



R. I. P.
HIS GRACE
THE LORD DOROTHEOS,
METROPOLITAN OF BRUSA,
LOCUM TENENS OF THE
ECUMENICAL THRONE.

Died in London,
Friday, March 17th, 1921.

Ο Δοροθέος Λοκουμενικός
Επίσκοπος
Ἰ. Λονδῶν 22/3 Μαρτίου
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The Christian East

EDITORIAL¹

"A chief motive of our journey to the British capital was our ardent desire to make the personal acquaintance of the leaders among the clergy of our sister English Church, and above all that of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has always manifested sentiments of evangelical sympathy and love towards our own Church, which has suffered so much in the persecution of her children.

"I thank him and them, and pray with all my heart that their goodwill may prove another link between the two Churches, and will help to bring about their Union upon that one corner-stone which is ever our Lord."

HIS GRACE Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, the *Τοποτηρητής*, or Locum Tenens, of the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople, wrote the above message for the English clergy on his arrival in London on March 1, and asked us to publish it in THE CHRISTIAN EAST.

His words, which breathe evangelic charity, and none the less are an exact and considered expression of the ever-growing goodwill and warm, brotherly relations existing between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches, need no interpretation. They are instinct with the eager desire for Reunion which, in spite of the difficulties that must for a time postpone its achievement, has brought the two Communions into the closest spiritual intimacy that can exist without formal Intercommunion. As such we do not read into them more than they plainly say, but we receive them with great happiness and with the knowledge that His Grace, and with him the members of the Holy Synod, remit neither prayer nor effort to reach the sacred and the long-desired end of that Reunion, to achieve which has been the cherished and consecrated passion of generations of Christians in East and West. The close ties of personal friendship which His Grace has formed, no less than the practical results of his meetings with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Anglican hierarchs and theologians, will assuredly contribute greatly to the consummation of our mutual desire.

While it is singularly gratifying, however, that His Grace should be at pains to avow that the deepening of the *entente* between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches was a prime motive of his visit, we Anglicans must remember that he was driven to come to London by

¹ This Editorial was in type before the lamented death of the *Τοποτηρητής*. We think it may stand.

another and even more pressing, though not more compelling, cause. If, with the exception of the unhappy Joseph II. who, in the days before that great catastrophe to which the inaction of Western Christendom condemned the East, came to Ferrara in 1438, he is the only occupant of the Ecumenical Throne who has visited Western Europe, he has not done so lightly. When in 1453 Mohammed II. captured Constantinople and the Empire of the Cæsars was destroyed, the Capitulations assigned the civil headship of the hapless *rayah* to the Ecumenical Patriarchs. In that capacity, so far as defence was possible, it was their business to struggle to defend their flock from active persecution, and to work for the mitigation of their oppression. That heavy burden of responsibility has never been lifted from them. Often all that they have been able to do in its fulfilment has been to be the first among their people to suffer. All the world knows how in 1821, when the Turk first began the extirpation of his Christian subjects, Gregory V. was hanged in his old age as the first-fruits of the massacre of that day. Joachim III., the greatest of modern Patriarchs, needed much courage and all the backing of Russia and the West to stand between his people and the sword which fell on the Armenians.

It is still the same. In Great Britain we are familiar enough with the tragedy of Armenia. We shudder when we think of the million or so of that race who during the war were of set purpose done to death with the subtlest and most obscene barbarity. It is hardly known that half a million Orthodox Greeks experienced the same pitiless fate. Assuredly, friend of the Kaiser though he was reputed, Germanos V., the late Ecumenical Patriarch, had no safe or easy throne in the days after the kingdom of Greece adhered to the cause of the Entente. Then came the Armistice. Rejoicing in the victory of the Allies, and with an unbounded trust in Great Britain, the Greeks of Turkey, with the Armenians, counted with certainty both that the immediate danger to their life and honour was past and that before them stretched out a new era of progress and of freedom. The British Prime Minister himself had declared that once and for all the Turkish cancer must and would be excised.

What has happened since that great day of November 13, 1918, when Constantinople was bedecked with flags, when a *feu de joie* flashed in every street, and Thanksgiving was sung in every church to herald the coming of the British Fleet and of Liberty? At first it seemed certain that the Near Eastern question would be settled with a just and final settlement. The Christians of Turkey would at last be safe and prosperous. The Greek lands of Asia Minor would be united to the kingdom. The Sultan would be removed from Constantinople, and the conclusive proof of the advent of a new age would be given in the inevitable restoration of the symbolic Mother Church of St. Sophia to

its people. The Turks would settle down in the really Turkish part of Asia Minor. Peace and Brotherhood would come between Christian and Moslem. The prospect, however, was a nightmare to the diplomatists of the Vatican, and Western Imperialism was aghast at the threatened loss of its fields of exploitation. Time must be gained to defeat the possibility.

The Chancelleries hummed with intrigue. The absurd Khalifate agitation was engineered in India, and Great Britain and France were swamped with a deluge of fictitious pro-Moslem propaganda, until at last some Arabs and Indians came to think that the salvage of the Ottoman Empire was of importance to Islam. Cardinal Gasparri made a *démarche* and, demanding St. Sophia for the Pope, rendered it possible to assert that its restoration to its only rightful and possible possessors would be the occasion of religious strife. Italian diplomacy agreed eagerly, and the Quai d'Orsay backed up the move. Meanwhile the Greek Army had been forbidden to advance in Asia Minor, and Mustapha Kemal had been gathering strength.

Thus last summer, when the time was ripe, the Treaty of Sèvres retained the Sultan in Constantinople. For very shame, however, Armenia was secured existence on paper, the Greeks of Thrace and Ionia were allowed to unite with their co-nationals, and the policing of the Marmora was decreed. Disappointing and cruel though the Treaty of Sèvres was, it went much too far for those who were fishing in Near Eastern waters. Its proposition was made with the tongue in the cheek.

The excuse to take back what it gave the Christians of Turkey was expected, and was not long in coming. If the war-weary Greeks had not rejected the absentee statesman whom the Great Three kept dancing attendance upon them in the West, another pretext would have been found. As it was, when Mr. Venizelos was overthrown last December, those who reviled Constantine the most rejoiced most at his return to Athens.

