be fair. But we are convinced that the assumption on which its principal recommendation is based is fallacious and that, if adopted, that recommendation will be disastrous. We hope to discuss the Report at length in December.

## THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE PROPOPE AVVAKUM—NON- CONFORMIST AND MARTYR.

BY SONIA E. HOWE.

### I

SOME fifty years had passed since the False Dmitri had been carried along on the crest of a gigantic wave, only to be dashed to pieces on the rocks; since when Cossacks, robber-bands and rabble of all sorts had been cast up on the storm-beaten shore of Russian national life. Amongst all this flotsam and jetsam were also a few priceless pearls—those good men and true who became the deliverers of their Fatherland. The Troublous Times had come to an end and the young Mikhail Romanoff had been elected Tsar in 1613, but clouds still hung over the land at the commencement of the new régime. They lifted for a while when the Patriarch Philaret, the good and wise father of the mediocre Mikhail, took into his capable hands the co-rulership of the Empire. The second Tsar of the Romanoff dynasty, Alexei Mikhailovitch, came to be known as "that most gentle and most religious Tsar," yet it was during his reign that the Russian people found themselves once more in the throes of disruption.

This time the trouble did not come as a cyclone or even as a storm, nor was it an upheaval which touched merely the material life of the nation, but rather an earthquake, cleaving society asunder to its very foundation, revealing depths of spiritual life and opening up the living springs of religious feeling. Embedded in the various strata of rock and clay was discovered many a gem of surpassing beauty, the existence of which had been unsuspected, so long had it lain hidden. Now shone forth virtues bred of centuries of voiceless suffering and patient endurance. There sparkled the diamond of conviction, the blue sapphire of loyalty and faithfulness, the ruby of courageous devotion to an ideal even unto death.

This earthquake, to which one may well compare the so-called "Great Schism," and the reckless persecution which followed, produced numberless martyrs. Among these martyrs of the seventeenth century two stand out especially as shining lights—a man and a woman, the lowly-born priest Avvakum and the lady of noble birth, the Boyarynia Morozov—both deeply religious from early youth, and both equally uncompromising in their attitude towards everything they considered false.



With the coming into power of the Romanoffs, the contemporaries of the Stuarts, a new era had opened up for Muscovy. There was a tendency to culture, a desire to break down the wall of partition between Russia and Western Europe—but it was opposed by the conservative element which objected to Polish and German influence—indeed, objected to the very presence of foreigners in their midst. In spite of opposition the Westernization was slowly getting a foothold. The Boyar Rtishtchev especially did his utmost to introduce into Moscow, much against its will, education and the means for providing the same. In Kiev, which was then under Polish jurisdiction, education according to Western standards was already flourishing, and it was there that Rtishtchev found the men who were able and willing to establish centres of intellectual light in his own dark Muscovy.

Two men became the leaders of this new movement—the cultured priest Slavinski, who founded in Moscow the Graeco-Latin Slavonic College where “The Wisdom of the Greeks” as well as Latin Rhetoric and the principles of theology were taught; and Simeon Polotski, a writer of religious as well as secular drama, in every respect a versatile and cultured man who acted as tutor to the children of the Tsar.

The subjects taught in the College were new to the Russians, whose knowledge in the seventeenth century with regard to most subjects seems to have been extremely limited. The French Captain Margaret, whose work on the events in Russia during the Period of Trouble is a most valuable and reliable source of information, in one of his writings draws attention to this intellectual darkness: “So great is the ignorance of the Muscovites that not a third of them can be found who even know the *Pater Noster* and the *Credo*. It is safe to say of the masses that their ignorance is the mother of their piety; they despise learning and especially Latin. They have no schools, no universities, and the only teaching is done by priests who instruct youths in reading and writing, and only very few do that.”

The imparting of exotic wisdom was soon faced with bitter opposition on the part of the exponents and guardians of the national home-grown wisdom. The students even of the College were divided in opinion. Some of them enthusiastically welcomed and upheld the Kievite teachers, considering as “idle talk” all the teaching of the two famous Deans or Protopopes Bonifatiev and Neronov, confessors of the Tsar. In fact, the students went so far as to accuse these highly-respected clerics of being “unable to teach,” as “themselves utterly ignorant.” Others again confessed privately to the Deans that they were kept in the College against their own will and protested that no good could come of the teaching of the Kievite monks, whose doctrines were dangerous to

the soul, for in their eyes the learning of Latin was the first step in the wrong direction. They scented heresy in the humanistic teaching of Slavinski and his colleagues.

These priests who had come in answer to the warm invitation of the Boyar Rtishtchev were not slow in pointing out that the ceremonial of the Muscovite Church was full of errors and inaccuracies which they put down to the ignorance of the clergy of whom the English Ambassador, Giles Fletcher, had written that they were all “voyde of all manner of learning, so are they warie to keepe out all means that might bring any in as fearing to have their ignorance discovered . . . .”

The Russian priests from the Ukraine or Little Russia differed in many ways from their Muscovite brethren: for instance, they made the sign of the cross with three fingers instead of with two, as was customary in Great Russia at that period; the way in which they read the prayers was different, also they preached sermons, a thing hitherto unheard of, and, in support of these practices, they cited the authority of the Byzantine Church or that of Little Russia.

The observant English Ambassador substantiates this absence of preaching.

“As for preaching,” he writes, “the words of God, or any teaching or exhorting such as are under them, they neyther use it nor have any skill of it: the whole clergie beyng utterlie unlearned, both for other knowledge and in the word of God. Onely this manner is twice every yeere, viz.: the first of September (which is the first day of their year) and on St. John Baptist’s day to make an ordinarie speech to the people, every metropolitane, archbishop, and bishop, in his cathedrall church, to this or like effect:—That if anie be in malice towardes his neighbour, hee shall leave off his malice: if any have thought of treason or rebellion against his prince, he beware of such practise: if he have not kept his fasts and vowes, nor done his other duties to the holie Church, he shall amend that fault, etc. And this is a matter of forme with them, uttered in as many words and no more, in a manner, then I have here set down. Yet the matter is done with the grace and solemnitie, in a pulpit of purpose set up for this one acte, as if he were to discourse at large of the whole substance of divinitie. At the Mosko, the emperour himself is ever present at this solemne exhortation.”

The learned Monks considered this Muscovite Church as having fallen away from the true faith, while the Muscovites, on their side, considered the Kievites little better than Poles or Roman Catholics. In fact, in the eyes of all the people of Great Russia, the guardianship of the true Faith had long since passed from Byzantium to Moscow; no longer was it Santa Sophia of Constantinople, but the Uspenski Sobor of Moscow that was their centre of orthodoxy.



Apart from this, the view was generally held that "each people has its own fatherland and its own laws which are better not transferred to other countries."

A foreigner then residing in Moscow writes apropos of this exclusiveness: "The Russians would sooner die than let their children go into foreign lands unless coerced by the Tsar. They believe that Russia is the only Christian Empire, that all other lands are inhabited by pagans or unbaptised people, who do not believe in the true God, and that the souls of their children would be for ever lost if they were to die in a strange country amongst unbelievers; that those who die in their homeland go direct to Paradise, and that such seclusion was imperative in order to keep people out of danger of contamination."

Bitter antagonism sprang up between the Cathedral clergy of Moscow and the Kievite monks, yet both had the same object at heart—the reformation of the Church. Long before the arrival of the Kievite monks, the Deans, many of whom were keen and earnest men, had frequently met together to discuss the needs of the Church. The leaders of this movement were Bonifatiev, Neronov, and Nikon the Metropolitan of Novgorod, the Tsar's favourite. These men had first suspected that certain Byzantine priests who, at that time, visited Moscow, were having a pernicious influence in Moscow. When, however, the Patriarch of Jerusalem himself pointed out to the Patriarch Joseph and to Alexei Mikhailovitch discrepancies in the ritual, the Tsar sent a priest to visit the Eastern Churches in order to study the matter on the spot, and several Councils were even held in Moscow to discuss the question.

Meanwhile, the zealous Protopopes set to work to try to revise the ceremonial in their own way; their idea was to go back to a Past within their own ken, and no further—namely, that of early Muscovite days.

It was when matters stood thus that the priests from Kiev, a few of whom were now established in Moscow, suggested a return not to Russian antiquity, but to universal antiquity. Thus two parties were formed, both with the same end in view, but working from different starting-points. A clash was inevitable.

The Kievite monks believed in the efficacy of science and education and in the necessity for getting acquainted with Western thought. They urged the study of history in order to find out what were the universal practices and thus solve the knotty problems. The Protopopes, on the contrary, turned their backs in disgust upon all such innovations: faith alone was sufficient, knowledge was dangerous. As to the study of Church history, they were satisfied with that contained in their own ecclesiastical literature, and in the Lives of the Saints. What could they learn from the experience of other Churches?

At the commencement this antagonism between these two schools of thought was purely academic, but when Nikon, the new Patriarch, owing to Slavinitzki's influence actually altered the ceremonial, open war broke out. In reply to the Kievites' accusation of ignorance, the Cathedral clergy retorted with heresy.

While the Patriarch Joseph lived, the influence of the Protopopes prevailed, and after his death, when Nikon was elected to fill that important position, it looked for a moment as if the Conservative party was to gain still more in power. As Metropolitan of Novgorod, Nikon had been a zealous member of the circle of the Muscovite Reform Party, but, unfortunately for their cause, he was of too ambitious and autocratic a nature to ask the assistance of his old friends and decided to carry out the reforms unaided. In addition to this, he was rapidly changing his views, or, as a result of his intercourse with Greek ecclesiastics on matters of ritual and the customs of the Eastern Churches, doubts had arisen in his mind as to the soundness of his former position. The doubt thus implanted in his mind inclined him to listen to the voice of the newcomers from Kiev, especially to that of Slavinitzki, in whom common sense, sound learning and true spirituality were harmoniously blended. The monk issued not only theological but also scientific books and translated even works on archaeology and medicine. From being an opponent of the learned monk, Nikon soon became his friend and adopted his point of view, deciding to bring the experience of the universal Church to bear upon that of Russia. With regard to the making of the sign of the cross, he discovered that it was the using of two fingers which was contrary to universal practice and therefore an innovation even in Russia. He carefully compared the MSS. in the Patriarchal Library with the old Greek and Slavonic MSS. and found only too many discrepancies between them. He made Slavinitzki head of the Imperial printing establishment, discharged all the professional correctors of books and instituted instead a Commission of Revision.

All this branded Nikon as a traitor in the eyes of his former friends. They called him a renegade and heretic, for not only had he made common cause with those whom he had shortly before accused of heresy, but was he not even now ready to introduce into the Church, on his own account, those very things which he had so recently condemned?

The hearts of the eager and sincere, but ignorant, Protopopes grew heavy with apprehension. That their fears were not groundless became apparent only too soon. During the Lent of 1653, the Patriarch issued an order that from henceforth certain customary prostrations were to be omitted on Quadragesima Sunday and that the sign of the cross was always to be made with three fingers. The Conservative Party, "Old Believers" or "Old Ritualists,"



as they came to be called on account of their passionate adherence to Muscovite traditions, feeling that this was but the thin end of the wedge, immediately drew up a protest. The Tsar, Alexei Mikhailovitch, however, who was absolutely under the influence of the Patriarch, took no notice of it.

Undaunted by this discouragement and strengthened by the conviction that theirs was a righteous cause and that the foundations of their religion were being shaken, these Old Believers refused to comply with the new order and, as at first no measures were taken to enforce it, it seemed as though they would carry the day. Nikon, however, was merely biding his time; he could not forgive his former friends for thus flouting his authority and very soon war, bitter and obdurate, broke out between the two parties, "no compromise" being the watchword of both. The points on which they differed were really trifling in themselves, and the bitterest strife was waged about such minutiae as the crossing with three instead of with two fingers, or as the repetition of "O Lord, have mercy," instead of "Lord, have mercy," the repetition of three Hallelujahs instead of two, and the spelling of the name of Jesus—Iisus instead of Isus. As to signing oneself with the cross, it was so much a part of their very natures, of every act of daily life, that only when this is realised, can we understand the intensity of feeling aroused by the alteration commanded. To quote Fletcher:—

"The other ceremonies of their Church are manie in number: especially the signe of the crosse, which they set up in their high wayes, in the tops of their churches, and in every doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheads and breasts with great devotion as they will seeme by their outward gesture. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a crosse on the toppe: and so bowing themselves towards the crosse, signe themselves withal on their foreheads and breasts. And this is their thanksgiving to God for their night's rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, 'Aspody Pomeluy,' or 'Lorde have mercie upon me.' When they sitte downe to meate, they rise againe from it, the thanksgiving to God is the crossing of their foreheads and breasts. Except it be some few that adde, peradventure, a worde or two of some ordinarie prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to give an oath for the deciding of anie controversie at lawe, they doe it by swearing by the crosse and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, Whose name only is to be used in such trial of justice. When they enter into any house (where ever there is an ikon hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the crosse and bow themselves to it. When they begin any work, bee it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God for good speede of

their businesse. And thus they serve God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: not understanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it.

And yet they thinke all strangers Christians to be no better than Turkes in comparison to themselves (and so they will say), because they bow not themselves when they meete with the crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe maner is."

Nikon and his party who were supported by the Tsar speedily became the persecutors, and the "Old Believers," obstinate non-conformists to new regulations, became the persecuted. Nikon's opportunity to make his power felt came only too soon. One of his antagonists was falsely accused of irreverence to a sacred Ikon, whereupon the Patriarch called a Council in order to give an air of legality to the proceedings and had him condemned and sentenced to severe punishment. This opened the breach all the wider—the laity stepped in, siding almost to a man with the Old Believers against those whom they felt to be undermining their religion; for they were convinced that, although these reforms seemed only to concern outward forms, they were in reality a subtle attack on the inward spirit. There was a blind and desperate clinging to the past, and a terrible fear lest salvation should be endangered by the impious innovations. Neither the ecclesiastical party which imposed the reforms nor the laity and clergy which opposed them were able to distinguish between essentials and un-essentials; both sides showed themselves equally fanatical. The Patriarch, secure in the knowledge that he had the ear of the Tsar, with whom he was practically co-ruler, felt well able to enforce his will. It was this blending of Church and State which gave him the power he now so ruthlessly applied, relentlessly inflicting the severest punishment on those who had the audacity to withstand him.

The first victim to be sent into exile was the Tsar's Confessor, Neronov, with the result that some of the more timid priests began to think of compromise, while others became all the more bold.

The Patriarch himself was too ignorant of Church History to realise the fact that even the most unreasonable idea arising from religious conviction if subjected to persecution can become a living power. It was his persecuting method of enforcing reform upon an unprepared people which gave such undue prominence to the details of that reform.

The position of the Reformers had been immensely strengthened by the pronouncement of the Patriarch of Antioch and the Metropolitan of Nicea, both of whom attended the Council called by Nikon. The Patriarch made the following statement regarding the manner of making the sign of the cross: "We have from the beginning accepted the faith, as handed down to us by the Holy



Apostles and by the Fathers and as confirmed by the Œcumenical Councils, which includes the tradition that the sign of the cross must be made with the thumb and first two fingers of the right hand, and if any orthodox Christian doth not this according to the tradition of the Eastern Church, which has been since the beginning of the world, he is a heretic . . . and we count the same to be excommunicated from the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost and to be anathema." To this the Metropolitan of Nicea added the words: "Upon him who doth not cross himself with three fingers rests the curse of the 380 Holy Fathers who gathered at the Council of Nicea and other Councils."

The ranks of the opponents to ecclesiastical reform were swelled by numbers of those whose very ignorance made them suspicious of any innovation. It was at this juncture, however, that to the Old Believers arose a leader in the person of the Protopope Avvakum, a man of blameless life, renowned for his piety, spiritual power and strength of conviction—one whose heart was on fire for the truth and who possessed to a remarkable degree the gift of oratory.

The son of a village priest, Avvakum became a priest himself when twenty-three years of age. His father had been a drunkard, but his mother was a pious soul who strictly kept the rules of the church as to "fasting and prayer and taught her son the fear of God." As a youth he spent much thought on the religious life and came to the conclusion that the best way to serve Christ was not to flee from the world and shut oneself behind the walls of a monastery, but to go bravely into the world, there to combat manfully against its allurements, to uphold the weak and to help them to escape from sin.

Thus at the time of his ordination he had an ideal which he rigorously carried out. He set his parishioners the example of an upright and godly life, and what he demanded of others he exacted of himself. In his autobiography he mentions a moment when "the physician himself fell ill," that once within him "burned the fire of unholy passion," but the tempted man took drastic measures to quench this flame—he stretched his hand over three burning wax-tapers and held it there until the physical pain had driven out the desire of the flesh. Yet, though so severe towards himself, he was lenient towards others, understanding their frailty because conscious of weakness in himself.