In consequence, the London Conference was held while these words are written, and—may the iniquity never be carried out—it is proposed that by way of punishing the Greeks of the kingdom for exercising the rights of a democracy in their home affairs—(1) Bithynia and Ionia are to be put again under the heel of the Turk—of course, with paper safeguards; (2) the East Syrians—Britain's smallest ally—are to be the same; (3) the Sultan—and with him the Nationalists—is to have sovereign rights in Constantinople; (4) the Allied troops are to be withdrawn from Asia Minor; (5) Armenia is to be narrowed and curtailed, that of it which remains being given paper guarantees.

In other words, Turkey is to be resuscitated to suit Western Imperialism and Western Ecclesiasticism, and the Christians of Asia Minor are not only to be denied liberty for fear that by possessing their own

lands they should be an obstacle to the Chauvinism of the day, but are to be made a peace-offering to Mustapha Kemal and his hordes.

It was to plead against that fate for his people that the Locum Tenens came to London. If he could have obtained the ear of Great Britain, the issue would not have been in doubt. As it is, though he has been received in audience by the King and has laid his case before our leading statesman, the British journals have not given him a hearing. The sanctions to be applied to the recalcitrant German, the latest divorce case, our own economic crisis, and so forth, fill their columns. They have no room to tell us of the daily massacres which have occurred without ceasing since the Armistice; of the whole population of Nicæa, man, woman, and child, wiped out by Mustapha Kemal's lieutenant, Djemal, in August last, almost in earshot of their Greek brethren, who were kept inactive at Brusa by the *fiat* of the Allies; or of the gleanings in Talaat's and Enver's Armenian field.

It is the fact that the extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor went on merrily and with set purpose while the London Conference talked. Hardly had the Locum Tenens reached the Ritz Hotel when he received these telegrams:

"Faisant suite précédentes communications, nous vous prions représenter Conférence situation nos populations Asie Mineure d'après nouvelles sûres s'aggrave tous les jours davantage, Tribunaux Mustapha Kemal procèdent arrestation notables et ecclésiastiques, dont vie en danger. S'agit provoquer mesures urgence protéger vie et biens des Grecs pour prévenir nouvelle et dernière catastrophe;" and "Selon dépêche Métropolitaine Nicomédie Kémalistes incendièrent village Kondjé 150 maisons, massacrèrent plus de 50 personnes."

Whatever be the effect of his visit to London, in the years to come it will be a matter of profound thankfulness to us that, when the conscience of Great Britain seemed numb, the clergy of the Church of England took their stand to support the Locum Tenens in his desperate endeavour to save the remnant of his people.

DEATH OF THE ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΣ OF THE ŒCUMENICAL THRONE¹

His Grace Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, and ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΣ since November, 1918, of the Œcumenical Throne, was a man grey-bearded, of middle height, and of no small dignity of presence. Born in 1860 at Sigi, a Bithynian village in the vilayet of Brusa, and educated at its little school, he entered in 1878 that Stavropegiaic Seminary of Halki

¹ The substance of this notice was in print when His Grace died. We could have wished it possible to have rewritten it.

of which nearly all the Bishops of the Patriarchate have been scholars. After seven years' residence he left it with the "diploma laureate" in 1885, and became Archdeacon and Preacher of Chalcedon, where he worked with great devotion and success for six years. In 1891 he was consecrated to the See of Gallipoli. In 1897 he was translated to Grevena in Macedonia, in 1902 to Preveza in Epirus, and in 1908 became Metropolitan of Brusa, the capital of his own country and one of the great historic sees of Asia Minor.

In addition to his experience and faithful administration of the great Diocese of Brusa, His Grace had taken part in all the chief events and the intimate history of the Patriarchate during the past twenty years, having been reappointed four times to membership of the Holy Synod of Constantinople.

When Germanos V., on the defeat of Germany, to the cause of which he had been favourable, abdicated the Patriarchal Throne in 1918, general consent pointed to His Grace as the next Œcumenical Patriarch. As is, however, well known, by the Capitulations an Œcumenical Patriarch on his election must proceed to obtain the Sultan's *berat* before he can exercise the functions of the Civil Head of the Greek Race. It was felt, however, in 1918 that even if the Sultan had been prepared to issue his *berat* to a friend of the Allies, it could not be accepted. The conditions had always been a tyranny, and had become impossible on account of the widespread massacres and persecution of Greeks which had been a feature of the two preceding years. It was therefore decided to postpone an election until, as was confidently expected then and is still hoped and demanded now, the Sultan's power to veto a Patriarchal election had been for ever abrogated.

Moreover, the chaos in Asia Minor placed difficulties in the way. Accordingly, it was decided to appoint a ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΣ, who as President of the Holy Synod might exercise the Patriarchal functions, and His Grace was naturally chosen for the office.

It should be noted that, in virtue of that choice, His Grace was the chief Bishop of the whole Eastern Orthodox Communion.

One who has had the closest opportunity of observing writes: "Son action comme Locum Tenens fut le plus remarquable. Il représente dignement la Grande Église de Constantinople au cours des événements historiques dont l'Orient fut le théâtre pendant les trois dernières années. Il reprit avec ferveur l'idée, si chère à l'Église Orthodoxe de l'Orient, de l'union des églises, et pour préparer le chemin à ce résultat tant désiré, il fut le promoteur du rapprochement le plus étroit entre les églises et tout particulièrement entre l'Église Orthodoxe et l'Église Anglicaine."

At the time these words were written, in spite of his special work in London, His Grace had found time to meet the Archbishop of Canter-

bury at a dinner given by Mr. Riley in the Athenæum; to attend an audience of H.M. the King; to visit Lambeth Palace and in its historic chapel to present the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Stavropegic Enkolpion worn by Joachim III. and four other Œcumenical Patriarchs; and to meet the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of New York. Many other engagements, including a Liturgy at Bayswater, had also been fixed by him.

On Wednesday, March 16, however, though suffering from acute bronchitis, he paid a visit to Lord Curzon at the Foreign Office. On his return to the Ritz Hotel, he received a telegram announcing the murder by the Kemalists of the mother of his lifelong friend the Metropolitan of Chatadlja, her nieces and their families, under terrible circumstances. Ill, tired, and harassed with anxiety as he was, the shock brought acute cardiac trouble, and from the first his condition was pronounced hopeless.

On the Thursday Euchelaion and the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist were administered to him by the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, assisted by other clergy.

On the Friday evening he passed peacefully away.

Of him it may truly be said that he was not only venerated and beloved by his own people, but that his great friendship for the Anglican Church and his labours for the cause of Reunion have placed him among those whose memory we Anglicans will cherish with ever-increasing gratitude and love.

May his work follow him. R.I.P.

THE FUNERAL OF THE ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΣ

BY AN ENGLISH PRIEST

THE Turk is altogether superstitious, and, though stupid, cunningly suspicious. Therefore, when he seized St. Sophia and turned it into a mosque, he knew well that while the marvellous old shrine stood looking down from its hill upon the defiled mother city of Christendom, the Greek race would dream of freedom and of the resurrection of its buried but still breathing world. He had no courage to destroy the wonderful building, for he was in awe of it. He dared seize it, but, nomad that he is, he never felt at home in it. Somehow he knew that sooner or later her children would redeem their mother. The period of his long-drawn tyranny would pass and be remembered only as an evil night in the deathless centuries of her reign. His slaves might look at him with dull, passive faces, but in their hearts he knew that they

dreamed of the glories which had been, and of the certain day on which they or their sons—what did a few generations matter?—would re-enter and reconsecrate, and possess with thanksgiving their priceless inheritance.

Such memories were dangerous. The knowledge that they were inextinguishable goaded him, on occasion, to wild efforts at bludgeoning his unhappy *rayah* into forgetting them, and at all times made him cruel even to folly in his vain attempts to rob them of their past and their future. Among other useless expedients, since he posted his minarets to stand over the Great Church as guards stand over a dishonoured queen, he has forbidden the Greeks under his yoke to dedicate a church to the name of St. Sophia. That and a hundred other petty expedients proved worse than ineffective. Forget St. Sophia? Though Greek lips dared not be other than dumb, its form and its name were living in every Greek heart. Athens and the Parthenon were all but forgotten tradition. St. Sophia, the city of Constantine and the glorious hope of their redemption, were the fire which forbade the Greek race to die, and gave it courage to win back its life and liberty.

It was thus that, when the Greek community in free England built themselves a church, they built it in the pattern of the Great Mother Church of their nation, called it St. Sophia, and adorned it with copies of the famous mosaics and frescoes which have been hidden under Turkish plaster for more than four and a half centuries.

So the large hope and the great memory speak. St. Sophia, at Bayswater, stands to-day a perfect jewelled casket, rich with gold and shimmering with marbles, and provokes us to think of what its prototype may yet be again.

It was to that Church of St. Sophia that they brought the body of Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, *Τοποτηρῆς* of the Œcumenical Throne, when he died in the Ritz Hotel, broken-hearted at the sentence passed on his people by the Allied Conference of London, and at the news of the ghastly atrocities with which the Kemalists had signalized the triumph of that decision.

As the rays of the sun of this incomparable March streamed down through the window lights of the tympanum on the coffin in the centre of the floor space under the dome, they lit up one of those romantic and symbolic scenes which are not the effect of design, but which are natural and incidental to the working out of the drama of history.

There, beneath the reproduction of Justinian's mosaic of the Christ enthroned upon the rainbow, with the splendid Patriarchal mitre and purple robe and pateritsa and ancient jewels on the pall, rested the body of the latest occupant of the Œcumenical Throne. Alive or dead, none had been the centre of such surroundings since 1450.

A little more courage and decision on the part of our statesmen and

the dream which had seemed nearer realization for him than for any of his predecessors, who one and all had dreamed it, would have come true, and by now he himself would have stood in those very vestments under the dome of Great St. Sophia, and have led a Trisagion of Thanksgiving for its redemption.

Instead of leading his nation in that pæan, he lay there in the representation which, to assuage and feed the hunger in their soul for the original, the Greeks have built in London.

Was it a presage that that dream will never be fulfilled, or an augury that the day of that hunger's satisfaction is very near?

Such imaginings must have had place in the minds of the great gathering of his people, which assembled as the bell tolled before eleven to call them to his funeral Trisagion.

All the world knows the bitter suicidal quarrel which threatens the hope of the Greek Idea. For the moment it was forgotten. There was King Constantine's delegation to the Allied Conference, and at their head M. Gounaris and M. Kaftenzoglou, the protagonists of the anti-Venizelist campaign. There, too, were Dr. Gennadios, the stoutest friend of the great exiled Hellene, and with him M. Caclamanos, who, until lately Greek Minister in London, followed his leader into retirement.

The days are full of dark foreshadowing for the Christian cause in the Near East, but if the nation can unite, it is also pregnant with possibility. Many of us were praying that, however deep and justified may be the quarrel, it may be buried, if not forgotten. While Mustapha Kemal is finishing the extirpation of the Christian race and name from Asia Minor, and is stretching out his grip towards Constantinople and Thrace, internecine strife among Orthodox Hellenes is hateful and a hideous crime. Of one heart and mind, they could end the Turkish nightmare for ever.

The broken-hearted *Τοποτηρητής* might well be held happy in his death if the contending factions find mutual reconciliation through their meeting round his coffin. "Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye wrong one to another?"

His funeral, however, was not simply a domestic matter for the Greeks and the Eastern-Orthodox, but had a symbolism and significance for us Anglicans. And that not only because the dead man was the first chief bishop of the Eastern-Orthodox Church to have visited England.

In the past few years, especially at St. Paul's and other Cathedrals in England, as also at the Patriarchal Church of the Phanar in Constantinople, in Jerusalem, Athens, and Belgrade, there has been a series of *praxeis*, each of successively intensified significance, whereby Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox hierarchs have joined together in

public intercession, have preached in each other's pulpits, and have assisted at each other's Liturgies.

These *praxeis* had been alike the proof and the result of the continually growing friendship and spiritual intimacy between the two Communions.

Now they were to reach their culmination. For the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury was to visit an Eastern-Orthodox Church, and to do so in order to take a principal part in the funeral of the *Τοποτηρητής* of the Œcumenical Throne.

Short of that formal intercommunion which can only be declared when full dogmatic union is achieved, there could be no more striking act of brotherhood and goodwill.

Ten years ago the warden of St. Sophia informed me that no Anglican priest could be admitted within its Bema! The swift ripening of the Anglican-Orthodox *entente* has been in no small measure the work of the hierarch whose memory our Primate was coming to honour.

"The *locum tenens* was eager for union with the Anglican Church," a Greek statesman present told me; "he was particularly anxious to welcome the Archbishop of Canterbury here in St. Sophia, and now he is coming."