Only too soon, however, he found out that to be true to his ideals meant difficulties and suffering, for, as a faithful shepherd, he had to stand up for the members of his flock. Once, for instance, when upbraiding and pleading with an official who had abducted the daughter of a widow, he was nearly beaten to death in his own church by the offender. On another occasion one of the officials whom he had rebuked bit off his finger and afterwards tried to shoot

Avvakum. After many other persecutions he was driven to leave house and home and with his wife and new-born baby went to Moscow to seek redress. There he met the Tsar's Father-Confessor Neronov, who befriended him and even told the Tsar about him. Avvakum had, however, to return to his parish where his life was one of perpetual difficulty with the brutal officials, but full of blessing to the poor. His blameless life, his championship of the down-trodden, his power of prayer and his impassioned preaching soon made him famous.

#### OUR BOOKSHELF

#### I. TWO BOOKS BY ARSENieFF, A RUSSIAN MYSTIC.

By THE REV. R. M. FRENCH.

1. *Mysticism and the Eastern Church.*
2. *Die Kirche des Morgenlandes; Weltanschauung und Frömmigkeitsleben.*

THE first of these books is an English translation of *Ostkirche und Mystik*, published by the Student Christian Movement, with an introduction by Evelyn Underhill.

Each of them is small in size and price; the second costs but 1 mark 25, from Gruyter & Co., Leipzig, and the first in its English dress is 5s., but to read them is to pass into an atmosphere which will attract and perhaps in a measure surprise, even those who know something of Eastern Orthodoxy.

Both, but especially the second of the two, may be recommended to those who desire to become more intimately acquainted with the inner life and spirit of the Orthodox Church.

In such an enterprise, Prof. Nicholas Arsenieff is well qualified to be a guide. A word or two about his career may be acceptable here. His father was a Russian diplomat, and he was born at Stockholm in 1888. He was educated at Moscow and later in Munich and Berlin. At the outbreak of the War in 1914 he resigned his recent appointment of lecturer in the History of Western European Literature at the University of Moscow, to work with the Russian Red Cross. After being twice imprisoned by the Bolsheviks he was finally released and became Professor of Romance Philology in the University of Saratof. In 1920 he was offered the Chair of Comparative Religious History in the same University, but renewed persecution by the Soviet authorities drove him out of Russia into Germany, where, besides occupying other academic positions, he became, and still is, lecturer in the Russian language at Königsberg University.

The scope of Arsenieff's reading and knowledge is enormous, and so far as a Western may be permitted to judge, his perception of the spirit of Orthodoxy is intimate and true and inspired by real



devotion. The two books before us cover to some extent the same ground, and have in fact some actual matter in common. But *Mysticism and the Eastern Church* is of wider scope, and after 60 pages out of 150 passes beyond the bounds of the Orthodox world into the extensive field of Mysticism as a whole. Indeed, so wide is the writer's purview that he has space to say but little of any part of it. The reader is whirled through a series of names and quotations of mystical writers over a vast extent of time and place. The process can do little but jog the memories of those who are as deeply read as the writer himself, and leave the rest of us rather breathless and bewildered. But we are grateful, indeed, for the glimpse into the spirit of Orthodoxy given us in the first part of this book, and more extensively in *Die Kirche des Morgenlandes*.

Arsenieff's purpose in these brief pages is not, of course, to set forth the dogmatic position of the Eastern Church, but to convey a general impression of its life, based upon the manifestations of its spirit. These manifestations he classifies as follows: (1) Its Worship, and especially the Liturgy. (2) The dogmatic and ethical writings of its greater thinkers. (3) The great tradition of Eastern asceticism, as represented by the Philocalia. (4) The lives of the Saints. (5) Orthodox Church art, especially the art of the Ikons.

The "nerve," so to speak, of the Eastern Church is faith in the glorifying and sanctification of the creature through the power of the risen Lord. The glorified Christ, His resurrection, His victory over death, the future (yet already bestowed potentially) redemption of the whole creation from the bonds of death, that is the central experience of the Eastern Church. And Arsenieff would have us see in this a more marked survival of the piety of the primitive Church, and a comparison, if not a contrast, with the emphasis upon the Passion which has characterized the Catholic West. It is interesting in this connection to compare the words of Dom L. Beauduin. "Par son triomphe définitif sur la mort, le Christ-Homme est devenu le contemporain de toutes les générations . . . Corps et âme, hommes et choses, temps et éternité, il vivifie tout de la plénitude de la vie divine dont il surabonde . . . Cette dévotion au Christ triomphant qui remporte aujourd'hui pour notre race la suprême victoire, cette piété ardente du peuple racheté saluant dans son Chef vainqueur la nouvelle humanité, ces joies pascales enfin, sont-elles encore les nôtres? De tous les mystères de la vie du Sauveur, celui-ci n'est-il pas le moins médité et le moins vécu chez nous? Dans la contemplation de la vie du Christ les fidèles s'arrêtent de préférence aux événements douloureux, et la Croix en Occident apparaît plus souvent entourée des instruments de supplice que des trophées de la victoire . . . Or nos Frères séparés d'Orient donnent au mystère de la Résurrection une place fondamentale dans leur culte et leur piété, c'est en toute réalité et pour employer notre langage, la grande dévotion de l'Orient." (*Irenikon*, No. 1, p. 11.)

It is not a matter of slurring over or minimizing the Passion either in Christ or in the Church. Orthodoxy, as Arsenieff shows it to us, is clear that there is no sharing in the glory without a sharing in the Cross, that the two are inseparably connected. And the present experiences of the Russian Church throw the truth into clear relief.

Nor is it a superficial ignoring of the fact of sin. The joy of Easter implies strenuous moral effort. It is a question of relative emphasis which may easily be overstressed, but it is a "contrast which in a certain restricted sense can be maintained. The Eastern Church concentrates her whole fervour upon the glory of the risen Lord. The radiance of His transfigured life. The primitive joyful, mystical, and at the same time eschatological realism here appears in all its force and significance. Death is at the present moment already conquered, the relentless cosmic laws are suppressed, the power of corruption and sin are destroyed, the whole world and our bodies are *in spe, in potentia* already partakers of eternal life. This spirit, this triumph, this joy of victory pervade, for example, all the resounding anthems of the Eastern Church's year." (*Mysticism and the Eastern Church*, p. 31.)

What then has become of the traditional Slav gloominess, so often spoken of and associated with Russian novels? Do the two throw each other into relief—the "Christos Voskrese" and the "Gospodi pomolui"—the eternal truth and the present experience, while in worship the former claims the victory? And have we here the root of that engaging simplicity and homeliness of Orthodox worship which charm us so and make us feel that when the Orthodox enters his church—he does become in heart as a little child and bears with him the spirit of the Western carol?

At least it is clear that the "Christos Voskrese" represents something fundamental in Orthodox normal experience of truth. It is an individual share, intensely real, if generally undefined, in that living experience of the whole body, which is so vital a conception to Eastern Orthodoxy, and in the realm of dogma sometimes tempts one to suppose that the Orthodox idea of authority is nothing more nor less than the momentum of corporate experience in time.

Prof. Arsenieff in each of these books tells the same story to illustrate the instinctive response of the Russian heart to the fact of the Resurrection, and it is worth transcribing again.

"In a large public assembly hall (the Polytechnic Museum) in Moscow, a public lecture was given by Comrade Lunacharsky, the Bolshevik Commissary for Popular Education, attacking the 'obsolete faith.' This faith, he said, was a product of the Capitalist class, but was now completely overthrown; its nullity was easy to prove. The address seemed very successful, and the lecturer was so pleased with his own eloquence that, feeling complete confidence in himself, he brought it to an end by inviting a discussion of his theme, but with the stipulation that no speaker was to occupy more



than five minutes. Anyone who wished to address the meeting was to give him his name. There came forward a young priest with a close-cropped beard, of homely appearance, shy and awkward—a typical village priest. Lunacharsky looked down at him scornfully: "Remember, not more than five minutes." "Yes, certainly I shall not take long." The priest then mounted the platform, turned to the audience, and said: "Brothers and sisters, Christos voskres! Christ is risen!" (The solemn Easter greeting exchanged by all on Easter night.) As one man the great audience answered: "Voistinu voskres! Verily He is risen" (the usual reply). "I have finished, I have no more to say." The meeting was at once closed. All Comrade Lunacharsky's flowery eloquence availed him nothing." (*Mysticism and the Eastern Church*, p. 43.)

There is a useful list (for readers of Russian and German) of Prof. Arsenieff's works in the Introduction to *Mysticism and the Eastern Church*; and *Die Kirche des Morgenlandes* contains valuable appendices on the bibliography of the subject, and the present condition and distribution of the Orthodox Churches, in which the author ventures upon some statistics.

One must be allowed to protest against the transliteration of the Russian "b" by "w" in English books. It is a reasonable approximation in German, but a quite different sound in English, where, moreover, "v" medially and "f" finally are ready to hand to express the value of the Russian letter.

## II. THE GEORGIANS AND ARMENIANS.

*Trans-Caucasia.*

By the Rev. Harold Buxton; 3/-; Faith Press.

"THERE is among us a good deal of curiosity about Trans-Caucasia and its peoples, yet the desired information is not easily accessible. Almost daily one is accosted with enquiries about the Georgians, the Armenians or the Tatars—about their several histories—about their present relations with Soviet Russia. This little book is merely an introduction to the standard work, which (there is reason to hope) will be given us in the near future." Such is the modest description Mr. Buxton gives of his work and of his credentials to undertake which there can be no question. One of a family of brothers who have a passion for the Near East, have long familiarity with its atmosphere and, though each, as it were, in intersecting different planes, has played a part in shaping its recent history he has admittedly *flair* for the Near East as well as considerable first-hand knowledge of all its peoples and problems. In regard to the special subject of his present book, he travelled with that inspiring personality, his brother, the Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, in the Caucasus in 1913, served there with a Hospital Unit in 1916 and, after having been one of the most efficient factors in Near Eastern Relief Work, visited it again in 1921 to study famine conditions

and the operations of the Lord Mayor's Fund in Georgia, Azerbaijan and the Armenian Republic. That the book would be full of information, colour and personal observation, and would be very readable was to be expected by all who know the author and his writings. His own designation of it as an Introduction is, indeed, correct, but it is one not in the sense of being a compendium gathered from existing publications but in the sense of being the exposition of one who has first-hand knowledge of his subject. Moreover, without being ambitious, it compares in plan with the best kind of text book. Thus it opens with a concise and not over-weighted but adequate historical summary, has a bibliography, chronological tables of current as well as recorded events, all the necessary maps and just the very photos to give an impression of Georgian and Armenian types. Accordingly, while we welcome it as a real contribution to knowledge, we welcome it almost as much as the very book to put in the hands of those who imagine the Georgians to be a species of Yankee.

All who desire a *coup d'œil* of the Eastern Christian complex should read it.

Trans-Caucasia, the band of land between the Black Sea and the Caspian, with Russia in the North and Turkey and Persia to the South, has been a natural cock-pit of Asia and Europe since Empires began and in consequence is more a *macédoine* than Macedonia itself. Its three chief elements of population—there are plenty of others—were given by the dubious Russian pre-War census as Georgians, Russians and Tatars, 6½ millions in all, of which the Tatars totalled half. But at best the Tatar remains a veneered Asiatic with only race-consciousness and rudimentary racial culture, and the moiety of a Tatar has never equalled a Georgian or Armenian.

While if there is a Tatar race, there has never been a Tatar nation, as soon as history begins we find the Georgian and the Armenian each with a strong and mutually distinct national consciousness and each with clear-cut national characteristics. Except in rare centuries, neither has ever known national independence. Great Empires, from the Persian to the Russian, have set themselves to assimilate them and to that end have applied instant or inexorable pressure to denaturalize them. Successive, periodic floods of barbarians—the Tatars are a vestige of one such—have swept over them and threatened to exterminate them and their back-wash has settled down in the country. In result they are analogous to the Jew, *i.e.*, something of a *dispersion*, though still in their own homelands. They have been driven into themselves and, to preserve themselves, have in evolution intensified their contrasts with those who ruled or massacred them. To-day they are like St. Helena and Easter Island, strong, unbreakable peaks, jutting up in an ocean of other nationalities, the survivals of once large and fruitful



civilizations, and are now extinct except for them which were essentially distinct in themselves as any that the Old World has known. Even their national physiognomy may be said to bear traces of their struggle for existence.

Thanks to the stream of popular books which have appeared as an aftermath of the War, most people are beginning to know something of the Armenians, though we take leave to doubt whether, as is generally said as research proceeds, either their language or their culture will be found to be Indo-European in its bedrock, and we anticipate that they will some day be shown to be an ancient indigenous race, in which Indo-Aryan elements have been superimposed, as were the Latin upon the Anglo-Saxon in the English.

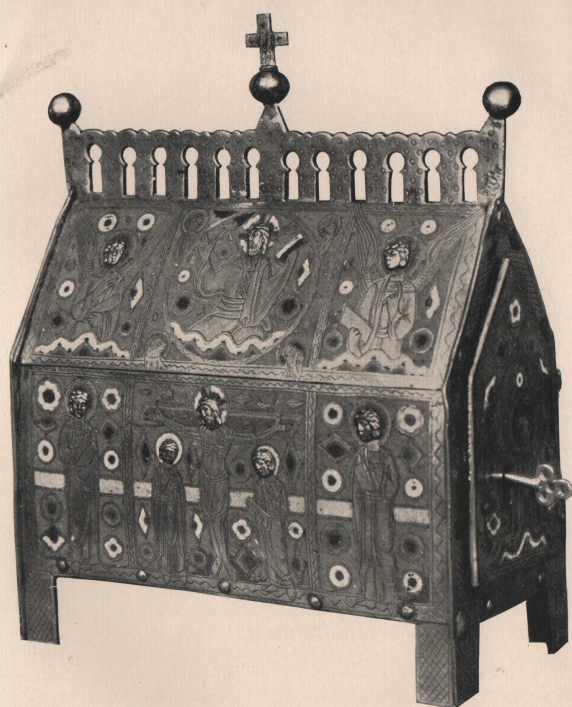
However that may be, the Georgians are certainly the representatives of a race which was in Trans-Caucasia when the Hittites flourished to their South. Their language has kinship with no language spoken or extinct, and their customs and traditions are at bottom altogether their own. Both Georgians and Armenians have made—and despite all the circumstances are making—large contributions both to history and to civilization. Both accepted Christianity in the first centuries and the national Christianities and Churches of both have been always peculiarly national—the preservative and vehicle indeed of their respective nationalities more peculiarly than has the national Christianity and Church of any other nationality.

To preserve himself against byzantinization, the Armenian joined the Monophysite schism, but the tangled story of Constantinople and of Islam can never be plain until the Armenian thread in it is gripped. The Georgian remained "Orthodox"—his Ancient Church has only reasserted its autocephaly as against Moscow in 1918—but he has always been and remains a distinctive factor in the Orthodox World. What is the Georgian and what is the Armenian part in Byzantine history and what is the Armenian and what is the Georgian contribution to modern culture remain to be discovered. That both have been very great is evident already from the work of modern, though withal prejudiced, Byzantinists such as Diehl or from that of specialists in the origin of Christian art such as Strzygowski; *e.g.*, the best of the marvellous and modern orfèvrerie which has been and is passed as French is in fact Armenian.

Swift-witted, romantic, musical, poetic, artistic in their respective genius and quite liberty-loving in their respective stubborn, pugnacious fibre, but in mutual contrast in history, temperament and all that makes up nationality, the Armenian and Georgian nationalities are worth knowing, each for itself. But for the lover of the Christian East they are a fascination.

Pending those bigger books of which Mr. Buxton forecasts—may he be justified—the speedy arrival, his own will serve us to go on.





THE RELIQUARY PRESENTED BY THE ORTHODOX TO ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

## The Christian East

### ORTHODOX GIFT TO ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

ON Wednesday, August 18th, an interesting gift was presented to St. David's Cathedral in the name of the Eastern Orthodox prelates as a memento of their visit to the shrine of St. David during the Nicæan commemoration of July, 1925.

The Dean of the Cathedral celebrated the Eucharist in the ancient chapel of the Holy Trinity where repose the bones of St. David. Mattins followed in the Choir, and, at the close of this office, the Dean went to the High Altar and received the gift of the Reliquary, which was formally presented by the Rev. F. N. Heazell, Secretary of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee. During the morning of the same day the Dean gave a short account of the history of the relics of St. David to a number of friends who had gathered in the Nave. He said that the bones of St. David were buried in the Cathedral some thirteen hundred years ago. It is known that three kings paid homage to St. David by visiting his shrine, viz., William I. in 1081, Henry II. on his way to Ireland in 1171, and again on his return journey in 1173, and by Edward I. and Queen Eleanor in 1284, and it is certain that the relics of St. David were in the Cathedral when Henry II. made his pilgrimage there.

History has taught us that, though the first three churches that were built by St. David, and his successors, were either burnt down or destroyed by the Danes and other pagan enemies, the remains of the great Welsh saint were always respected owing to the great veneration in which he was always held by the people of the country.