When the Archbishop was met by the clergy at the great west door and, preceded by the cross which was the gift to him of the bishops present last year at Lambeth, was led through the crowded church to take his seat in the canopied hierarchical throne on the south side of the eikonostasis, there could have been few of either communion who did not thank God that it was possible for him so to be there, and did not pray for the speedy accomplishment of reunion.

According to his rule, the Archbishop was in good time. One would think that as he sat in that seat wearing the stavropegic enkolpion with which the dead man had journeyed so far to invest him only ten days before, he also found the minutes very precious. He had much about which to think.

The arrival of the Archbishop was followed by that of Lord Stanmore to represent King George, who has first-hand knowledge of the Eastern-Orthodox Church through his murdered kinsman, the beloved martyr, Tsar Nicholas II., his Lordship's chair of state being placed at the foot of the throne, facing the eikonostasis and south-west of the coffin.

Near Lord Stanmore were Lord Bryce, who, Presbyterian though he be, could estimate more than most the uniqueness of the occasion; the Dean of St. Paul's; Sir Samuel Hoare, a stout champion of the Christian cause in Asia Minor; Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and many others.

Some feet back from the foot of the bier stood Father Germanos,

Under-Secretary of the Holy Synod, MM. Ioannides, Karatheodoridi, and the other delegates who had accompanied the Τοποτηρητής.

As the seats filled, a great circle, roughly coincident with the ring of the dome, was formed of black-coated mourners, relieved to the north by the heavy gold lace of naval and military uniforms, and to the south by the simple white lawn of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the throne and the Bishop of London and Bishop Gore with their chaplains on his right and left. Behind Lord Stanmore, the Armenian Archbishop of Smyrna, in blue shoochar and large blue mitre, lent a startling contrast to his subdued surroundings.

When all was ready, in filed the seven archimandrites who were to render the obsequies, and, bowing in turn to the Archbishop, ranged themselves in a semicircle at the foot of the bier, the Great Archimandrite Pagonis standing in the centre, on his right being Basilakes of Paris, Moscovakis of London, and Callinikos of Manchester, and on his left Gennadios of Cardiff, Giannoulis of Liverpool, and Basdekas of London. Archdeacon Malathouras and the deacons Argyrides, Papageorgiou and Diakouni—the last a Ruman—with the Reader Papaconstantinos, took up their positions at the head of the coffin. Except the Reader, who, as usual, was black-gowned, the eleven clergy were vested in cloth of gold, the spectacular effect of the colour scheme and of the grouping being unrehearsed but perfect.

The Great Archimandrite Pagonis, having first censed the coffin with three short swings at the foot and then the Archbishop—the only usage of incense during the ceremony—the service began.

Like all the Eastern-Orthodox offices, a funeral Trisagion is composed of psalms and lections round which are grouped short litanies, prayers, and antiphons. The psalms, which in this case consisted of the 90th and 119th, came first, and were rendered by a small hidden choir of exceedingly fine voices hidden in the north gallery, their chanting being periodically stopped in order that the following memorial might be made of the dead hierarch:

Archdeacon. 'Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, we beseech Thee, hearken and have mercy on us.'

Choir. Kyrie eleison.

Archdeacon. 'Further, we pray for the blessed memory and eternal rest of the soul of God's servant who has fallen asleep, the hierarch Dorotheos, that he may be pardoned all his offences, witting and unwitting, that the Lord God may set his soul there where the righteous are at rest. Let us beseech for him of Christ our deathless King and God the mercy of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the forgiveness of his sins.'

Archimandrite (one of the seven in turn at each pause). 'For Thou art the Resurrection, the Life, and the Rest of the soul of Thy servant, the hierarch Dorotheos, who has fallen asleep, O Christ, our God, and to Thee, with Thy causeless Father and with the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, we render glory now and for ever, world without end. Amen.'

Nothing could be more impressive, or more truly helpful, than were these breaks in the deep, heart-stirring funeral psalms.

After the psalms followed some very beautiful antiphons and prayers, the following five *Ἰδιόμελα* being particularly appealing:

Ποία τοῦ βίου τρυφή διαμένει λίπης ἀμέτοχος; ποία δόξα ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀμετάθετος; πάντα σκίας ἀσθενέστερα, πάντα οὐέρων ἀπατηλότερα· μία βοή, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα θάνατος διαδέχεται. Ἄλλ' ἐντὶ φωτὶ Χριστῷ τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ τῷ γλυκασμῷ τῆς σῆς φραιότητος, ὃν ἐξελέξω ἀνάπαυσον.

Οἱμοι, οἷον ἀγῶνα ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ χωριζομένη ἐκ τοῦ σώματος! οἱμοι, τότε πόσα δακρυεῖ, καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτήν! πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγγέλους τὰ ὄμματα ῥέπονσα, ἀπρακτὰ καθικετεύει· πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνονσα, οὐκ ἔχει τὸν βοηθοῦντα· Διὸ ἀγαπητοὶ μου ἀδελφοί, ἐννοήσαντες ἡμῶν τὸ βραχὺ τῆς ζωῆς, τῷ μεταστάντι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν παρὰ Χριστῷ αἰτησώμεθα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

Πάντα ματαιότης τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ὅσα οὐχ ὑπάρχει μετὰ θάνατον· οὐ παραμένει ὁ πλοῦτος, οὐ συνοδεύει ἡ δόξα· ἐπελθὼν γὰρ ὁ θάνατος, ταῦτα πάντα ἐξηφάνισται· Διὸ Χριστῷ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ βασιλεῖ βοήσωμεν. Τὸν μεταστάντα ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναπαύσον, ἔνθα πάντων ἐστὶν εὐφρανόμενον ἡ κατοικία.

Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου προσηπία; ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν προσκαίρων φαντασία; ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος; ποῦ ἐστὶν τῶν οἰκετῶν ἡ πλημμυρία καὶ ὁ θόρυβος; πάντα κόνις, πάντα τέραρ, πάντα σκία. Ἀλλὰ δεῦτε βοήσωμεν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ Βασιλεῖ· κύριε, τῶν αἰώνιων σου ἀγαθῶν ἀξίωσον, τὸν μεταστάντα ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀναπαύων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μακαριότητι.

Ἐμνήσθη τὸ Προφῆτον βοῶντος· Ἐγὼ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σπῶδος· καὶ πάλιν κατενόησα ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι, καὶ εἶδον τὰ ὅσα τὰ γεγνημένα, καὶ εἶπον· Ἄρα τίς ἐστὶ; βασιλεὺς ἡ στρατιωτὴς, ἡ πλοῖστος, ἡ πένις, ἡ δίκαιος, ἡ ἁμαρτωλός; Ἀλλὰ ἀνάπαυσον κύριε, μετὰ δικαίων τὸν δοῦλον σου.

Read by the Reader in the natural voice, the contrast of these passages with the chanting was superb. They were followed by a series of equally beautiful meditations and prayers based on the Beatitudes:

"I weep and mourn when I contemplate death, when I see the form fashioned in beauty for us after the image of God lying in the grave, formless, without glory, and without comeliness. Oh, the wonder! Why, what is this mystery which is accomplished in us? Wherefore are we delivered to corruption and yoked with death? Verily by the decree of God, who, as it is written, gives rest to the departed."

"In Thy kingdom remember me, O Lord."

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for it is theirs."

"Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness."

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

"O Christ, Thou didst make a citizen of Paradise of him who on the Cross cried to Thee. Remember me. Account me, unworthy, worthy of like repentance."

"Blessed are the pure in heart."

"Thou who rulest life and death, grant rest in the courts of the Saints to him whom Thou hast taken from these present places, who calleth to Thee, 'Remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom.'"

"Blessed are the peacemakers."

"Thou who art Lord of men's souls and bodies, in whose hand is our breath, Thou consolation of the afflicted, grant rest in the land of the just to Thy servant whom Thou hast taken."

*"Blessed are the persecuted,
 "Christ grant thee rest in the land of the living, open to thee the gates of
 Paradise, receive thee as a citizen of Thy kingdom, and grant thee, thou beloved of
 Christ, forgiveness of the sins thou hast committed in this life."*

At the end of the rite came the Epistle and Gospel. The former, read by the Reader, 1 Thess. iv. 13, is often used by us at requiems.

The latter (St. John v. 24-30) was sung by the Great Archimandrite Pagonis standing on the steps of the eikonostasis, a striking and commanding figure with his great height and flowing beard.

When he had finished, the Archdeacon repeated the usual bidding to listen to the Gospel, and the Archbishop of Canterbury read the same passage again in English, his clear and soft enunciation, together with his plain emotion, making the reading very moving.

An almost tense silence followed for some seconds, and then came one of those dramatic, unrehearsed incidents which are typical of Greek worship. Without premeditation the Great Archimandrite delivered a short address to the congregation:

"What spectacle is this which we see?" he began. "Why are so many distinguished persons assembled here? Is it a dream perhaps? If it were, it would be a terrible dream. Unhappily it is reality. The *Τοποτηρητής* of the (Ecumenical Throne, coming here to the capital of the world to champion the Christian cause, has fallen asleep in the Lord. And it has been decreed that I, the least of men, who knew him as a fellow-student at Halki, and have watched his career as Bishop of Gallipoli, as Metropolitan of Grevena, of Nikopolis, and of Brusa, and as *Τοποτηρητής*, should close his eyes. It is not my purpose to speak of his career and of his labour. Time allows me only to say that he fell in the field of duty. Nor can I offer consolation to those who accompanied him here as colleagues in his mission nor to the nation, for I myself indeed need consolation. Let it be a sufficient consolation to them and to the Greek nation that the Primate of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and very many distinguished English clergy and bishops and politicians are here to show us their sympathy." Then, with a voice choking with emotion, he stepped down to the coffin, and, holding up his hand, uttered this apostrophe:

"Thou soul of ever-to-be-remembered Dorotheos, Metropolitan and *Τοποτηρητής*, which now receivest in heaven the crown of thy labours and thy struggles, beseech the Lord that He will fittingly fill the void which thou hast left on earth. Also bless us who will ever keep in our hearts a living memory of thee."

That said, he gave the blessing, and, first kissing the Archbishop's ring, an example followed by the other clergy, withdrew with him to the sanctuary.

The service was over.

THE BETRAYAL OF SAINT SOPHIA

I

WITH Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner outflung—
 With Thy seal upon our forehead and Thy Name upon our tongue—
 On that road we set our faces which the old Crusaders knew;
 And their dust it stirred in sleeping, and their souls sang "Hallelu!"

II

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner lifted high—
 Lo, we plunged into the battle, and its noise rang far and nigh;
 And our weakness hurled us backward, and our follies bent our sword—
 Yet we cried to Thee in trouble and Thou savedst us, O Lord.

III

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner's faltering flame,
 Thou didst give to us the triumph for the Glory of Thy Name;
 Broke the gates of brass asunder, smote in twain the iron bands,
 And the cities and the nations didst deliver to our hands.

IV

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner proudly blown,
 It was ours to win Thy Kingdom and restore Thee to Thy Throne:
 Ours the glory and the honour to recall Thy children home
 By the Sign of our Salvation stretching arms from yon Great Dome.

V

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned where the whole world's eyes might
 see . . .
 Thou to us, O Lord, wert faithful; we were false, O Lord, to Thee.
 In Thy Holy Sign we conquered . . . had the path made straight . . . and
 then—
 Lo, we stood ashamed and shrinking to confess Thee before men.

VI

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner's conquering face,
 We have left Thy Cross down-trampled in Thine ancient dwelling place.
 Lest Thy gifts to us be forfeit—lest our Eastern empire sway—
 We will sign away Thine honour, and Thy glorious trust betray.

VII

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner o'er the earth—
 With Thy Cross at heart rejected as a thing of lesser worth—
 Shall we dare to stand hereafter and bid others put their trust
 In a sign we hold so lightly that we leave it in the dust?

QUEENIE SCOTT-HOPPER.

ST. SOPHIA AND ITS LAST LITURGY

BY THE GREAT PROTOSYNKELLOS ATHENAGORAS

(Translated from "Ekklesiastike Aletheia.")

THE American magazine *The Orient*, which is published here, in republishing in its number dated August 25 the article on St. Sophia which appeared in *Ecclesiastical Truth*, gives the following notes, selected from the work on Constantinople by Edwin A. Grosvenor.