A remarkable robbery of the shrine is recorded as having taken place in 1086, when all the ornaments in the coffin were carried off, but the relics were left unmolested. Mr. Richard John King in his work on Welsh Cathedrals had stated that a remarkable discovery was made at the restoration (1866-1871) of the Cathedral by Sir Gilbert Scott, who found a recess behind the High Altar, within Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, which was at that time blocked by masonry. Thinking this recess was a doorway, Sir Gilbert Scott had it opened and to his surprise found human bones secreted there. In 1920, the Dean of St. David's, with the help of experts, had a



further examination of the spot made, and discovered the oak chest containing the bones. This is now preserved in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.

The reliquary presented to the Cathedral is of a *Noah's Ark* shape. The sides and ends are formed of copper plates covered with rich enamels of Byzantine workmanship in the style of the thirteenth century. On the front, in the upper tier, there is a figure of Our Lord in glory, supported by two angels; below, there is a crucifix with St. Mary and St. John, and two figures representing the Law and the Prophets. On the back there are two tiers, with three angels in each tier, probably of later workmanship. On the base of the ancient casket now runs this inscription:—*Hanc Capsellam d.d. in honorem Sti. David Peregrini ab oriente MCMXXV Ossa quasi herba germinabunt.*

Later in the day a fragment of the bones of St. David was placed in the Reliquary and sealed by the Bishop of the diocese. The unique interest attached to the gift lies not only in the antiquity of the gift itself, but also in the fact that it comes from prelates of the Eastern Orthodox Church, with whom the Anglican Church has established very cordial relations during the past few years.

## THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

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

*Report of Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire and report upon certain controversies between the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arab Orthodox Community, by the Commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, Chief Justice of Ceylon, sometime Puisne Judge of the Supreme Financial Adviser to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and previously Chief Inspector under the Ministry of Interior, Egypt. —Oxford Press, 1926; 12/6.*

A SUMMARY of this Report having appeared in the *Church Times* of November 12th last, I was privileged by the courtesy of the Editor to comment over my own signature upon a certain aspect of it. In fact, I had written a short article for this issue of the *Christian East*, quoting that summary and my comment in full, as also stating some of the reasons for which I venture to regard the Commission's having taken the spirituality of the Patriarchate into its purview as no small mistake. Although that article is in type, certain representations made to me have caused me to withhold it and to print only these notes, which I had written in support of my article, upon the Function of the Five Patriarchates in Orthodox Polity and upon the Special Nature of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. The complete exposition of the Jerusalem problem, as I imagine it to present itself to the Orthodox, would require similar notes on the Constitution of the Patriarchate, the "Greek Nationality" of the Fraternity, the "Arab Nationality" of its Flock, and other relevant matters.

It is easy to perceive why the Council of Chalcedon added Constantinople to the Patriarchal College in 451.

When the Council of Nicaea recognized the division of the *Oikoumene* into the three supreme jurisdictions of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, it did so because those three cities stood by themselves in the category of supra-capitals of the *Oikoumene* and each in its own division had possessed supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction *de facto* from time immemorial.

In like manner, Constantinople had become both a fourth supra-capital of the *Oikoumene* and the factual ecclesiastical supra-metropolis of the lands over which the fourth Council declared her supra-jurisdiction before 451 A.D., so that what the 28th Canon of that Council did was simply to regularize an already incipient adjustment, which was necessitated by the march of history. The facts which led to Jerusalem being conjoined as a Patriarchate with the four great supra-capitals of the Empire of that period are of a different category. Their Patriarchal thrones had not been set up *ab initio* to exercise supra-jurisdiction. On the contrary, as the Patriarchal system had evolved, a single throne had, in the first instance, been vested with the metropolitical function over the dioceses of its province, and next with supra-metropolitical jurisdiction over a group of provinces. Accordingly, before 451, the existing Patriarchs were supra-metropolitans, because they were: (1) bishops of the sees of the supra-capitals of Christendom; and (2) metropolitans of the immediate provinces of those supra-capitals. Their supra-jurisdictions were over macrocosms, and were over other great, though subordinate, supra-jurisdictions. Such considerations were altogether deficient in the case of Jerusalem. In 451, its bishop's supra-jurisdiction was subordinate and a microcosm, being in the Patriarchal jurisdiction of Antioch, and having for its area a territory which was relatively quite unimportant in area, population, and cultural significance. Jerusalem should have been conjoined with Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch must have been unthinkable except for the Holy Places.

That, without being the supra-capital even of a microcosm, it should have been conjoined with Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria

After Hadrian had rebuilt Jerusalem—he named his new city *Ælia Capitolina*—Cæsarea remained the capital of Palestine. So under the heathen Emperors the bishop of Jerusalem was subordinate to the bishop of Cæsarea, who had the Patriarch of Antioch as his supra-metropolitan. Heathendom having become Christendom, that arrangement was ended in 325 by the Canon of Nicaea which apparently, while preserving the rights of Antioch in theory, made Jerusalem what is nowadays known as autocephalous. By degrees, during the 126 years between the First and Fourth Councils, Jerusalem acquired if not jurisdiction, at least the pretension to it over the "Three Palestines," i.e., Palestine, Phœnicia and "Arabia." This jurisdiction, though pressed for on its behalf by the Emperor, was not regularized at the Third Council, Ephesus (432). The "Three Palestines" form the present jurisdiction of the Patriarchate.



dria and Antioch must have been unthinkable except for the Holy Places.

Before the fourth century pilgrimages from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, which had always been the centre of Christian imagination, had become frequent, and the Conversion of the Empire by Constantine from Heathendom to Christendom must in any case have stimulated the practice vastly. The incentive of the supreme sanctity of the Holy City would in itself have been sufficient to have drawn the Empress Helena on her famous pilgrimage to it in 326 and would have caused it to be the central goal of all pilgrimages for Christendom. But in sending his mother to identify the Holy Places of the Passion and to search for its instruments, Constantine's statesmanship marched with natural piety. The Ecumenic Empire of Rome had been transformed from Heathendom to Christendom, and its Emperor had become Christ's vicegerent, but no consciousness of solidarity permeated its peoples and races. To weld its different cultures and nationalities into an unity, his essential need was to invest them with supra-racial patriotism to the Ecumenic Empire as Christendom and with common loyalty to himself as Christ's vicegerent.

For that end symbolism was the altogether indispensable dynamic. The heathen Empire had been the possessor of an elaborate apparatus of heathen symbolism which expressed its genius and claims in a fashion. Constantine's first need was to replace that apparatus by an even more elaborate apparatus of Christian symbolism. If he could do that, then the peoples of his Empire would realize that it had been reborn as Christendom and would recognize alike its genius, their character as its members and his character as its vicegerent.

In other words, among the Christian symbols with which he equipped and made "visible" his Ecumenic Empire, he had to provide it with symbolic centres which might become the cynosures of the Christian world.

Within two years of his gaining the mastery of the Empire by the defeat of Licinius, he had established three such centres. Ultimately, as has been said, everything in Modern Europe derives from the rebirth of the Ancient world under Constantine; it is so because in that rebirth the Roman Empire became Christendom and as such realized the principle of Ecumenicity, i.e., of being a single all-embracing, divinely ordained and divinely governed, eternal state. That it did so was due largely to the holding of the Ecumenical Councils, and especially the first of them, the Council of Nicæa, the significance of which rests far less in its dogmatic precisions or in its canons than in its having met at all. Before the assembly, at the summons of Constantine, in 325, in the City of the Creed, by the Ascanian Lake, of the 318 Fathers of the First General Council of the Church, Christendom had been Catholic, i.e., in solidarity of

faith and love, but as an organization it had been a diversity. The mere convention of an Ecumenical Council, the meeting together of the representatives of the totality of the Christian episcopate from the Atlantic to Mesopotamia at the summons of the Emperor, was a visible sign that henceforward the Kingdom of the Christ had absorbed the Kingdom of the World. To describe the Church which had previously accepted the heathen Cæsar's right to wield the sword temporal over all men, as now rendering him the sword spiritual over herself is misleading: for Church and State had become none other than bilateral aspects of an indivisible monism, through the whole system and life of which the Cæsar was vested with the bilateral function of seeing that the one immutable divine law and order first delivered to the former ran and obtained.<sup>1</sup> That theory of the Ecumenical Empire was the formative principle in the production of the political system, temporal and spiritual of mediæval Christendom, from which, though since the Renaissance new theories of the State no less than of the Church have made the old an anachronism, the political system of modern civilization has been evolved. The Western half of Europe was submerged, indeed, by the barbarous invasions of the 5th century and, though the system of Ecumenical Christendom was strong enough to persist through that deluge, when it emerged its structure had been altered materially.

In the East, however, except for insensible modifications which tended to centralization and by which the Cæsar's function as its central symbol was intensified, the Ecumenic Empire remained unchanged in theory and fabric, until its final subjugation by Islam in 1453.

That it did so was due to the fact that those of its subjects who, to preserve their cultural and racial conditions, did not break away from it, had become conscious of their membership in it, whatever their race or culture, and that it had grown for them to be part of the natural order of the Universe, a theocracy mediated through the Emperor and the Hierarchy.

Every young student is familiarized with the importance of the Ecumenical Councils in the sphere of Theology, but few are taught to estimate the fact that *per se* their being held had much the same unifying effect upon the Ecumenic Empire as *per se* the existence of a Parliament has in making a nation realize its solidarity.

If the convention of the First Ecumenical Council was the first symbolic means devised by Constantine to create the concept of Ecumenicity in the minds of his subjects, it would not have been

<sup>1</sup> Nicæa was always held in reverence by the Emperors as a minor symbolic city. When I was last in it in 1912, it still possessed a Christian Community and a remarkable Church, that of the Komnens. The former was massacred by the Kemalist hordes obscenely in 1920 and, according to my friend, Mr. Borough and others who have since visited the desolate city, the burnt-out, plundered shell of the latter is slowly being covered with earth and vegetation by kindly nature.



sufficient in itself. But at the same time he equipped the Œcumenic Empire with two permanent centres which became real symbols of Christendom. The one was Constantinople and the other Jerusalem.

In founding—probably in 326—the former, there can be no question but that he designed it to be another Rome—an Eastern extension of the Old Rome which, in that age of symbols, had come to be regarded not as a mere city but as the sacrosanct symbol and eternal metropolis of the ideal world-wide and eternal Empire. It has always been known by his name, but it was as New Rome that he dedicated it (330) and its symbolic character was expressed in its plan in the Church of St. Sophia which he made its pivot, in his placing, e.g., the Palladium, side by side with a piece of the True Cross under its Column of Dedication and so on. From the first it took the place in Christendom for which he had destined it.

It supplied the East at once with what the East had never had before, a real supra-metropolis and it did so not simply because it was the seat of Imperial Government, but because it was New Rome, the city of Christ's vicegerent. So long as the Empire kept hold of the West it reigned with Old Rome as the double mother city of Christendom. After there had ceased to be an Emperor in the West, Old Rome was its appanage for two centuries, and until Charlemagne revived the Empire for the West, it was the sole metropolis of the Empire. As such, no less than for its magnificence, its symbolism, as Tsarigrad, the Queen City, fascinated the Northern and other barbarian nations which were coming into being in the West.

Strictly, in proclaiming himself Emperor in 800, Charlemagne did no more than proclaim himself a member of the Œcumenic Imperial College, and both he and his successors regarded their Holy Roman Empire as legally identical with the Œcumenic Empire, over the whole of which they and their colleagues at Constantinople reigned corporately. Their Cæsardom, however, received only lip recognition at Constantinople and that grudgingly. The evolution of the Papacy in effect split Œcumenic Christendom into two, the Great Schism (1054) not being a schism between the Papacy simply as an ecclesiastical institution from the four Eastern Patriarchates, but—a fact, the significance of which is rarely apparent in our histories—a schism in the Œcumenic Cæsardom. In effect that schism meant that, the West being cut off from it practically and theoretically, Eastern Christendom itself was left a world in itself, and which in its own eyes it was—the Œcumenic Church-State, everything outside of it being chaos. Of that world, Constantinople became increasingly the symbol and the centre until the Fall of Constantinople and has continued to be so through the 4½ centuries of its submersion by Turkish tyranny.

In founding his City, therefore, Constantine equipped the

Œcumenic Empire with what may be described as its Symbolic Centre of Œcumenicity. At the same time that he founded Constantinople, though of a different category, Constantine was creating a second symbolic centre of Œcumenical Christendom at Jerusalem. Doubtless natural piety is an incontestably adequate explanation of his having despatched his octogenarian mother on her pilgrimage of devotion and instigated his and her desire to seek to identify the Holy Places of the Passion. But if piety had not inspired the Isapostolic Emperor and Empress thereto, statesmanship would have taught them what a political asset lay ready to their hand at Jerusalem. The devotion of proscribed Christendom had centred on the Holy Places and under the heathen Cæsars streams of pilgrims had made their way thither in spite of every difficulty.

The Empire having been reborn as Christian, it was inevitable that Jerusalem should be the transcendent centre of devotion for legalized and triumphant Christendom. Plainly, it was both the duty and the privilege of a Cæsar who was Christ's vicegerent to see to it both that the Holy Places were adorned with shrines which, though nothing possibly could be worthy of their sanctity, should be exceedingly magnificent and that the way of approach to them should be free to every pilgrim. That is the obverse and is more than an adequate explanation of Helena's journey, of Constantine's rejoicing at her identification of Calvary, at her invention of the Instruments of the Passion, and of his proclamation to the world of his rejoicing at these events. The reverse is to be illustrated by the importance of Mecca and other Moslem holy places in the system of that travesty of Christendom, Islam. In giving us what may be received fairly as a "modernist" interpretation of the Islamic system, the Khwaga Kemal-ud-din<sup>1</sup> tells us that the primary criterion of a true Khaliph (i.e., Cæsar) of Islam is that he should possess Mecca and the other Holy Places of the Haram and should be able to safeguard the pilgrimage of all and sundry Moslems to them.

Much more than in the fourth century was it a criterion of Christ's vicegerent that he should hold the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary and the Grotto of the Nativity, and that he should safeguard the access to them of the meanest Christian from the ends of the earth. His reward was that, in so doing, he must be recognized by all Christendom for what he was, i.e., Christ's vicegerent.

Faith in a precious relic cannot fail to provide it with the most worthy reliquary in its power. That in the fourth century, if the Empire were to realize itself as Christendom, the Emperor should claim as his proper right the care of the Holy Places was not only prompted by piety, but was a matter of policy. They were the

<sup>1</sup> See *The House Divided and India in the Balance*, Woking, 1922.



*insignia* of the visible order of Christendom and could not be left to private keeping or private devotion.

Accordingly, Constantine issued his proclamation to the world that the Holy Places had been identified and the instruments of the Passion discovered, ordered Makarios, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to erect a superb temple over the Holy Sepulchre, lavished his treasurers upon its building, and did everything in his power to bring to bear upon the whole Christian world the attraction of Jerusalem as the centre of its pilgrimage and devotion. As the British Empire lives by the ocean but did not create it, so the Œcumenic Empire did not create the mystic attraction of Jerusalem but determined and realized its own ideal character in a measure by appropriating that mystic attraction to itself. If Constantinople functioned in the Empire as the Metropolis of Christian Theocracy, Jerusalem functioned as the Metropolis of Christian Mysticism. The devotion of all Christendom was focussed upon it. Pilgrims came to it from the ends of the earth, and all were conscious of their citizenship in the Visible Kingdom of Christ. Jerusalem thus became part of the necessary apparatus of the Œcumenic Empire and a principal vital organ of its life as Christendom. So long as the Empire lasted, no Emperor could afford to show himself indifferent to it and none ever spared his resources to show himself worthy of its customs of its Holy Shrines. Even the anniversaries of the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Finding of the True Cross became Œcumenic Feasts. And so on.

This function of Jerusalem in the Œcumenic Empire would appear to be the only possible explanation of its recognition as a Patriarchate. That its future position in the ecclesiastical jurisdictional system of Christendom was a matter of perplexity at the time of Helena's pilgrimage (326) is evidenced by the 7th Canon of Nicæa (325), which, while it left the "Bishop in Ælia" under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan, *sc.* the Patriarch, of Antioch, gave him "the succession of honour" after him. When the fourth Council met, it had become impossible that that arrangement could continue.

The term *casaro-papism*, which has been coined to designate the part played by the Emperors in the Œcumenical Empire is a misnomer. By the theory of that Empire the assumption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any kind whatever by the most erastian of them all was unthinkable. None could intrude in things spiritual. But especially in view of the ecclesiastical conflicts by which under the banners of Christological controversy the ancient non-Græco-Latin cultural "nationalities" were already beginning to disrupt the Œcumenical system in order to preserve themselves against "byzantinization," statesmanship could no longer leave Jerusalem ecclesiastically subject to Antioch. If the conditions had been those

of the English Monarchy *dei gratia* in the sixteenth century, the obvious thing to do would have been, as Elizabeth made Westminster Abbey, to have made Jerusalem a royal peculiar. Such an anomaly was not then conceived. But the character of the Emperor as a *mixta persona*, ruling Christendom as Christ's vicegerent, had grown beyond question, and his supervision of the old three supra-jurisdictions in that capacity was established. The obvious expedient was to make it a Patriarchate and so to give the Emperor the maximum of control and of function in regard to it.