Professor Edwin A. Grosvenor, in his memorable work on Constantinople, says, in connection with the question, when speaking of the abominable desecration of the Church of St. Sophia by the looters of the fourth Crusade in the year 1204, that Pope Innocent III. reproved the Crusaders in bitter terms, and declared that the Greek Church would only see in the Latins treachery and works of darkness. . . . Constantine IX. declared on December 12, 1452, in St. Sophia the Act of Union of the Eastern and Western Churches by the official acceptance of the teachings and pre-eminence of Rome. Cardinal Isidore, the envoy of Pope Nicolas V., celebrated the Liturgy at the Holy Altar according to the rites of the Roman Church, and the submission of the Orthodox Church would appear to have been complete. In consequence of this pact, which the Greeks considered apostasy and sacrilege, the Cathedral Church was considered desecrated, and as such deserted by the people until the day of the fall, when it was again filled by them in their mad despair. There was no more tragical event during the long and stormy history of the Empire than that of the night before its glorious fall. On May 28, 1453, Constantine, an hour before midnight, came once more to St. Sophia; the Holy Communion was administered, by Catholic hands, to him and his army, as to dying men. . . . Professor Grosvenor also gives the popular story, according to a tradition of the people, that a Greek priest was celebrating the Liturgy when the Sultan's troops, shouting for joy, entered the gates. Holding the Cross in his hands, the priest withdrew into a secret room, and there, with the Cross, is still waiting delivery.

In order to enlighten the Editor of this magazine on certain points, we consider it opportune for us to record also some notes on the truly stormy and tragic period of Greek history, which we select mostly from contemporary Byzantine historians. Depending upon these authors, we believe that any co-Liturgy held by the Orthodox and Catholics in the Church of St. Sophia was according to the custom of the Greek Orthodox Eastern Church, for which even the Latins, in spite of their exclusiveness, felt great respect and devotion. Even before the Council of Florence, when the Emperor John Palaiologos, the Patriarch Joseph, and other

ecclesiastics and wise men of the East, arrived in Venice, "with welcome," as mentioned by Doukas (*"Byzantine History,"* pp. 212-213; Bohn edition, 1834), the Venetians received the Greek Emperor as a second monarch and provider for the salvation of Christendom, as well as the Patriarch and the remaining prelates. They gave them a sacred sanctuary in which they (the Greeks) held the service of the bloodless sacrifice; and there were gathered therein on that day all the men and women of that town to see and hear the Divine and sacred Liturgy according to the custom of the Eastern Church, seeing which, and with tears in their eyes, they cried the prayer: "Lord, preserve Thy Church unwounded by the arrows of evil, shatter all the evil from the midst which Thou gatherest, because we who have not before seen the Greeks, neither had ever seen their ritual, whose voices we heard and considered them as barbarians, now know and have believed that they are the eldest sons of the Church, and the Spirit of God speaks in them."

There followed in Florence the false Union, extorted by well-known methods of privation and force, which was proscribed by all who signed the Union even before they arrived in Constantinople. Doukas, who is kindly disposed to the Union, mentions in pp. 215-216 of his History the following: "The prelates on landing from the ships were immediately embraced by those of Constantinople, asking them for news of their affairs: about the Synod; whether victory had been theirs. To which they made answer: 'We have broken our faith, exchanging devotion for impiety, abjuring the pure sacrifice; we have become partakers of the unleavened bread.' 'And who has done this?' 'Those who signed the declarations, Anthony of Herakleia.' And all who were asked why they had signed said: 'We were afraid of the Franks. This right hand has signed,' they said; 'it shall be severed. The tongue has confessed; it shall be torn out.'"

This proscription received a more official character at a Great Council convoked in the year 1450, at which all the Orthodox prelates and the three Patriarchs of the East, those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, proscribed the Union at Florence and deposed the Uniate Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory Mammi. Pope Nicolas V. also felt deeply the failure of the Union, so that when the Emperor Constantine Palaiologos sent ambassadors to him, asking help from him against the Turks, the Pope promised help, on condition, however, that the deposed Patriarch Gregory should be reinstated on the throne and the Union carried out. The Emperor, pressed by the Turks and hoping for substantial aid from the Pope, acquiesced, although contrary to the wishes of the people and of almost the entire Orthodox clergy. The Pope sent Cardinal Isidore, a Greek by birth, ex-Metropolitan of Russia, with a detachment of 50 Italian soldiers, to which was added another 150 from Chios. Cardinal Isidore arrived at Constantinople,

and on December 12, 1452, a joint service was held by the Greeks and Latins, and the Union was declared. The Liturgy was according to the formal usage of the Orthodox Church, for at the end of the Liturgy the distribution of Antidoron took place, as is the custom in the Orthodox Church.

The historian Doukas, who, as it has been said, was a violent Uniate, mentions in his "History of Bysance" (p. 255) that, however many of the Orthodox consented to the condition of Union in St. Sophia, they did so after an agreement that when the occasion of the danger of the Turks had passed and there was calm again, some of the learned among the community should examine the conditions, and what was not correct be rectified—in fact, after the Turkish danger was past, to proscribe once more the Union. All did not accept the offer of the Antidoron. There were, indeed, many who did not receive the Antidoron, as being an abominable sacrifice conducted in the Uniate Liturgy.

But even this imperfect declaration of the Union was again proscribed by the people and the clergy, who declared: "Not everyone, and the King himself under an error, consented." The Church of St. Sophia was considered desecrated by the conjoint service of the two Churches, and as such was deserted by the people until the dreadful day of the Conquest, when they again flocked thither in order to pray for the last time. When the clergy and the laity were gathered together in the Monastery of the Pantocrator, in the cell of Gennadios, then known as George Scholarios, they said to him: "And what shall we do?" And he, shutting himself up, taking paper, wrote his opinion in writing as follows:

"Wretched Romans, in what have you been deceived, and have departed from the hope of the Lord, having put your hopes in the power of the Franks and with the town in which it is destined to perish, you have lost also your piety.

"Mercy, O Lord! I protest before you that I am innocent of this fault. Do you know, wretched citizens, what you are about? Together with the slavery which you will endure, you have lost the tradition and confessed to impiety. Woe to you in the Day of Judgment!"

On reading Gennadios' message, the people and the clergy cried: "We desire neither the help of the Latins nor Union with them. Let the worship of the unleavened sacrifice be removed from us" (Doukas, "Byzantine History," pp. 253-255).

And all the things which had taken place were considered never to have been. For those in favour of the Union said to the Schismatics: "Let us wait and see whether the Lord will appraise this enemy who is resisting us, the great dragon who boasts that he will swallow up the town; and then will you see whether we shall unite with the prac-

tisers of the unleavened sacrifice." And Doukas, the philo-Uniate, condemns both the people and the clergy for "not wanting to partake of the immaculate body and blood (Holy Sacrament) from the hands of the Greek priests who ministered in the Divine practices according to the Eastern tradition, only because there took part also in it those priests belonging to the Union of Orthodox and Latin Liturgy, for they said: 'To receive is pollution, and therefore not Christian.'" In all his activities against the Union Gennadios had as a fellow-worker the Grand Duke Luke Notaras, who fought heroically against the Turks on the battlements and met a martyr's death at the time of the fall of Constantinople, together with his children. He declared, in expressing the pure sentiment of the people, that "it was far better to see in the middle of the town the headgear of the conqueror Turks than the covering worn by the Latins."

Under these circumstances it is self-evident that on the night of the conquest of Constantinople the Emperor Constantine Palaiologos received the Holy Communion from the hands of a Greek Orthodox priest, since, according to Doukas, and that from that time—that is to say, from the time the service was held jointly by Greeks and Latins in St. Sophia—Greek priests celebrated Holy Communion, "using the Greek language and the blessings such as the priests of the Eastern Church do" (Doukas, "Byzantine History," p. 261). Phrantjes, in his History, p. 279, speaking of the last Communion made by Constantine Palaiologos, says: "And to the revered Church of the Holy Wisdom of God came the King, who, praying and weeping, partook of the Holy Mysteries (Communion). Many others did also the same on that same night. After which he came to the Palace, where he stayed a little while, and prayed forgiveness from all present. And at that moment who could describe the weeping and wailing in the Palace; even if he were of wood or stone, it were not possible he should not mourn."

The Greek priest who gave the Holy Communion to the Emperor was the same one who held the service of Matins, followed by the Liturgy, on May 29, 1453, to which a great crowd of people had flocked. Then Mohammed's troops burst into the Church of St. Sophia, pillaging, seizing and massacring those attending the service, without sparing men, women, and children, who, by their martyrs' end, insured the imprescriptible and immemorial rights of the Greeks over their own Church of St. Sophia. According to a legend and tradition of the Greek people, which ever since the Conquest is jealously handed down from one generation to the other, on that dreadful and tragical day of May 29, and while the Turks rushed into the Church of St. Sophia, the door behind the altar opened and the priest who was conducting the service disappeared, holding in his hands the chalice, accompanied by the attendant clergy. Immediately the door closed behind him.

According to the same legend—and from legends there arise for living nations beautiful realities—when a Greek Orthodox King again enters the Church of St. Sophia the wall will again open and the priest who disappeared will reappear in order to finish the tragically interrupted Liturgy of May 29, 1453.

THE MUCH-DESIRED END

Since the ill-omened day of May 29, 1453, on which the last Greek Liturgy was held in the venerable Church of St. Sophia, and the church was transformed into a Mussulman shrine, it was believed that never had a Greek priest entered into it in order to conduct any Divine service whatever. There were many who hoped to die in the church, in the hopes that a Greek priest would enter and conduct the service for the dead, carrying thence the dead. One of these was the politician and artist, Ion Dragoumis, who met his tragic end at Athens during the stormy events of July last. In his fine work, published in 1911, called "Whoever Lives," in which he expresses all his soul felt on visiting the beautiful Church of St. Sophia, he says: "One day, sitting together with a young man in front of the Church of St. Sophia, waiting for permission from the Turks to enter, he said: 'There he is, the Turk, with whose permission we shall enter our own church—we who, three hundred years ago, could enter when and how we liked. And we shall go in, not to the Liturgy, but to do reverence; for do you know that it is fated that St. Sophia shall become ours again? Because we feel it in our blood, for centuries now . . .'"

On ascending into the Women's gallery, they were followed by policemen and Mussulman priests, and Alexis (Alexis is Ion Dragoumis) said in a low voice to the youth who was with him: "There are about five or six of them following us, and we are only two; if they want to do away with us in this dark staircase, especially since they have shut the doors downstairs, it will be quite easy to do so. I hope that one of us will escape—you, who are the younger of us—and while I am dying I shall tell you that I do not desire the Greek Government to demand satisfaction or compensation for my tragic end, but that priests should be allowed to enter St. Sophia, and, singing their psalms, should carry me out and bury me." And he really had a longing at that moment to die where he was, ascending into the gallery of the great church.

By a happy coincidence at this time, investigating the registers of the Theological School of Chalké, I found that the end that so many desired to meet with, but did not, had indeed come to a devout Greek workman, who, while working on a repair in St. Sophia, slipped, fell, and was killed on the spot. Justice ordained that a Greek priest should be allowed to enter the church and there light again the candle of hope, to send up waves of incense into the ethereal domes of the legendary

church, lifting up with deep emotion the same voice of prayer on behalf of the happy youth that had echoed for ten centuries throughout the venerable church.

In remembrance of, and as an act of blessing for, the happiness which had befallen the Greek workman, Isaiah, a pupil of the Theological School of Chalké, and the Deacon of Icosiphinotissis, wrote an ode, inspired by the blind singer Elias Tantalidis:

TO THE CHRISTIAN BUILDER WHO DIED IN THE VERY BEAUTIFUL CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, AND WAS CONVEYED OUT WITH A PRIEST

If to die a good death is envied of men, this man found a better fate than most. A builder he was, and worked within the Great Church of St. Sophia; losing his balance, he slipped and fell supine and met his death. His soul ascended to Heaven, carried on the sweet-smelling fumes of incense; a candle was lighted within, and a priest was called to be present, who prayed in the Greek tongue and according to the true faith.

This was a miracle indeed, which appeared to happen after four long centuries of an alien worship, and as such is recorded upon the tomb of the blessed workman. In the Church of St. Sophia he gave up his spirit to God.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AND PEOPLE

By EMILY J. ROBINSON

IN the year 34 the Apostles Thaddæus and Bartholomew took the Gospel to Armenia, where, after converting King Abgar and his household, they suffered martyrdom. The Faith spread rapidly, and in the century following the Persian Kings resorted to persecution of Christians. The great evangelist of Armenia, St. Gregory Loussavoritch (the Illuminator), was born of princely parents and brought up as a Christian. He married a Prince's daughter, and had two sons. He and his wife separated to embrace monastic life. The pagan King Tiridates III. of Armenia had Gregory imprisoned for fourteen years under cruel conditions. The King becoming ill, and his physicians being unable to afford him relief, he sent for the monk Gregory, who healed him. Out of gratitude Tiridates embraced Christianity in 301, and made his prisoner his minister.