That was done by the Council of Chalcedon and accordingly it is to be concluded that the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was proclaimed less on account of the sacred association of the Holy City demanding Patriarchal dignity for its bishop than because that association made it imperative that in the exercise of the guardianship, *i.e.*, the control, of the Christian Capital of Mysticism, no person should intervene between its bishop and the Emperor. The immediate relationship so established persisted, in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, even after Palestine had been permanently absorbed in Islam, the Emperors continuing to lavish what resources they could upon the Holy Shrines, the Khalifs generally admitting their peculiar interest in them, and the Patriarchate being conscious of itself as still an organ of the Œcumenical Empire as centred in Constantinople. The recognition of the necessity of the recovery of Jerusalem for the reconstitution of a single Œcumenic Christendom was a political incentive of the Crusades. In the nineteenth century the same objective motivated the Tsardom which thought of itself as an extension of the Œcumenic Empire and conceived itself therefore as obliged by its destiny to possess Jerusalem no less than Constantinople, its need of both of which governed its diplomacy and led it to stimulate the phenomenon of those Russian pilgrimages to the Holy Land with which Mr. Stephen Graham has made us familiar.

Therefore the Jerusalem Patriarchate is not to be described as "jurisdictional" or "pastoral" but as "phrouretic," *i.e.*, as existing to guard the Holy Places. And further it is to be regarded as part of the higher ecclesiastical administration of the Œcumenical system set up for the latter function and not as a local institution which has developed into an Œcumenic institution. That the Patriarchate had and possesses a "jurisdictional" and "pastoral" function in Palestine is an inevitable and minor accident of its proper "phrouretic" nature.

The dioceses of Palestine *could* be placed under no other supra-jurisdiction and, unless he was to be an anomaly, in becoming a Patriarch, the Bishop of Jerusalem could not be left without a diocese.

That at least the majority of the Flock of the Patriarchate were



always and remain content and even proud of their peculiar position and have always regarded and regard the Patriarchate as primarily part of the higher administration of the whole Orthodox system, and not as other than secondarily a local institution would seem apparent even from the documents quoted from this Report.

Finally, it is to be noted that, the Œcumenical Patriarchate having assumed, after 1453, the essential function of the Emperor as the corporate and symbolic centre of the Œcumenic Empire, the Patriarch of Jerusalem held much the same relation to him as he held previously to the Emperor, until the earlier half of the nineteenth century.

In sum, the difference between the Jerusalem Patriarchate and the other four Patriarchates is that, whereas the latter hold their place in the Patriarchal College, because they are the supra-jurisdictional institutions of the great historic divisions of the Orthodox World, the latter has jurisdiction over an insignificant country because on account of its Guardianship of the Holy Shrines it had to have a place in the Patriarchal College.

#### THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATES.

Neither the Mandatory Power, nor, for that matter, the League of Nations itself, can rightly regard the Patriarchate as a local Palestinian institution, in the reform of which it is free to take initiative.

As with the Roman Catholic Church, so with the Orthodox Church. In spite of their mutual contrasts both go back in continuity of form and of organic life beyond the undivided Œcumenical<sup>1</sup> Church of Constantine's Œcumenic Empire to that

<sup>1</sup> There is so much popular misuse of the term Œcumenical and its cognates that it may be well to say here that (1) *Oikoumene*—itself the passive participle of a Greek verb cognate with *oikia*, a house, an ordered dwelling—was used in Bible times to denote the Empire and the sphere of its cultural influence as an ordered civilization; (2) *Oikoumenikos*, the adjective formed from it, came in subsequent centuries to denote that which appertained to a single world-wide, all-embracing system and order. Thus nothing could be more absurd than the frequent designation of last year's Stockholm Life and Work Conference as "Œcumenic": for its participants were characterized by almost every Christian diversity conceivable, and possessed no common system. The essential pretension of the heathen Roman Empire was that it was Œcumenic, for (see Lord Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*), its claim was that it was the divinely ordained and unique household which was destined to be eternal and all-embracing. That claim was, of course, maintained, when under Constantine the Empire ceased to be Heathendom, the realm of the heathen gods, and became Christendom, the realm of the Christ. Since the Empire then identified itself with the Church, "Œcumenical" when used as an ecclesiastical term came to signify unity of ecclesiastical type, law, administration and so forth. The Church, therefore, was Œcumenical after Nicaea, because, whatever its diversity, it was a single household, an ordered unity. A Council or a Canon was Œcumenical because it was the expression of that Unity and ran through every part of the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople would appear to have adopted the title of Œcumenical Patriarch in the seventh century because he acquired at Chalcedon a certain vague appellative function throughout the Œcumenic Empire. Up to the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Byzantine Empire regarded itself as the single and unique divinely ordained Empire of Christ and, after that date, the secular side of that Empire having disappeared, its spiritual side, the Orthodox Church, continued the tradition. For these reasons, the Orthodox Church is to be regarded as the heir and representative of the (Eastern) Œcumenic Empire.

primitive Church of the Apostles, the accepted and certain reconstruction of which is a problem of historical research and would decide most inter-confessional controversies. Whatever modifications in theory or in structure the sixteen centuries which have produced the Modern World have produced in the form of their respective polities, those polities, as they exist and function to-day, are organic evolutions of the polity of the one Œcumenical Church as it was found and regularized by the First Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.).

That to readjust the constitution of an historic institution which is a major institution of any system that is itself the growth of centuries is always a delicate matter, is axiomatic to anyone who considers, e.g., what reactions a readjustment of the constitutional relation of the British Sovereign to the Parliament of the United Kingdom might have upon the fabric of the British Empire. In supra-national religious complexes such as the historic system of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches the readjustment of a major institution is obviously an extremely delicate business and, especially if initiated by a secular authority without the concurrences and goodwill of the whole Communion affected, is capable of producing unsuspected, if not necessarily catastrophic, repercussions and far-reaching consequences.

That the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem is such a major institution of the Orthodox Church should not need to be stated.

The title "Patriarch" was used loosely in the earlier centuries rather as a mark of dignity than as denoting a special function in Œcumenical Christendom, and is still so used in the West. But among the Orthodox, though Patriarchal dignity has been assumed in the present decade by the chief bishops both of Serbia and of Rumania,<sup>1</sup> the title has been attached for over a thousand years to certain great metropolitical sees with a very special significance to appreciate which is of first importance for the understanding of this Report. The Orthodox interpretation—those who accept the Papal claims would, of course, amend it—of the evolution of the Œcumenical system of jurisdiction may be taken to be that, as the primitive Church spread, her starting point in each territorial unit was its capital city, its metropolis, in which the first bishop naturally set up his throne. As other dioceses were cut off from that first diocese of any such unit, their bishops had full jurisdiction in them. But inasmuch as they had been formed from it as their mother diocese, the original see was the Metropolis of them all, and, as their metropolitan, its occupant conscrated and presided over their bishops, difficulties arising in them being referred to his jurisdiction. But not only was the whole of

<sup>1</sup> The Œcumenical Patriarch has recognized formally their assumption of the title; but it is to be doubted whether they are to be considered Patriarchs in the historic sense.



Ecumenical Christendom divided in this fashion into many metropolitan jurisdictions which corresponded roughly to the administrative division of secular Government. From whatever principle that metropolitan system originated, there was evolved as part and parcel of it, as it were, a system of supra-metropolitan jurisdictions.

In the Roman Empire of the first three centuries A.D. there were three supra-capitals, metropoleis of all the lesser metropoleis—each, for one of the three great territorial divisions into which the three ancient and highly distinct racial civilizations that had to be welded into the unity of its *Oikoumene* divided it naturally: Rome for the lands of the Græco-Latin culture; Alexandria for those of the Egyptian; Antioch for those of the Syrian. As to when, why and how the bishops of those three capital cities became the supra-metropolitans of the metropolitans within the area of their respective cultural influence is a matter of controversy. The Orthodox view is that they became so in recognition of social, cultural and political facts, by natural evolution, reinforced by consent. At any rate, their supra-metropolitan jurisdiction was existent before the first Ecumenical Council endorsed it (325) as a practical principle of the Ecumenical order of Christendom. The process of historical development has precised the supra-metropolitan function so exercised in the ante-Nicæan period and confirmed at Nicæa in 325, but that function is the characteristic of a Patriarch<sup>1</sup> in the special sense which we are considering.

Assuming the Orthodox interpretation of their genesis, the actual number of Patriarchates is immaterial, the general consent which produced them in the first instance having validity to increase or diminish them. Accordingly the Fourth Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon, 451) added two such jurisdictions to the ancient three, viz.: Constantinople by its 28th Canon, and Jerusalem by a decision. The reason for the creation of the former Patriarchate is not only apparent from history but is stated in the Canon. The Isapostolic Emperor had founded it as New Rome, to be, with Old Rome on the Tiber, the sister capital of the Ecumenical Empire and by 451 it had long been the factual supra-capital of the Eastern half of Christendom—in a measure of Egyptian and Syrian, as well as altogether of Eastern and Græco-Latin civilization. Therefore, the Fourth Council not only decreed it to be a Patriarchate, but, because it was then the twin capital of Ecumenical Christendom, gave it an equal place with Old Rome which, however, as the Supra-Capital of supra-capitals, held the first place in dignity. It is true that the Pope of the day opposed the assignment of Patriarchal function to the bishop of the New Imperial Metropolis and that Western Theology sustained his objection on the ground

<sup>1</sup> Though I have used Patriarch and Patriarchate throughout, those terms were not fixed specifically until after the tenth century.

that the three primitive Patriarchates possessed indefeasible rights of jurisdiction each in its area of jurisdiction. None the less the new arrangement stood and was accepted generally, at least in the East.

Accordingly from the age of the Councils there were five Patriarchates. The Great Schism between the Papacy and the East, which became formal and indurate in 1054, had in effect as its chief cause a controversy as to the nature and form of supra-metropolitan jurisdiction, Rome claiming Supremacy for the Pope as *de jure divino* and the East according him Primacy only as *de jure ecclesiastico*. The effect of that Schism, however, for the Orthodox, was that in the long run, the Papal Obedience having fallen away from what they held to be the One, True, Apostolic and Ecumenical Church, i.e., their own Communion, the Patriarchate of Old Rome had entered into abeyance and only four existing Patriarchates remained, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had been known as the Ecumenical Patriarch since the seventh century, thus succeeding *per lapsum* to single primacy over the remaining Patriarchs, the number of whom was restored to five by the addition of Russia in the sixteenth century. Even in the tenth century, though still part of the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople, not as a Patriarchate, but as an ordinary metropolis, Russia had been already a moiety of the Eastern Orthodox Communion. In the fifteenth century the Russian Grand Princedom had transformed itself into the Russian Tsardom. That is to say, soon after the fall of Constantinople and the extinction of its line of Ecumenical Emperors in 1453, Ivan, the Great Prince, in virtue of his marriage with Sophia, the niece of the last of them, Constantine XIII., claimed the Ecumenical Imperial office for himself, and assumed for his successors that rôle of the liberation and restoration of the subjugated home-lands of Eastern Christendom, which became thenceforward the dominating ideal and ambition of the Russian Tsardom.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the Ecumenical Patriarch, Jeremiah II., visited Moscow, and with the consent of his three brother Patriarchs, proclaimed it in 1589, to be the fifth Patriarchate with the Russian Empire as its particular supra-jurisdiction. This elevation of the Metropolitan of Moscow to be one of the four Patriarchs was thus not in accordance with the precedent of the Bulgar and Serb mediæval "Patriarchates"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In fact, Ivan's grandson, Dmitri, was the first crowned Tsar (Cesar) of Russia.

<sup>2</sup> The first and second Bulgar Tsardoms and the Serb Tsardom of Stepan Nemanja and Stepan Dushan, each had their Patriarchs of Ochrida, Trnovo and Ipek, but their status was dubious and, at least generally, they were never recognized as colleagues of the four Patriarchs, being at most what would now be called "heads of autocephalous Churches." The present Patriarch of Serbia is the lineal successor of the Patriarch of the Serb Tsardom, the succession of Serb Patriarchs having been maintained at Ipek until in the eighteenth century, after the great Serb trek of 1690 into Austria, it was transformed into that of Karlowitz, which, in turn, in 1922, became that of Serbia. The Rumanian Patriarch of Ungro-Vlachia claims to be regarded as a revival of that of Trnovo.



which demanded that every Emperor or Tsar should have his Patriarch. It was an application of the Orthodox principle that ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be revised to meet historical developments, according to which, in Orthodox Polity, the number of Patriarchates is not fixed on principle or of indefeasible right, but can be increased or diminished at the discretion of an Œcumenical Council or by General Consent. In practice, however, the fivefold jurisdictional division of Œcumenical Christendom has obtained since Chalcedon and, for the Orthodox, now consists of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Russia.

So far as I know, the Patriarchal theory has never been precised explicitly, and is somewhat elusive. As it obtained in the East, it would appear that as, though one Emperor *ruled* factually in one delimited area and another in another, all the Emperors formed together a College which *reigned* corporately throughout Œcumenical Christendom, so, though each Patriarch held his own proper supra-jurisdiction, all the Patriarchs came to be regarded as a *collegium* which was the corporate symbol of the totality of the Œcumenical hierarchy, in which it might be said that "the Orthodox Church consisted." This view is incompatible, e.g., neither with the "autonomy" of the Churches of Cyprus and Georgia in ancient times nor with the present "autocephaly" of the Churches of Hellas, Serbia, Rumania etc.

The *status* of those jurisdictions would in theory appear to be analogous to that of the mediæval Kingdoms, such as the English or French, to the rulers of which the Œcumenical Emperor had delegated an indefeasible and perpetual independence of rule, but which still remained part of the Œcumenical Empire.<sup>1</sup>

In the theory of mediæval Christendom the Emperor or College of Emperors, still remained Christ's viceregent, the whole of Œcumenical Christendom being his realm, only—as witness the challenge given on their landing in Great Britain to the Western Emperor Sigismund in 1416, and to Manuel Palæologos, the more legitimate Eastern Emperor, in 1400, as to whether they claimed right of rule therein—there were portions of it wherein they had definitely and finally abnegated all direct authority.

<sup>1</sup> The Orthodox distinction between autocephaly and autonomy which now obtains is that, while both legislate and so forth for themselves at their discretion and are restrained only by the Canons of an Œcumenical Council or by Œcumenical customs, an autonomous Church is subject to the supra-jurisdiction of the Patriarchate in which its territory lies, but an autocephalous Church is subject to no superior jurisdiction other than that of an Œcumenical Council. Cyprus was recognized by the Third Œcumenical Council, 451, as what is now known as an autocephalous Church—e.g., the Orthodox Churches of Finland and Poland are autonomous, but whether they are under the supra-jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch or the Russian is contested.

<sup>2</sup> In Sunni Islam, the theory of which is a travesty of that of the Œcumenical Empire, the Khaliph (Allah's viceregent) roughly represents the Cæsar, and the Emirates the indefeasible Kingdoms delegated to his Emirs.

## ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM 159

In much the same way the Patriarchs may be regarded as being the corporate and symbolic College of the chief bishops<sup>1</sup> of the Church holding conjoint supra-jurisdiction in every part of the Œcumenical Christendom and it is thus, e.g., that each of them wherever he goes takes precedence even of the chief bishop of an autocephalous Church in his own metropolis and that, whenever any autocephalous Church is in widowhood of its chief bishop, the names of the five Patriarchs are read from the diptychs at the Liturgy.

In sum, whether or not the analogy in Orthodox Polity of the Patriarchal College to the Imperial College of the Œcumenical Empire be valid, it may be generalized that from the Fall of Constantinople up to our own day,<sup>2</sup> conciliar action on the part of the whole Orthodox Church being precluded by the circumstances, the Patriarchs when acting and speaking together have in effect served as the supreme organ of the Orthodox Church and their decisions have been received as having not theoretical but factual Œcumenic authority.

It is true that the conditions which have kept the Orthodox Church in immobility for four and a half centuries have disappeared finally with the War. Western categories, social, cultural, political, national, are beginning to leaven the Near East out of knowledge. During the nineteenth century the creation of sovereign national Orthodox states in the Balkans—in Rumania, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria—had for its concomitant the erection of autocephalous national Orthodox Churches in each of them, the jurisdiction of everyone of them being to-day numerically greater than that of any one of the four ancient Patriarchates. Moreover, by its being the Church of a free nation, each of them has made greater advance than has been possible for the four ancient Patri-

<sup>1</sup> All Orthodox Catechisms have statements to that effect. Thus the Longer Russian Catechism of 1823 (Philaret's) has these three questions and answers. (Trans. Blackmore, Aberdeen, 1845) —

Q. What hierarchal authority is there, which can extend its sphere of action over the whole Catholic Church?

A. An Œcumenical Council.

Q. Under what hierarchal authority are the chief divisions of the Catholic Church?

A. Under the Orthodox Patriarchs, and the Most Holy Synod.

Q. Under what ecclesiastical authority are lesser orthodox provinces and cities?

A. Under Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops.

The "Most Holy Synod" in question is, of course, that of Russia which, as a *collegium*, exercised the Patriarchal office from Peter the Great's suspension of it in 1721 till its re-establishment in 1917. It is instructive to note that in his Draft for an Orthodox Catechism (Sremsky-Karlowicz, 1924) p. 64, the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev conjoins the Serbian Patriarch with the five Patriarchs—the Rumanian Patriarchate had not been declared at that time—as "the hierarchal authority (slushtenonachalia), to which the chief divisions of the Œcumenical Church are subject."

<sup>2</sup> That the whole Orthodox Church could be represented at any Council after 1453 was impossible through the Turks' suspicion of their "rayah" having relations with the Russian Tsardom. The Russian Church did not take part in the Council of Bethlehem, 1672, since when no important Council has been held.



archates.<sup>1</sup> Those facts had modified the Orthodox complex insensibly and before the War the lines of the old Orthodox World were manifestly changing. Two prime factors held back even the discussion of Ecumenic action being taken to adopt Orthodox polity to the change of circumstances. The one was the Russian Tsardom which was, of course, bilateral, a church-state permeated with the tradition that it was the heir of the Ecumenical Empire and that its calling was not only to liberate the Christian East, but to restore that Empire with its own Tsar as Christ's vicegerent. Russia could not tolerate anything being done until its Emperor had been crowned in a redeemed Sophia, which, by right, was his own. The other was the fact that any movement on the part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate indicating Ecumenical activity would certainly have been crushed by the jealousy of the Turks. In 1924, the concept of a revived Ecumenical Empire is as dead in the East as is that of a revived Holy Roman Empire in the West. The whole Orthodox world is talking of an Ecumenical Council and, if by vetoing the Ecumenical Patriarchates taking part in it, the Angora Government had not postponed its convention, such a Council has been opened at Mount Athos this year. That ultimately, if the Orthodox Church is not to disintegrate, as Roman Catholic Polity has otherwise transformed itself, so Orthodox Polity must transform itself until nothing but vestigial marks of its having been the spiritual side of a single, bilateral Ecumenical Church-State will remain, and that, like the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox must become conscious that *in esse* it is a purely spiritual supra-national *civitas* and must forget its former practical identification with the temporality of Christendom is incontestable.

For that end, and, seeing especially that at present the modern autocephalous Churches are in something like Byzantine connection with their respective states, the necessity is the recovering, not of a supra-national Orthodox consciousness—for that is in salient existence—but of the supra-national machinery of Orthodox Polity, i.e., of the co-ordinated and corporate supra-national action of its hierarchy.

Plenty of immediate demands, the revision of the Calendar, the Reunion Question, the marriage of widowed clergy and of bishops, and so on, give the Orthodox pressing occasion for their postponed Ecumenical Council, but behind and above them all is their essential need of it as the organ of their Ecumenical activity.

<sup>1</sup> Before its recent and post-War extirpation the flock of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was numerically comparable to the Moslem-Turkish population in the lands of its jurisdiction. The flocks of the other three were small minorities compared with the Arabs in theirs. That, while under Moslem domination, the Patriarchates could make progress was quite impossible. The next decades will show whether they can do so.

That its convention will further be put off indefinitely is, of course, very possible. If only 100,000 or so Orthodox are still under Turkish oppression, Mustapha Kemal has his finger on the central ganglion of Orthodox Polity—*sc.*, on the Ecumenical Patriarchate—and the Bolsheviks keep the Russian Church in chaos. In spite of the manifest warranty for impatience at the delay, that the meeting of what for the Orthodox will be the first Ecumenical Council since 787 should be delayed, may be a gain and not a loss. For when it assembles lapse of time may increase the unanimity of the acceptance of its decisions. But if and when it does assemble, either it will readjust the machinery of Orthodox Polity by enactment or, which is more probable, that machinery will readjust itself tacitly by the procedure that it adopts. In either case, the Patriarchates appear destined to play their historic part in the Council and it would appear that the desiderated readjustment will consist largely of establishing their future position in the Orthodox Polity.

Accordingly, in view of the traditional and canonical primacy of the Five Patriarchs in the Orthodox hierarchy and of their factual authority and importance, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem must be regarded not as a local Palestinian, but as a Pan-Orthodox supra-national institution. Indeed, in view of the intimate connection of many of the autocephalous Churches with their national states, it is also to be regarded as having an importance among the *imponderabilia* of Near Eastern politics—in illustration of which assertion may be adduced the eagerness of the Synodical party in Russia to obtain recognition from it and the consternation of the "Russian Exiles" at the rumour published by the *Times* on October 9th, 1926, that that recognition had been given.



## SYRIAN ORTHODOX CONSECRATIONS.

BY THE REV. C. T. BRIDGEMAN.

THE most interesting ecclesiastical event in Jerusalem in the last year was the consecration, on Sunday, October 24th, of three bishops by His Beatitude Ignatius III., Syrian (Jacobite) Patriarch of Antioch. This is the first time in nineteen years that one has had the opportunity to witness a consecration according to the Syrian rite in the Holy City.

The jurisdiction of the Syrian Patriarch extends to that romantic Christian Church which has been from Apostolic times in India, along the Malabar coast. Two of the bishops-elect were sent from this Malabar Church to receive at the hands of the Patriarch the Apostolic commission which originally went forth from Jerusalem. The third was a Syrian.

The consecration took place in the ancient Church of St. Mark, in the Syrian Convent, a place which their tradition associates with the house of John Mark where the Last Supper was eaten, St. Mary the Virgin baptized, and the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles. At the time of the service on Sunday morning the little Church was crowded with worshippers. Representatives of every religious group in Jerusalem were in the choir, notably the Greek Orthodox and Russians, the Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Franciscans, various Uniates and the Anglican Church. In a gallery were seated consular and Governmental representatives. The Patriarch was assisted by Mar Gregorius, Bishop of Jerusalem and Mar Julius, who for two years has been his representative in Malabar, and who accompanied the bishops-elect from India.

After the Liturgy, celebrated by the Patriarch, had proceeded as far as the Communion of the sacred ministers, the service was interrupted by the consecration. The three candidates, who had up to this point been standing with their heads covered by veils before the altar, were now uncovered, and read in Syriac and Arabic an oath of loyalty and conformity to the Syrian Church. The Patriarch now began a Litany addressed to the Holy Spirit and followed it with various prayers. For the first part of the consecration the bishops-elect were gathered about the Patriarch and enveloped in the ample folds of his cope. While the choir sang the Patriarch said the appropriate prayers and breathed on the forehead of each of the ordinands after the example of our Lord. The cope was then removed from their heads and he laid his hands on each of them, signing them with the sign of the cross. Each of them was then solemnly vested with amice, cope, stole and pectoral cross, while the congregation signified their approval by that ululation which one hears at the service of Holy Fire in the Holy

Sepulchre. In the next ceremony each new bishop was seated in a chair and, while the Patriarch cried "axios" (Gk. *worthy*), he was lifted bodily into the air by deacons to show him to the congregation, who, as before, showed their approval. A sermon in Arabic was then given by the Patriarch, followed by another in English by one of the newly-made bishops from India. After the communion of the Patriarch and the new bishops the service concluded with the blessing and dismissal of His Beatitude.

The custom obtains of changing the names of priests when they are elevated to the episcopate: thus Father Dionysius is now Bishop Michael of Cottayam, Malabar; Father Dioscorus has become Bishop Thomas of Kananait, Malabar; and Father Cyrillus, the Syrian priest, Bishop Michael.

In the afternoon a reception was given the new bishops in St. Mark's Convent, when all official Jerusalem assembled to pay them honour. The Bishop of Jerusalem and Mrs. MacInnes were among those who went to wish them God-speed in their new work.

It is noteworthy that in this service of consecration the Patriarch alone laid hands on the consecrands. Asked about it later he said that when the Patriarch performed the service the two bishops present were expected merely to stand by, and he alone laid on hands. But when he was not present, and delegated authority to others, all three delegated bishops were obliged to lay their hands on the consecrands, though only the chief of the three breathed on them. And at the same hour, the Patriarch in his own Church or wherever he was, celebrated the Liturgy with intention for the new bishops.

Again, it is interesting that at this service the Patriarch, in his Arabic sermon, and Bishop Michael of Cottayam in the one following in English, took as their texts the authority that the Patriarchs of Antioch received from St. Peter. They claimed for St. Peter that he was the Rock, apart from whom there could be no Church, and said he was Christ's Vicar, etc., making every distinctive Roman claim for the Patriarch of Antioch (Syrian of course), except Infallibility. It was most curious. However, the reason was doubtless that there has been so much denial of the Patriarch's authority in India that he took the opportunity to lay down the law.

Mar Julius, who came from India with the bishops-elect, has for two years been the Patriarch's representative there. It is doubtless he who has been complained of by the discontented faction there in letters sent to Bishop MacInnes. However, he seems like a good man.

From Mar Ignatius we learn that in Malabar he has 7 dioceses: (1) Cottayam, to which Michael now goes; (2) Angalamali, where



one, Anastasius, is now Bishop (apparently only one of two up to now recognizing the Patriarch); (3) Kandanar (vacant); (4) Quilon (vacant); (5) Niranan (vacant) (6) Thumbamon (vacant); and (7) Kananait, which is a sort of extra territorial or racial jurisdiction attached to Cottayam, ministering to a group of Syrians who for centuries have been in Malabar and form a separate group from the other peoples; they have one bishop already, one Severius, and now Dioscorus will be added.

In Cochin there is but one diocese, of the same name, and now vacant.

It is significant that in Travancore, the Patriarch's party has been upheld by the Courts (now again on appeal) and so there he has some jurisdiction; while in Cochin, the insurgents (Metran's Party) were upheld by law and the Patriarch defeated. All is now in turmoil and still under litigation.

### PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

BY THE REV. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D.

ALL friends and children of the Orthodox Church would admit that she is at the moment in rather heavy weather, though there is no reason to think that her Lord is asleep in the ship, or that there is need to cry "Save us, we perish." Her friends in the Church of England may like to know, to some extent, in what the difficulties consist, that they may direct their prayers for her with some knowledge.

Broadly, the position is this: First, that the problems of a changing age, ecclesiastical, scientific and political, which came on us in the West very gradually, are being presented to our Eastern brethren all at once, and a time of mental strain is inevitable in consequence.

Turkish rule was in some respects like a glacier. It crushed what was under it, but it preserved too, though what was under its weight might be kept unchanged at the cost of being frozen, and might have the life squeezed out of it if the pressure went on too long! In a time that is very short, as we count the lives of peoples, the glacier has withdrawn and the frozen nations that have been under it since the days of our Edward III., have come to life again; but this process, with all its problems, has been going on for a bare century at most, even in Greece and Serbia, and this revival of national life produces its own problems, both in Church and State.

Further, this age has been the period of the great scientific dis-

coveries in the west, with their necessary impact on religion. In the West, these discoveries came gradually, or at least in succession, but even so, there was a good deal of strain and of mental adjustment, when men had to make up their minds to cast to the winds much that they had thought essential and primitive, though it was actually late mediæval. Gradually we have found, and are finding, that what is really true cannot be really contradictory to Him who is the Truth; but we have had seventy years in which to make that discovery, while in the case of the Orthodox, the discoveries have been presented *en bloc*, in the course of the brief period in which the political changes that were themselves disturbing, have brought the chance of education to all. The Troglodytes have suddenly been turned round and bidden to look straight at a light—of sorts; let us hope that the light is a true one, even if successive bearers of it may occasionally contradict one another!

Can one wonder that some among them are dazzled, or that the conservatives should say, "we stand on the old paths and the old ways, and those only"? Impatient people say that the attitude is obscurantist, and there may be an element of truth in the charge: but the East never claimed to be a pioneer of civilization, and her most obstinate conservatives are less unreasoning and unreasonable than those produced by the land that does make that claim, the United States of America!

So, this conservatism has its quaint aspect, and where that is so, no Orthodox friend will refuse us the right to a smile at its quaintness, provided that the smile be accompanied by sympathy, and the recollection that we have been quite as foolish in our time—with much less excuse!

Take as an instance the heart-burnings caused by the needful change of the calendar. Smile, if you will, in superior western way, at tales of monks or nuns, bred to old ways, and protesting that "I tell you the truth; the Blessed Virgin *does not like* this new Calendar," or declaring that not even an Œcumenical council can rule that the prayers shall be said on days when there is no certainty that the saints can be there to hear them. Do not even their eikons weep with a sense of loss and shame?

That may be quaint, of course, but imagine, superior western, that you are a parish priest with a flock of simple people, and set to the task of explaining to all the mothers of your parish, how it is that Spiro or Yanni can have no birthday this year. Do you fancy the job? For that is how it works out in a land where the Priest must visit every house on the "Name-day" of the child, and when authority has suddenly ordered that 13 days shall be left out. We have had to go through it, and it was in enlightened and Protestant England that riotous crowds demanded "give us back our eleven days," and thought that divine Providence would cause them to



die eleven days' the sooner because of the alteration! There is little to choose between the two attitudes, and what there is, is not in our favour.

Of course, nothing can hinder the peoples of the Balkans and Levant from eating of the tree of scientific knowledge. The only thing to do is what the wise men of the Church are endeavouring to do, to provide such education that the eating may not be harmful. In such a case, it is but charity not to sneer, but to ask, "Is there any way in which we can help?" Direct help is not possible, but the work done by our scholars in working towards a reconciliation of true science with duly stated religion, may be most useful to others who have to face a like problem.

To accept a new mental outlook without undue disturbance is a task hard enough for any one generation to accomplish, and in the present case the task is put before them at a moment when every single portion of the fabric of Church and State is strained, partly by the aftermath of the war, partly by the movements that helped to produce that explosion, and which still continue, now that its force has removed some of the obstacles that hindered them.

In attempting to review the position, we must leave the Russian Church out of account. Its difficulties, internal and external, can only be understood by one having personal knowledge to which the present writer can lay no claim; everywhere else, in "orthodox lands," we have problems the solution of which might tax the wisest.

For the twenty years preceding the war the problem of the Balkans was the uprising of national consciousness among very confused types. There was a series of small nations, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece, Albania, Montenegro, each with the intense patriotism of a small nation, and whose religion was, broadly, Orthodoxy. Mohammedans were not, save in one instance, regarded as members of the nations in question, and the minorities of Romans and Protestants were of negligible size. The question was, how to reconcile the demand for national independence with the obedience due to the Orthodox Church authority, viz., the Ecumenical patriarchate.

The fact that the holder of the throne was an Ottoman subject was an additional complication of the problem.

How can the rights of the throne, which are admitted to exist, though not very clearly defined, be reconciled with the claim of a series of bodies, in each of which self-consciousness is growing, to be "auto-cephalous" or "autonomous." The claim might be a sound one in itself, though those who made it were demanding at least as much as they were in a state to use, without danger to themselves, but it was one, the granting of which would call for a

<sup>1</sup> The change was one of eleven days in 1720, but of thirteen in 1926.

good deal of unselfishness from the controlling Greek body, that was accustomed to think of the right to rule in the Church as a heritage committed to the Greek by the Church's Founder.

It was a problem which, in our time, we have had to try to answer, and the lasting schisms of the Reformation are the testimony to the fact that we failed. In the Balkans to-day, national ambitions, righteous and otherwise, and personal and official selfishness play their part, no doubt. Small wonder that it should be so. There was a good deal of it afoot in the days of Leo X. and Paul IV., of Henry VIII. and the Protector Somerset!

These are the general problems, those of reconciling old truths and new knowledge, old authority and new developments. In each country they take their peculiar form, conditioned by the circumstances of the case. Greece, for instance, has her own terrible set of problems. Egged on by Europe to tackle what Europe shirked in Asia Minor, she failed in her effort, the failure being caused by the fact that some of her allies acted with singularly black and dastardly treachery towards her, supplying arms and officers to her enemy, with whom they were still technically at war. If our own land did not behave as badly as did France and Italy, we have little cause for pride over the way in which we abandoned her in her failure. So, Greece has had to face the awful problem of the Refugees, a problem which, proportionately, would amount to this with us: that the whole ten millions of greater London should suddenly be poured, penniless and destitute, on the rest of England. That that problem should have been solved, as it has been, with so few mistakes and so little disorder, is a marvel in itself and a testimony to the power of the Greek nation, particularly as it had to be faced in a period of political "stasis" in the country.

Ultimately, in accordance with the eternal justice of things, the influx of refugees will bring to Greece a benefit analogous to that brought by the Huguenots to England, though on a larger scale in proportion, seeing that the whole of the manufacturing classes of Turkey have been thus transplanted into another land. Turkey will have, in the long run, to pay the penalty of the line of action she has chosen. For the moment, however, the strain on the whole national fabric of Greece has been very great. Also, the great migration has settled the problem of Macedonia and, in fact, of the Balkans at large, though at a cost of human suffering that will hardly bear thinking of. The Macedonian problem of the first decade of this century consisted in the fact that several national types, each cherishing mutually exclusive ideals, were mixed in the country like dice in a bag, and each claimed, and none could enforce, rights over all the others. At least they have now been sorted out, and Macedonia, so far as it is under the Greek flag, is peopled by folk who are Greek, from Asia, and the Turk has gone



for ever. It is also true that, in a land where hitherto people have shown that they simply cannot forget, this population is filled with a hatred of the Turk which we (who so easily forgive the wrongs done to other people), simply cannot understand. Perhaps one may say, may God in his mercy forbid that we should ever have cause to understand. One statement, made to the writer by a thoughtful doctor, may give the home-dweller some insight into the matter. "It is a problem," he said, "a problem both psychological and medical. We have hundreds of girls in this camp, and I suppose it is the same in others, who will bear children to unknown fathers who were Turks, as a result of those three days of sack in Smyrna. How will they grow up, who have hatred of the Turk woven into their very being, during the nine months before birth? If they ever fight the Turk, heaven help those Turks whom they face!"

At least, however, hatred of a foreigner over the border, no matter how bitter or how justifiable, is not so daily a problem as the same hatred for a foreigner, side by side with whom you have to live.

The sorting out of the national types of the Balkans is the preliminary to a *modus vivendi* between those types, and in time the mutual hatred between them may lose its edge and they be content to dwell peaceably together. It will, however, be a matter of time, for the Balkan man is not, like the British, a bad hater with a short memory. Men will soberly base political claims to-day on what took place in the Balkans at the time of our Edward III. "Of course, we Serbs ought to have such a district. Was it not part of the empire of our Stephen Dushan?" No doubt it was, but the argument is one that would make Bordeaux an English possession to-day! And nations that have this long memory have much for it to feed on. Serbs, for instance, look back to days in the great war, when not only every soldier, but every priest, every school master, and every school mistress, was killed by the Bulgarian occupying force. Those whose work it was to make the Serbian nationality, were as much their enemies as those who fought in the field!

To return, however, to Greece. In the terrible need of funds in which the nation found itself, and the necessity of lands, on which the refugees could be settled, we have seen the confiscation of nearly all the great estates, including those of the monasteries, and it is certain that the monastic life in Greece—though too deeply rooted to be torn out altogether—will be much diminished in future. Novices are few in houses where small pensions only are paid to monks who are diminishing in number, and it is to be expected that only a few institutions will survive after a few years, though the monastic life is too congruous to the Greek mind to vanish altogether. If monasteries have had to go to a great extent, at least the act of destruction has been done more respectably than elsewhere.

There was a real necessity, and a real demand for national sacrifice in which the Church bore her part. There was no Greek edition of Messrs. Legh and Layton with their false accusations, as in our English monasteries.

Other quaint survivals have vanished, or are in process of vanishing, with the monasteries, and among them is one, the passing of which we must regret, even while we approve. It is the old family ownership of the relics of St. Spiridion in Corfu. This Cypriot saint, one of the signatories of the creed of Nicæa, died in his island diocese, but his relics were transferred to Constantinople in the Middle Ages, and were there in their church at the time of the Turkish capture of the city. How they escaped those most pious and greedy relic-hunters, the men of the fourth Crusade, we know not, but escape they did. Soon after the fall of the city, however, it was determined to smuggle the relics of the saint out to a Christian land once more, and they were stored in a sack of chaff for the purpose. As there was room to spare in the sack, the priest in charge determined not to waste space, and he put in another body that was also held in honour in the church, and that was, of all unlikely people, the body of the Empress Theodora!

Bishop and imperial danseuse went across the sea together in this strange companionship—it is to be hoped that the Bishop appreciated the humour of the position as much as one may be sure the Empress did—and arrived safely in Corcyra. There they were of course the property of the priest who had brought them, and on his death his three sons had a certain dispute as to the division of them. One of the three took Theodora as his share, and that striking personality, having begun life as a dancer and gone on as the most picturesque and effective empress in the whole history of Constantinople is now a most proper and miracle-working saint, in the cathedral. The other two brothers, only one of whom was married, agreed that St. Spiridion should be the dowry of the daughter of the other, and the girl took that quaint marriage portion into the local family which she entered on her wedding. A church was soon built, one of the family became its rector, and there the relics of the saint have remained to this day, so that the traveller can still look on the very hands that signed the original creed of Nicæa. The family, as rectors of the church, have hitherto taken a certain percentage—one seventh, we think—of the offerings made at the shrine, and it is a proof of the popular devotion to the saint that ever since that date—approximately 1500—the share payable to the family has averaged £1,000 per annum. A tolerable dowry for one girl to bring with her to her new home.

Now, recent developments show the change in the mentality of the people, such as that which made comfortable and indefensible old sinecures an impossibility in nineteenth-century England. The



present male representative of the house declines to be ordained in order to keep on the family property, preferring to allow the income to lapse rather than be a party to what he has come to regard as an impropriety, so that the quaint survival ends in a way most creditable to all concerned. Local authority has ruled that this part of the offerings made to the shrine shall be paid for "communal ends" in future, so that it would seem that the saint is to work miracles for the relief of rates! Well, some of us would hold that a saint who would do that would be an admirable institution anywhere, and that the practice would be itself a miracle that would add lustre to the halo of any saint in the calendar! It is an admirable instance of the way in which a quaint survival that has outlived its usefulness can be extinguished without friction.

Seeing, however, that the Orthodox Church at large finds herself in the same sort of position as the Church of England, needing, that is, to adapt machinery framed in the seventeenth century or thereabouts to the purposes of the twentieth, it is not surprising that she should find a like need for an altering authority; seeing, however, that in her case the body is made up of many self-governing and semi-independent Churches, the only body that can function in the case is an "Ecumenical" council.

Where the body as a whole is made up of four ancient Patriarchates, with perhaps nine or ten "autocephalous" Churches in religious communion with those four, whose Patriarchs—where they bear that title—are not counted as on an equality with the older thrones, nothing less than that will meet the need. The difficulty is, however, to get an Ecumenical council to meet and function, particularly in the existing political state of the Balkans and the Levant. A synod was a necessity, and also a "pro-synod," that should review the questions as a preliminary, and draw up a set of "agenda" for the main council. Now in the Orthodox Church, an Ecumenical council without the Ecumenical Patriarch is rather like a council of the Roman Church without the Pope. The throne of Constantinople may have been originally no more than one of the five great thrones, and the junior one of the five at that, but Byzantine and Turkish history combined to give it an importance above them. The emperor, whose throne was at Constantinople made the patriarch of that throne supreme for practical purposes above all others. The Sultan used him as his instrument for the government of all Rayahs, and saw to it that at least his power over them was unquestioned. A heavy price had to be paid for this dignity, but the Turk at least gave him the benefits of his established position! So, to function without him is impossible for the Church.

Then came the council of Lausanne, according to which the Patriarchate was to continue at Constantinople, shorn of all its

political power, but with full liberty for all its religious and ecclesiastical functions. That was the pledged word of the Turk to Europe and to the world. As soon, however (those who have lived under the Turk have a melancholy pleasure in the fact that they foresaw it), as any action was proposed, it was summarily forbidden by Turkish authority. The government of that land, with its habitual and cynical disregard of any pledge made to those under its power, told the Patriarch that he was no more than the "protopapaz" of such Greeks as happened to be in Ottoman territory, and that he had no right even to look over the border. The fact is—and if the diplomatic world does not know it, at least, it is not for want of being told—that the Turk simply cannot recognize any right in a "rayah." He can admit, when forced to do so, that he must resign such or such a piece of territory and all that dwell in it. After that, they do not concern him at all; but the notion that, while folk are his, they can possibly have any right as against him, is one that his brain will simply not take in. It is not so much breach of a pledge as inability to recognize that a pledge can lie in the matter.

To take another instance. The islands known as the "Dodekanese" (Rhodes and the group adjacent), have been annexed to Italy as is well known, but their inhabitants are men of Greek blood, who are members of the Orthodox Church. The Italian government is very desirous that these folk, whatever their religion, should learn to think of themselves as Italians, and for that reason it desires that Orthodox Christians, while practising their religion freely, should be organized as an autocephalous or autonomous church. The Patriarch of Constantinople did not, perhaps, welcome the idea, nor did the men concerned, but they were prepared to recognize it as a political necessity, and three of the Bishops of the islands met with the Patriarch at Khalki, off Constantinople, to discuss the position. The Patriarch was immediately ordered to return on the instant to Constantinople, and was told when there, "We gave you leave to use that building as a school. You have the impertinence to go there to do your business with these foreigners, with whom you have no business to have any relations whatever."

Under these circumstances, how can the council meet at all, anywhere? With the Turkish suspicion aroused, not only can the Patriarch not attend, he cannot even send a representative, and, as for holding the council on Turkish soil, the thing simply cannot be done. Personal freedom, under the Turk, is an empty word, and even emptier under the Republic than under the Sultanate. A well-meaning American priest once remarked to the writer, "but do you not believe that, now that Turkey is a republic, she will become civilized and western?" We fear that our reply was that we believed any miracle to be possible, but that before thinking this





IMPRESSION OF ARCHBISHOP GERMANOS OF THYATEIRA, BY  
MR. POWYS EVANS.

one probable, we would ask for just a few Ethiopians and leopards, who had changed their skins and spots!

One of the shrewdest minds in the Orthodox hierarchy, the present Patriarch of Alexandria, declared that the continuance of the Patriarchate at Constantinople was impossible, so long as present conditions continued in the Ottoman empire, and desired to remove it to Mt. Athos, as to an Avignon captivity. He pointed out, quite rightly, that the official description of the office is, "Archbishop of Constantinople, which is New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch." It would therefore be feasible for the double official personality of the Œcumenical patriarch to be divided. The Patriarch might appoint, or the electoral body (which must itself be remodelled in the new circumstances of the case) might elect, an episcopal "millet-bashi," distinct from the Patriarch. This prelate, who would have to be an Ottoman subject, would reside in Constantinople, as head of the "millet" of Greeks in the land, and might be titular Archbishop of Constantinople, and Metropolitan of such Greek Bishops as remain in Anatolia. He would represent the absent Patriarch in the Ottoman empire, while the Œcumenical Patriarch himself, still patriarch of Constantinople as much as the Pope at Avignon was still Pope of Rome, would reside elsewhere in freedom, ready to return to his lawful and ancient home when times shall mend. It would seem to one who is an earnest friend of the Orthodox body, that some such thing will have to be done, though it would have to be done regularly, and with the consent of the authorities of the various autocephalous churches, for otherwise it is not impossible that ambitious men among them might claim that that Œcumenical patriarchate, being vacant, would fall to the most important patriarch among the leaders of those autocephalous Churches. Such a claim might not be maintained, but the fact of its being made would cause trouble.

Meantime, we see how anxious a position the present one is, for those who are responsible for the guiding of the Orthodox Church in these dangerous days, and we pray that the Lord of all who is in the ship with them, may say to the waves, "peace, be still."



## RUSSIA AND HER CHURCH.

*A Lecture delivered at the Russian House, 27, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7, on Friday, November 27, 1926, by Mr. E. MAKHAROBIDZE, Secretary of the Russian Synod of Strenshy-Karlouitz, on the occasion of the Presentation by Archbishop Seraphim of an Archpriest's Pectoral Cross voted by the Synod to Canon J. A. Douglas and of Rescripts of Thanks to Father Turner, S.S.J.E., and Mr. F. Hanbury. Of course, the Editors of the "Christian East" do not take responsibility for all that Mr. MAKHAROBIDZE said.*

### THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

**I**N speaking of the situation in Russia, I shall touch upon neither statistics nor official reports, for you have seen plenty of them in your papers when reading about Russia. For me, as well as for many others, such data have no importance; for the present rulers of Russia, who formerly used loudly to proclaim their motto: "No secrets in politics"—have wrapped up their rule and politics in such a cloud of mystery that simple mortals cannot penetrate it. Nobody knows the real state of things in Russia. In regard to politics, economy and trade, military strategies and statistics, those few who know the facts keep their knowledge secret. It will not take a long time to prove it. Since the beginning of 1918 many men of affairs have prophesied that the bankruptcy of Bolshevism and the fall of the International would take place at any moment. Sometimes it was a counter-revolution which would destroy them; at others the desertion of the people which would weaken their army, or the lack of credit or famine which would overthrow their authority, etc., etc. But in spite of all that the Bolsheviks have already celebrated the 9th anniversary of their rule over the poor Russians!

I want to give you a glimpse at the situation in Russia, basing my picture on the account of those who escaped from its nightmare and on the letters of those who now work there for the fall of our enemy, and of sufferers, written with blood and tears. In this paper I am summing up the facts gathered from those letters and accounts. My purpose, on the one hand, is to make Russians think more about the tragedy which is going on in our country so that in unity and concord they may devise means to drag it from the paws of the "Red Beast" and—on the other hand—to give an idea to you, noble Britons, what a disaster it will be for all European culture and civilization, if this "Red Beast" is not killed, and in the name of that to make you use your influence to help the Russian sufferers, your allies in the Great War.

#### MORAL AND PHYSICAL STATE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE IN RUSSIA.

##### (1.) *Moral degradation.*

In Russia, the human soul suffers the most from the lies and com-

munistic insolence, which are everywhere. The Bolsheviks have deprived the people of all liberty, and for the right of living make everybody pretend to be that which they do not desire to be. Everybody must lie. There is no trust either in family or society. People are afraid of each other, and are always full of mutual suspicion. Each avoids the other as much as possible. This moral weight is so heavy that many people, not being able to find a way out of this realm of meanness and lies, commit suicide. Indeed, suicides are very frequent among the young. Having spent all their strength in earning their bread, young people are now apathetic, dull and unable to enjoy life and to be merry; for life itself has lost for them all its value and sense.

##### (2.) *Appalling corruption of children.*

Bolsheviks forcibly take children into asylums and there, as well as in schools, systematically deprive them of everything which makes the difference between man and beast. They try to destroy the authority of their parents and elders over them, and suggest there are no sanctions higher than personal desire and obedience to the International. The children of Russia are corrupted in this fashion physically and morally to such a degree that even the Bolsheviks themselves are getting frightened and openly declare that it is necessary to pay attention to the question, because these corrupted children now constitute a great danger to Bolshevism itself.

Practically neither marriage nor family life continues to exist in contemporary S.S.S.R., but only concubinage. It is now normal for a man and a woman to pass a night together and part. There are some exceptions, of course, but they are rare. Many children are born, and large numbers die for lack of care and because of consistent epidemics. A Russian, naturalized in Germany, writes: "Had I not seen myself millions of stray children, uncared for, going to and fro looking for some food—forgotten potatoes, cabbages, etc.—I would never have believed it." Many such die in the street. The big towns are full of these young tramps, and an army of such outcasts is developing for the future. Certain Communists see the only way of remedy to be that these children die from starvation and epidemics.

##### (3.) *The Stultification of Intellectuality.*

Clerks and cultured people suffer greatly. Every clerk is obliged to pass a political examination every year in a sort of political catechism. That examination compels him to deny God and Religion, to promise never to go to church nor to baptize children, and of course, to praise the Soviet as the only desirable authority. The cultured are obliged to work so hard and so long that they have no time to think about anything but bread. They are scantily



clad, in rags, always in low spirits, and without either joy or content. They are never seen to laugh or smile. There are no books except the old "Niva" and "Vokrug Svieta." The old classics are banished and given away for cigarettes, because they describe the old life, which is held to be hateful to the proletarian soul. New literature is very limited and so pornographic and obscene that it is impossible to read it. There are no books but manual and political literature.

Many people have to sell their personal possessions to buy bread or perish if they have nothing to sell. A public job with a living wage is reserved for those who belong to the Communist Party, and for the cultured, work of any sort is almost impossible to get. It is also very hard for them to get private work, because there is a law that no one can have such except with the recommendation of his "professional union" and this union can give a recommendation only to members of the Communist party. So the rest must starve. Many die of consumption, which yearly kills more people than war ever did.

#### (4.) *Physical Contamination and Disease.*

*Lues venerea* is the chief disease which is destroying the health of the people. Whole towns and villages are infected with it, and the army almost to a man. Almost 50 per cent. of the population are affected, and there is practically no medical assistance.

When the old social organizations were destroyed, the medical organization perished also, so that the general health of the people is in a truly critical state. Those medical men who still remain excite the jealousy of the terrorists and perish one by one. So the Russian peasants, there being no influence of cultured classes to permeate them, are gradually becoming savage and degenerate.

#### (5.) *Destruction of Education.*

Religious schools are closed down and only from August, 1924, have priests been allowed to teach the Law of God, and that only to groups of not more than ten persons over 18 years old. Religious libraries are sent to the archives or more often sold for packing materials. Only the members of the Communist party are admitted to the high schools. Others must pay 33 golden roubles a month, which makes their education practically prohibitive, as no one can pay such money. All children and grandchildren of former officers and clergymen are excluded from such schools. Most of the students are Jews. The French language was strictly forbidden till 1924, only German being permitted. Now both are allowed.

In general, public education is in a very miserable condition. The actual teaching in the Soviet schools is altogether unorganized, and ignorance and indolence are fostered in them in many ways.

The Bolsheviks' purpose is to reduce the Russians to be cattle, obedient to their whip. As a mockery of common sense, in many towns there are semblances of the Universities, called V.C.N.O. (high school of public education) where lectures are delivered by ex-professors in accordance with the curricula of the "proletarian science" of Lunatcharsky. These are attended by peasant lads, workmen, etc., who have no propædæutics, and are absolutely unable to understand anything in them, and generally sleep while their professors teach. Their raw, uncultured brains cannot grasp even "proletarian science."

#### EXTERIOR AND ECONOMICAL SITUATION.

Industry is but a symbol of the internal life. In the military works half of the workmen are German. The raw materials are Russian, but the specialized workers are German, so the latter take half of the proceeds. In every undertaking Jews are predominant. They are now colonizing the South of Russia, whence the Russian peasantry is being forcibly transported to the North and to Siberia to make room for them. In consequence, heart-rending scenes are of frequent observation.

The Army looks quite smart in appearance. It was in 1924 that it first began to be well clothed and well fed. New officers are everywhere, the old being left only as specialists. Discipline is very severe, but the army cannot fight for want of war materials. Whatever is done, is done to deceive the eyes of foreigners. The army hates the Jews and does not want to listen about War. In 1923, there was a general decision through all Russia: "Down with War." Soldiers going home say openly: "If they only send us to War, we shall show against whom we will fight, for they would have to give us arms." But they are drilled with wooden dummies. The Communist régime is upheld not by Russian, but by foreign troops—German, Hungarian, Chinese, Latvians (Latishis), etc. The Communists do everything in their power to make these comfortable and satisfied, for they are their only real support. Theatres and restaurants are full of Communists, their wives and mistresses in costly dresses, gold and diamonds, but all the other Russians are in rags, and are dull, starved, timid and utterly miserable. One and all sincerely hate the apostate Jews, who are the principal authors of Russian misery.

#### LEGAL RIGHTS.

The right to life and happiness is claimed to belong only to Communists; all others being outlanders, outcasts. The peasants are there to obey and to die of starvation. A repatriant has no right whatever for four years, is obliged to call at the police office every



month, and in the case of a strike or such-like occurrence in his district, is the first to pay the penalty with his head. Those who are recognized as combatants in the civil war are done to death immediately. The people are very unsympathetic to the repatriants, because they have not borne the trial to the end and fled before the Communists. The refugees abroad are greatly pitied and sympathized with and envied, because they are looked upon as privileged people who will some day give back to Russia what she has lost—truth, honesty, religion and holiness, and the true Russian soul which is now banished from Russia.

The Bolsheviks describe our life abroad truthfully enough—our sufferings and poverty—and warn everybody against going abroad. Permissions to do so are given only periodically and depend on the internal state of the country.

Legally, the position of the clergy is the worst of any class in Russia. Not only clergymen, but their children and grandchildren, are deprived of all civil rights. All students whose fathers or grandfathers were clerical or military are excluded from the schools. The Communists do not shoot priests and laity openly now as before, but they torture them in the Tcheka gaols, and it happens very often that a clergyman disappears suddenly. Afterwards it becomes known that he is transported to some far-away place.

Priests must be supported by their parishioners, but the parishioners are often prohibited from going to church, although the religious tax is taken from their priest and church. None the less, more people have gone to church during the last few years than in the early days of the Revolution, and the life of the clergy is a trifle better.

#### WHAT WILL BE THE END OF THIS NIGHTMARE?

Till 1924, the people were occupied only with the worry of how and where to get something to eat. Nowadays, life has become a trifle easier, and they begin to think about getting rid of the Bolsheviks. As all the principal posts are held by Jews who mock at everything Russian, religious or holy, so the people have come to hate them. The Jews know that and many are trying to escape abroad in fear of the people recovering their liberty. The Bolsheviks openly revile the late Emperor, but the peasants answer: "Still, it was better under Nicholas." Among the "Komsomols" (youths) there has arisen a party of real Knights, whose ideals are: Faith in God, honesty, morality and the defence of women and the weak. The Churches have been full since 1923. In the streets and carriages people openly criticize the Bolsheviks, who are hated by everybody except themselves.

The political outlook of the people is as yet uncertain, for there has been no time to think out the position. Up to the present the one thing pressing has been to save one's life and earn one's bread. Even to converse was dangerous. The common people regrets the past and dreams about the days of the Tzar; but men are tired of fighting and would prefer to be freed by help from abroad. None the less, some of them labour hard for this purpose inside the country. In Russia the general public is certain that the Bolsheviks must perish soon, if only foreign countries do not help them with money or otherwise. Lately there have been unceasing quarrels and discord among the Communists. It appears probable that the Bolsheviks will be constrained to reconstruct the old external side of the nation's life before they perish themselves. After that, the people, helped by the emigrés will create the inner life. Hence the great necessity for our paying keen attention to the moral education of the young Russian exiles. Russia needs truth, honesty and religious idealism.

The true Russian Orthodox people have rallied round the Orthodox Church and her priests as their centre. In the Church of God they see the salvation not only of their souls but of their physical well-being. And in that is to be found the reason why the Bolsheviks are set to destroy the Church of Russia and her Faith, and to demoralize her pastors. Everybody who helps the Russian Orthodox Church and her priests in Russia and abroad, helps the Russian people. All this leads to the question: What is the position of the Orthodox Church in Russia?

#### THE POSITION OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH ABROAD.

Having described the position of our Church in Russia, I cannot help but say a few words about our Church abroad, which is free of the Bolsheviks' yoke, and is her own mistress.

The Russian Church abroad is spread over the whole world. It consists of a number of episcopates in Europe, North America, Clerical Missions in Corea, Jerusalem and Church parishes (communities) in Africa, Australia and S. America.

Our Church abroad has 35 bishops, including 3 Metropolitans and 10 Archbishops, the rest being only Bishops. These are all united in the Council of Russian Bishops abroad, the executive organ of which is the Synod of Bishops which sits continuously at Sremsky-Karlowicz in Serbia and is elected by it.

The Council of Bishops itself is summoned every year in order to take decisions upon all questions which concern both the Church in general and the Church abroad in particular. All the 35 Bishops take part in these Councils. Some attend personally and others, owing to the great distance making it impossible for them to travel to it, send letters with their opinions upon the matters in the agenda



of the Council, which are sent to them beforehand by the Synod of Bishops.

The same method of reaching conciliar decision is practised in Russia in our real Orthodox Church.

The Council of Bishops and the Synod of Bishops are both presided over by their senior hierarch, the Metropolitan Anthony. "Tserkovnia Viedemosti," is published at the Synod as its official magazine. For the education and training of the clergy, the Russian Church Abroad has Theological Seminaries in America and in Japan as well as clerical theological schools; our Theological Institute in Paris is very well known to you. There are others in Bulgaria, at the monastery of St. Kirike and in Harbin. With the approval of the Serbian Patriarch and the blessing of the Russian Synod of Bishops, such a school has recently been opened in Serbia in the town of Belaya Tserkov. There are also Church Parish Schools for religious and moral instruction of children and for the bringing them up according to the spirit of the Orthodox Faith, in the many Churches of the American, Japanese, Chinese and Kharbin-Mandjourian episcopates.

With God's help and with the sympathetic attitude of the countries in which our Churches are, the Russian Church abroad is developing its activity as far as its meagre means permit, and I feel that I must point out its successes even among the heathen. For instance, in Japan there is now an average of 429-530 baptisms of heathens every year, and in China, a little fewer. One can affirm with confidence that there is no place in the world where the Russians, led in unity by their priests, do not glorify God according to the custom of their Church. In almost every one of our Churches outside Russia, priests are busy teaching God's Word to the Russian children of the local schools, if they are not taught it in them. Orthodox Instruction in God's Word is given better, however, in Serbia in the three Serbian military colleges, three colleges for girls and six civil colleges, than in our Russian Schools in Europe.

In 1925 the Synod of Bishops succeeded in defending our clerical mission in China and its property against the attempted usurpation of the Soviet authority. The Chinese court refused the claim of the Bolsheviks. At the present time the Synod of Bishops is making efforts to recover the property of the Russian Church in New York from the representative of the Living Church to whom the decision of the State of New York assigned it. The required documents have been sent by the Synod of Bishops to the American Federativxe Court. The case will be re-examined on the ground of these documents, with which Canon Douglas has helped greatly to provide us, and there exists every hope that this Church property will be recovered from the pseudo-Metropolitan Kedrovsky, the

creature of the Bolsheviks, and will be returned to the lawful head of the Russian N. American Episcopate, the Metropolitan Platon.

I cannot rightly be silent to you about the material needs of our Church abroad, which is supported principally by the meagre revenue of the offerings of our people, who give generously and with great devotion and self-denial out of their extreme poverty.

The support of the clerical-theological schools in Bulgaria and Serbia, the payments of the religious-moral needs of the Russian colonies scattered over the whole world, the equipping of the poorer churches with the necessary ornaments and prayer books, financial support of those in dire need, as also of our bishops and clergy and especially of those who have come to us recently from Russia, the cost of the defence of our property against the Bolsheviks before different courts—all these necessities require large sums of money, which, though we do our best, and beyond our best, we are unable to find.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging our heart-felt and undying gratitude to those of you who help us.

If any of the readers of the Christian East are moved to help the Russian Church Abroad financially, donations are received and enquiries answered by the Rev. H. J. Fynes Clinton, Secretary of the Russian Clergy Appeal Fund, 8, Finsbury Square, E.C.2.

J.A.D.



## THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE PROPOPE AVVAKUM—NON- CONFORMIST AND MARTYR.

By MRS. SONIA E. HOWE.

### II

After eight years of such faithful ministry during which the number of his spiritual children had grown enormously, he was appointed Dean of the Cathedral of Yurievets on the Volga. He travelled much about, "preaching and teaching the word of God," and healing many by his prayers. From far and wide those supposed to be possessed by evil spirits were brought to him, and invariably the prayer of faith was answered.

At last he was able to live permanently at Moscow where he soon became an influential member of the circle of zealous Cathedral clergy. After the Patriarch Nikon, however, had issued his orders which changed the ritual, Avvakum boldly stepped forward and denounced the Patriarch from the pulpit.

It seemed almost a hopeless task to bring about an understanding between the leaders of the two parties, and on one occasion after one of these heated arguments, the learned Polotski is reported to have said about Avvakum: "He has a great natural intelligence but no understanding whatever of science," while Avvakum pointed out the impossibility of coming to any agreement, saying: "He looks to find wisdom in intellectual controversy, I seek it in tears and with prayers at the feet of Christ." The result was that persecution and suffering were henceforth Avvakum's lot. It is from Memoirs of this fearless priest that a picture of his experiences can be gleaned. These Memoirs are typical of this kind of Russian literature, differing totally from the purely scholastic writings of his days. They are the prototype of Russian Memoirs, free from all sensationalism; they are simple and sincere and the strong and humble soul of the born fighter shines through the quaint wording of this remarkable document.

"After this *our friend Nikon* was sent for from Solovsk by the Bishop Philip, and before his arrival Stephan, the Tsar's Confessor, prayed to God and fasted with the brethren. And I, too, prayed to God that a Patriarch, a Shepherd, might be given us for the salvation of our souls. The Bishop of Kazan and I wrote and signed a petition which we presented to the Tsar and Tsaritsa, begging that Stephan be made Patriarch, but he did not desire

this and suggested in his place the Bishop Nikon. The Tsar followed his advice and sent a letter to greet the Bishop on his way, which said: 'Most Eminent Bishop Nikon, Novgorod and Velikolutsk and the whole of Russia is rejoicing' and so on. When Nikon arrived, like a fox in his cunning he was pleasant to everyone, for, knowing that he was to be made Patriarch, he did not desire anything to stand in his way, but as soon as he became Patriarch he would not allow his friends to come into the vestry. A great deal was talked about these intrigues.

In Lent he sent an order to the Bishop of Kazan, John Neronov. John Neronov was my confessor, I lived with him so that if he absented himself I should know all about his Church. I had been promised the place of the late Silino at the Court about Spasov Day, but God did not let it come to pass. This did not grieve me, for it was well with me with the Bishop of Kazan. I used to read to the people, many of whom came to visit us. Nikon's order gave the day and year, and it contained the following words: 'According to the traditions of the Apostles and Holy Fathers it is not fitting to go down on the knees and prostrate yourself on the ground, but to bow from the waist and cross yourself with three fingers.' We gathered together and reflected over this. It seemed that winter had descended upon us, and the heart grew cold and the legs trembled. Neronov left me in charge of the Church and withdrew to Chudovo for a week, where he prayed in a cell and there during his prayers a voice from the ikon spoke to him, saying: 'A time of sorrow has come upon you and many are the sufferings you will have to endure.' With tears in his eyes he told me this, and also to the Bishop Paul of Kolomensk, who was later burned at the stake by Nikon in Novgorod, and the Propope Daniel of Kostromsk and to all the brotherhood. With Daniel's aid we copied out everything from the books relating to the composition of the fingers and to prostration and presented it to the Sovereign. We had written a great deal. He concealed our documents—we do not know where—but we think he gave them to Nikon. Soon after Nikon had Daniel seized in the Monastery by the Tversky Gate, and in the presence of the Tsar, he had his head shaven and his coarse gown torn from him, and he abused him and had him put in the bakehouse at Chudovo where he underwent many tortures and was afterwards sent to Astrakan. There a crown of thorns was put on him and he was thrust into a dungeon, where he was killed. After Daniel's having been shaven another Daniel was seized, the Propope of Temnikov, and he was put into the new monastery of Our Saviour. And thus it happened with the Propope Neronov Ivan; his cowl was taken off in the church and he was put in the Simionov Monastery and afterwards sent to Vologda and from thence to the Spasov-Kameny Monastery, then to the Kolsky



island, where after much suffering, the poor man fell ill, adopted the three fingers and died. What sorrow indeed! Each tries to observe the right and not to fall, but we have come on evil times; for as the Lord Himself hath said, it is possible for the spirit of Antichrist to tempt even the chosen. It behoves us to pray unceasingly to God and he will save us and have mercy upon us in His boundless mercy.

I was seized, too, by Boris Melodinsky and his archers when at Mass; about fifty of the brethren were taken with me, who were cast into prison, while I was brought to the Patriarch's palace and put into chains for the night. The dawn had scarcely broken when I was put into a cart and my hands were manacled and I was driven away from the Patriarch's palace to the Andronov Monastery, where I was put in chains into a dark cell; I sank to the ground and sat there for three days, taking neither food nor drink, and I sat in the darkness, bent over the chains, not knowing where was the East or the West. No one came to me but the mice and the cockroaches and crickets and bugs, of which there were a great many. I had been confined for three days and was terribly hungry when, about Vesper time, there appeared before me man or angel—to this day I do not know which—and I murmured a prayer in the darkness, and the Being put his hand on my shoulder and led me to the bench, chained as I was and sat me down and put a spoon into my hand and gave me a little bread and soup which tasted uncommonly good, and he said to me: 'It is enough to strengthen thee,' and he disappeared, though the door did not open. Had he been a man this would have been amazing, but for an angel there was nothing to wonder at, for there are no bolts and bars to them. In the morning the Archimandrite came with the brethren and took me out. They rebuked me for not having submitted to the Patriarch, while I abused the Patriarch's writings. They took the big chain off me and put on a smaller one and the Archimandrite ordered the monks to drag me into the church. And in the church they pulled me by the hair and struck me in the sides and tugged at my chain and spat in my face. God forgive them in this world and the next! It is not their fault, but the doings of Satan the Wily. I stayed there for four weeks.

After this I was again led on foot to the Patriarch's palace, my hands in manacles, and again they argued with me. And on the Feast of Nikitin, during the procession of crosses, they had me brought out in a cart and placed against the crosses. And they led me to the Cathedral to be shaven and they kept me at the door during the whole of Mass, which lasted a long time. The Tsar got up from his seat and approached the Patriarch and asked him not to have me shaven, and I was taken to the Siberian Order and given over to the deacon Tretiak Bashmatov (Father Savaty) who

is suffering for Christ to this day in a dungeon in the new Monastery of Our Saviour.

I experienced nothing but kindness from Father Savaty—God save his soul! And I was sent to Siberia with my wife and children, and so great was our need on the way that words cannot describe even the smallest part of our privations. My wife gave birth to a child in the cart and was taken in that condition to Tobolsk, a distance of three thousand versts, which we covered in thirteen weeks, in jolting carts and across rivers and half the way in sledges.

The Archbishop of Tobolsk found me a place. Here in the church great sorrows fell upon me. After a year and a half had gone by, a few words were said to the Sovereign about me and the deacon of the Archbishop's palace, a certain Ivan Struna, stirred my very soul. When the Archbishop went away to Moscow, in his absence, at the instigation of the Devil, Ivan Struna attacked me and wanted to torture my deacon Anton. But Anton escaped from him and took refuge with me in the church. Ivan Struna gathered together a crowd and came to the church that same day while I was chanting Vespers and he rushed in and seized Anton by the beard from where he stood with the choir. At the same moment I shut and bolted the church door and would not allow anyone in; Ivan Struna tore about like a demon and I, with Anton's help, sat him down on the floor in the middle of the church, and for church disturbance I flogged him well with a stout strap, and the crowd which had come with him—about twenty men in all—ran away as though they were chased by the Holy Ghost. And having received Struna's confession I let him go home. Struna's kinsfolk and the priests and monks tried to incite the town against me. And at midnight they brought a sledge into my yard and, breaking into my cottage, they would have seized me and taken me to the water, but the fear of God came upon them and they turned back. For a whole month they tormented me and I escaped secretly, spending the night sometimes in a church, sometimes with the Governor of a town; sometimes I asked to be allowed into a prison and sometimes I was refused . . .

After this an edict came, in which I was ordered to be taken from Tobolsk to Lena for having ignored Nikon's commands and accused him of heresy. At the same time a letter came from Moscow saying that two brothers who had lived with the Tsaritsa had both died of the plague with their wives and children, many friends and relatives. The vessel of the Lord's wrath was overflowing. There was no greater sorrow in the world than to have the Church trampled upon. Neronov said at that time to the Tsar, 'There are three ways of suffering for Church dissension, the plague, the sword and schism.' That is what has happened in our



day, but God is merciful; he teaches us for the sake of repentance and takes pity on us, and dispels the maladies of our souls and bodies and gives us peace. I have faith and hope in Christ; I await his mercy and hope for the resurrection of the dead.

And I got into a boat and went to Lena, as I stated above. And as soon as I arrived in Eniseisk, another edict came, in which I was ordered to be sent to Dauria—twenty thousand versts and more from Moscow—where I was to be given up to Afanas Pashkov and his troops. He had about six hundred men with him and, as a punishment for my sins, they were cruel men, who burnt and tortured and killed human beings. I tried to dissuade Afanas Pashkov from these ways, but I came in for my own, too, for Nikon, from Moscow, had instructed them to torture me. As soon as I left Eniseisk and came out on the big river Tungusk, a high wind arose and my raft was immersed in the water and the sails were torn away and we were nearly drowned. My wife on the deck pulled the children out of the water as best she could, bareheaded as she was, and I raised my eyes to Heaven and cried: "Save us, O Lord! save us!" And by God's will we reached the bank. In another raft two men were blown off and drowned. After we had reached the bank we started on our way again. When we came to the Shamansky rapids some other people in a boat came towards us and with them were two widows—one was sixty years old, the other older still—they were both on their way to a convent. And Pashkov tried to recover them and wanted to make them marry, and I said to him: "According to the laws it is not fitting to make such women marry." And instead of acting upon my words and letting the widows go, in his anger he bethought himself to have me tortured.

At the Dolgy rapids the people tried to take my raft from me. "A raft is too good for you, you heretic," they said; "you can walk over the mountains, but you must not go to the Cossacks." What new sorrows in store for us! The mountains were high and covered with trackless forests and the steep cliffs were like walls of stone; to look at them alone made one's head go round. And on those mountains were large snakes and wild ducks and geese with red feathers and black crows and grey daws; and there were eagles and hawks and gerfalcons and Indian fowls and pelicans and wild swans and many other different kinds of birds. And wild beasts roamed those mountains—wild goats and deer and ures and elk and boars and wolves and wild rams, the like of which the eyes have not beheld.

It was to these mountains with the beasts and the birds that Pashkov wanted to banish me. And I sent him a letter beginning thus: "Take the fear of God to your heart, man; all living creatures, including man, fear Him and His Divine Power as He

sits enthroned among His cherubs, contemplating the depths, but you alone despise and ignore Him," and so on. It was a long letter that I sent him. And then about fifty men rushed up to me, took my raft and hastened to Pashkov, three versts away; and I remained where I was, and I made some porridge for the Cossacks, and fed them and they ate—the poor hungry things—in fear and trembling. Some looked at me with tears in their eyes, for they pitied me. Pashkov's men brought back the raft; the executioners took me and brought me before him. He was leaning on his sword, trembling; and he began to speak to me: "Are you a priest or ex-priest?" And I replied: "I am Avvakum, a protopope; what do you want of me?"

He roared like a wild beast and struck me on one cheek, then on the other, and on the head, until he knocked me off my feet, and seizing a chain he struck me on the back three times. When I was lying prone and bruised as my back was, he had it lashed seventy-two times with a whip. And I said: "Lord, Jesus Christ, Son of God, help me!" And I repeated this many times, and he was so embittered that I did not say "Have mercy on me." At each lash of the whip I murmured a prayer and I cried out to him, "Have you not beaten me enough?" And he ordered them to stop. And I said to him: "Why do you beat me so?" And he ordered me to be beaten again on the sides, and the whip was brought down on them, and I shuddered and fell, and again he ordered me to be dragged to the raft and I was flung on it, my hands and feet bound.

It was Autumn and the whole night I lay, the rain pouring down on me. When I prayed during the flogging I did not feel the pain so much, but, as I lay there, the thought crept into my mind: "Why hast Thou permitted me to be thus ill-treated, O Son of God? Was it not for Thy widows I interceded? What man shall judge between me and Thee? When I had faith Thou didst not wound me; and I have not sinned now." It was as though some horrible Pharisee had set himself up in judgment against the Lord! Did not Job cry out that he was righteous and sinless? And Job had no knowledge of the Scriptures outside God's law in a barbarous land, he knew God only through His creatures. But I am a greater sinner than Job, for I know and fortify myself with the Scriptures, "that we must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God."

Ah me! If only the raft were to sink with me below the water! My bones began to ache, my inside to gnaw, my heart to beat violently one moment and the next almost ceased to beat. I felt I was dying; the water splashed into my mouth. I sighed and repented before the Lord our God, who is merciful to us on the earth and forgives our past sins for the sake of repentance; and once more all pain left me.



The next morning I was flung into a boat and taken down the river. And we came to the rapids of the river Padun, which was no less than a verst wide in that place and had three gulfs with steep banks; and we sailed along through the gates, hitting against pieces of wood. I was taken beneath the rapids. Above was rain and snow, and I had only a light coat thrown over my shoulders. The rain beat against my back and belly; the discomfort was very great. They pulled me out of the boat and dragged me over the stones of the rapids, chained as I was. It was an hour of sorrow, but there was peace in my soul; I no longer reviled against God. The words of the Prophet and Apostle came into my mind: 'My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons.'

I consoled myself with these words. After this I was taken to the Bratsky Island and thrust into prison and given a bed of straw. I sat there, until the feast of Philip, in a cold tower, but God kept me warm without clothes. I lay on the straw like a dog: if they gave me food I ate it, if not, I went hungry. Rats were swarming all round. I killed them with my cowl, for the fools would not give me a stick. I lay on my stomach all the time, for my back was rotting. I wanted to cry to Pashkov: 'Have mercy on me' but the will of God chided me and bade me endure.

I was moved to a warm hut, where I stayed for the rest of the winter in chains with the hostages and the dogs. My wife and children were sent away about twenty miles from me. The baby, Ksenia, worried her the whole winter and whined and cried. My son Ivan was not big yet; he came to see me after Christmas and Pashkov ordered him to be put into a cold prison. The dear boy stayed there a night and was nearly frozen to death, when in the morning he was pushed out and told to go back to his mother. I did not see him. He dragged himself back to his mother, his hands and feet frost-bitten.

When the spring came they moved me on again. There were not many places left, and first they robbed me of everything—books, clothes, utensils; only a few of these were left to me. On the Baikalov Sea we again foundered; on the Shilka River they made me work hard, for it was necessary to get the boat along, and there was neither time to eat nor to sleep. The whole summer I suffered from dropsy and my feet and stomach were blue. Two summers we wandered over the water and in the winter we tramped through the forests. On the Shilka River for the third time I found-

dered; the barque was torn away from the bank and I with it. My wife and children remained on the bank, and the pilot and I were carried off. The fast-flowing water tossed the barque this way and that and I crawled about it, crying: 'O Lord, help me! Do not let me drown!' one leg in the water, the other aloft. We were borne along like that for a verst or more until some people came to our aid. Everything was soaked down to the grain. What could one do when Christ and the Holy Mother willed it so? I came out of the water laughing and the people were shedding tears. I hung my garments on the bushes to dry, coats of silk and satin and a few other useless things; those remaining in the trunks and bundles rotted where they lay. And again Pashkov wanted to have me flogged. And again I beseeched light from the Holy Mother. 'Holy Mother, enlighten the mind of the fool!' And as hope was taken from me I began to grieve.

Then we got as far as the Lake of Irgeya and we tramped through the forest there in the winter. My labourers were taken from me and to hire others was forbidden to me, and the children were small and there were many mouths to feed and no one to do the work; alone a wretched protopope made a sledge and went through the forest. In the spring we went down the River Ingod on a barge—the fourth summer I had spent on the water since Tobolsk. We passed forests and churches and houses and there was nothing to eat and our people began to die of hunger and from the exhaustion of the difficult voyage. The river was narrow, the barge was heavy, the commissioners were ungracious, the sticks were thick, the cudgels knotty, the whips cutting, the tortures cruel—fire and tossing—our people were starving; as soon as they left off torturing them, they died. Dear me, what a time it was! I know not how it was I kept my reason.

We had a little black hen who used to lay two eggs a day, by God's will, to help us in our need. God ordained it thus. It was killed unfortunately, carrying it on the sledge as we did. I feel sorry for that little hen when I think of it to this day. It was nothing short of a miracle—two eggs every day for the whole of a year. It was worth a hundred roubles to us at least. Poor little creature! It nourished us, endowed with a soul by God. It used to peck fine porridge from the same pot we ate out of, and when we had fish it pecked at the fish, too. And in return it gave us two eggs a day. Glory be unto God from whom all blessings flow . . .

My wife had a long Moscow coat, the only one that had not rotted, which was worth about twenty-five roubles at least. We exchanged it for four bags of rye and dragged on for another year, living on the River Nercha on the rye mixed with grass. All our people were starving; they were not allowed to work anywhere and



they had no place to rest, and they wandered over the steppes, eating grass and roots, and we with them. And in winter we ate pine leaves and horseflesh, if we were lucky enough to find the remains of a horse, left by a wolf or some other wild beast; and some of us even ate wolves and foxes and any horrible thing that came to our hand. Should a mare foal, the starving people would devour both the foal and the unclean after-birth in secret. Had Pashkov heard of it, he would have had us flogged to death. What a time it was! Two of my sons died in those days of want, and the rest, poor things, naked and barefooted, tramped over the mountains and rough stones, keeping body and soul together with roots and grass. And as for me—sinner that I am—I, too, was forced to eat horseflesh, and dead birds and other horrible things. Alas, my sinful soul! Shall I be given tears enough to shed in repentance for my poor soul besmirched by my worldly senses? We were helped in the name of Christ by the daughter-in-law of the Governor Evdokia Kirilovna, and the Governor's wife Fekla Semionovna. Without the Governor's knowledge they would sometimes send a piece of meat, sometimes bread or flour or oats and sometimes the food from the fowls. My poor little daughter, Agrafena used to steal under her window and wait. It was both sad and amusing! Sometimes the child would be driven away without the lady's knowledge and sometimes she would come back with some morsel. She was quite small then; she is twenty-seven now; with her younger sisters the poor girl drags out a weary existence in Mezen, while her mother and brothers are buried in the earth. What can one do? Let all suffer sorrow for the Christ's sake, and with the help of God let all suffer torments for the Christian faith. The protopope liked to be counted among the blessed, let him likewise endure the bitterness to the end. As it is written, 'Do not begin blessings but finish them.' But enough of this—let us turn back . . .

. . . And they also brought me women possessed by the Devil. According to my usual custom I fasted and would not allow them to eat; I prayed and anointed them with oil and acted as I knew how, and the women recovered their reason and grew sound in body and mind; I heard their confession and gave them communion. They remained with me, praying God; they loved me and would not go home.

Pashkov learned that I had spiritual daughters, and his wrath against me rose more than before and he wanted to have me burned. 'You have wormed out my secrets!' How can you give communion without confession? And you must never give communion to one possessed of the devil, until the devil has been completely driven out. The devil is not a peasant; he does not fear a stick, but he fears the Cross of Jesus, and the holy water and conse-

crated oil and he flies from the body of Christ. In our Orthodox faith I cannot give communion without confession. In the Roman faith they neglect the confession, but we of the Orthodox faith cannot act thus; we must seek penitence on every occasion. If you cannot get a priest, then confess your sins to one of your own kind and God will forgive them, seeing your penitence; then take Holy Communion, holding before you the symbol of the Lamb of God. If you are travelling or at your work, or anywhere where you cannot get to a church, sigh before the Lord, then, as stated above, confess to your mate and with a clean conscience receive the sacrament fasting or according to the rules—then it will be well. Spread a cloth over a box and light a candle and then put a little water in a vessel, and take a little of the water in a spoon and put a part of the body of Christ in the spoon with a prayer, then wave the incense over it and, weeping, repeat the whole prayer, 'I believe, Lord and confess, for you are Christ the Son of God.' (It is written in the rite of communion). Then, dropping down on the floor before the ikon, beg forgiveness and, when rising, kiss the ikon; cross yourself and receive the sacrament with a prayer, drink of the water, and pray to God once more, 'Glory to God.' Even should you die after that it would be well with you. But why talk of that? You know yourselves how well it would be . . .

After Avvakum had been in exile for seven years, orders came to the Governor to send him back to Russia. The reason for this order was unknown to Avvakum, but he buoyed himself up with the hope that it betokened the triumph of his party and the re-establishment of the Old Faith.

As a matter of fact, the Tsar who had always had a soft spot in his heart for the brave Protopope, had at last yielded to the pleading of the Boyars to have him recalled, in spite of the opposition of the Patriarch. It was, perhaps, not so much for his own benefit that they were anxious to have him brought back to Moscow, but rather because they wanted him to help them in opposing Nikon, whose arrogant claims to practically unlimited power irritated the Boyars past all bearing. The Patriarch's fall was imminent and was for the most part brought about by his arrogant behaviour towards the Boyars and even towards the Tsar. Had Alexei Mikhailovitch been of a less gentle nature, the friendship between him and the powerful co-ruler—for such the Patriarch was *de facto*—would long ago have come to an end. Nikon's enemies made use of the strained relations between Tsar and Patriarch which had gradually developed. They accused him of ecclesiastical misdemeanours, and at the Council which was called to try his case and at which ecclesiastics even of the Eastern Church were present—he was condemned and banished.



Avvakum found only too soon that his hopes were unfounded, for as he came to the Russian towns, he found to his dismay that the party of Nikon was still in power, although his great opponent himself was in disgrace. Avvakum was now sorely perplexed as to what should be his future course of action and in his distress he turned to his faithful helpmeet for guidance. To use his own words: "Then I came to Russian towns and comprehended that nothing had advanced in the Church and that all was in confusion. I fell into a state of melancholy, wondering whether I should preach the word of God or keep in hiding. My wife and children hampered me. And, observing my melancholy, my wife approached me and said, 'Why are you sad, sir?' And I spoke to her plainly. 'What shall I do, wife?' I asked. 'We have lived through a winter of heresy; tell me, shall I speak or hold my peace?' And she said, 'The Lord have mercy on us! What is it you are saying, Petrovitch! Have I not heard you read the words of the Apostle: My blessing and the blessings of the children be upon you. Preach the word of God as heretofore, for as long as God wills, and do not worry about us. Remember us in your prayers. Christ is merciful and will not forsake us. Go to the churches, Petrovitch, and expose the erring heretics.' I bowed down to her for these words and, shaking off the melancholy that blinded my sight, I began to preach the word of God in the towns and villages, boldly exposing Nikon."

It was, indeed, a tremendous uplift for Avvakum to be thus encouraged by his wife who was ever ready to stand by him in time of trouble; indeed, he always looked upon her zeal for the faith and her moral courage as answer to the prayer he had offered up to God for a suitable wife, before ever he had met her.

Fearlessly he began again to preach for the Faith against error, and the burning words of the zealous Apostle found their way to many a heart. The number of his followers, all of whom declared themselves willing to suffer as he had suffered, increased enormously and, by the time he arrived in Moscow, his name had become a household word.

"I spent the winter in Eniseisk," he writes. "I sailed down the river again in the summer, and the following winter I spent in Tobolsk. And I came as far as Moscow, preaching the word of God in every town and village on my way—crying out in every church and market place against the godless form of worship."

(To be continued.)