After being consecrated priest and Bishop at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory returned to Armenia, baptized his King and Court, and began the official conversion of the country. Where resistance was offered, the militant Bishop, with a following of troops, seized the property of pagan temples by force. The struggle was fierce at Kisané, where Gregory ordered the huge copper idol to be overthrown. Six pagan priests were killed and when the doors of the temple fell the demons in possession cried: "If you drive us out, there will never be peace for those who dwell

here." The prophecy has been fulfilled, for Armenia has not yet found peace.

Tiridates helped Gregory to build Etchmiadzin (*i.e.*, the Descent of the Sole-Begotten), which became the holy city of the Armenians and the intellectual centre of the nation. His work accomplished, Gregory left the Catholicosate to his son Aristakes, his suffragan since 318, and retired to the grotto of Mount Sepouh, where he died shortly after.

The conversion of Tiridates, followed by that of Constantine, made the Persians fear an alliance between the Christian Emperors. They murdered Tiridates and other Princes, and tried to force paganism on the people. The history of Armenia ever since has been one long struggle against persecution, written with the tears of her saints, illuminated with the blood of her martyrs.

When Aristakes brought back the Creed from the Council of Nicæa to his father, St. Gregory wrote under it: "But we, let us glorify Him who was from the Eternities, worshipping the Holy Trinity and one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, ever, and for ever." These words have been repeated after the Creed for sixteen centuries. The Armenian Church has held the essentials of the Faith without a single heresy or theological controversy, a unique record in the history of Christendom.

The Armenian Church was represented at the Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431). Misled by incorrect reports of the Council of Chalcedon, which they were unable to attend on account of Persian persecutions, the Armenian Bishops annulled its decrees in 536, thus gaining the reputation of being Eutychnians, which led to their gradual separation from the Orthodox Church. The Synod of Armenian, Georgian, and Caspo-Albanian Bishops assembled at Douine in 506, officially proclaimed the profession of faith of the Council of Ephesus, and officially condemned the names of Arius, Eutyches, and Nestorius. The Armenian Church looks on the Council of Ephesus as the last whereby the unity of the Church was maintained, in the conviction that we have in it the true foundation of the Church Universal.

Seven Sacraments are accepted in the Armenian Church. Extreme Unction is almost in disuse. Total horizontal immersion is the rule at Baptism. Confirmation or anointing with the chrism immediately follows Baptism; and the baptized infant is at once admitted to Communion, a particle of consecrated wafer dipped in the chalice being placed under the tongue. After the Sacrament of Penance or Confession it is usual to let a few days pass before the Absolution, which immediately precedes Communion. The Sacrament of Marriage is called the Sacrament of the Crown, and is solemnized by a priest under the Bishop's authority. The Sacrament of Orders is conferred by the imposition of hands and by bestowal of appropriate badges. Unction is administered to priests, Bishops, and the Catholicos. Including

the subdiaconate, which is a minor order, there are seven priestly orders, which are conferred by the Bishop. Bishops are consecrated by the Catholicos with two Bishops, and the Catholicos by twelve Bishops. The rank of Vardapet or Doctorate of Theology has major and minor classes and its own orders.

The head of the Armenian Church is the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the direct spiritual descendant of St. Gregory. He is elected by the whole nation. Supporting him are the Catholicos of Sis (Cilicia), the Catholicos of Aghtamar, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The latter is the guardian of the Holy Places of the Armenians. The Patriarch of Constantinople is the head of the whole nation, and its representative in temporal matters.¹

Driven to seek safety in other lands, scattered as they are throughout the world, Armenians are everywhere passionately attached to their Church, which has kept them a nation, united and loyal, through all the ages of suffering and persecution. Perhaps this explains the immense power of the Cross on the hearts of even the most ignorant peasants.

The Church of Armenia has kept the beacon light of faith burning without faltering, rather strengthened by suffering for her Master. What is her reward?

In 1915 the Turkish Government planned and carried out the extermination of its Armenian subjects all over Asia Minor, who were deported in long caravans to the deserts or killed under most horrible circumstances, in obedience to signed orders issued from Constantinople by Talaat and Enver Bey to their officials in the provinces. Translations and photographs of these signed dispatches may be found in a little book, "The Memoirs of Naim Bey" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1920, price 2s.).

At least a million and a half Armenians were killed in the war; more than half a million more were deported, their property stolen, their homes wrecked or given to Turks. It is computed that quite thirty thousand Christian women and children are still detained in harems, where many have been for six years.

Western Christians may plead that they were not responsible for what was done by Turks during the war. They are most certainly responsible for what has been done in Turkey since the Armistice. No compensation whatever has been offered to the Armenian people, more than a million of whom are eking out a miserable existence as refugees, no provision having been made for them. Armenians are starving to death in the Caucasus. Terrible massacres took place in the autumn of 1920 at Marash and Hadjin and in the Caucasus. Murders have taken place in country districts all over Asia Minor ever since the Armistice. Armenians are safe nowhere.

¹ See especially "The Church and Faith of Armenia," by the Vardapet Dr. Abel Abrahamdan (Faith Press, 1920, price 2s.).

It is the clear duty of Western Christians to demand and ensure without further delay that no Christians shall be left under Turkish rule.

The following lines, written by a Catholicos of Etchmiadzin in the eighteenth century, when the Mussulman yoke pressed hard on Armenia, might have been written to-day :

" Arise, O God of our fathers,
Sole Refuge of the oppressed,
Save Thy faithful servants,
Send succour to Armenia !

O ever-blessed Trinity,
Spread Thy peace in all the world,
Give health to the ailing,
Give freedom to Armenia ! "

THE CHURCH OF CYPRUS

By T. PAPAPORPHYRIOU

AT the end of January, 1910, the question of the Archbishopric of Cyprus, which had kept the Christian Community of that country in a ferment for ten years, was solved by the appointment of Bishop Cyril II. of Kition to the Episcopal See. Immediately following on this solution the two vacant Sees of Paphos and Kition were filled by the Archimandrite James Augoulatou as Bishop of Paphos, and by the Archimandrite Meletius Metaxakis as Bishop of Kition.

After the appointment of the higher clergy had been supplemented, a fuller assembly was held, composed of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Cyprus, the Abbots of the Cypriote Monasteries, the Greek Deputies, and the Mayors, in order to consult together on the subject of drawing up rules by which the Church of Cyprus should be governed. A decision was reached at this Assembly, under the Presidency of the Archbishop, in accordance with which the Holy Synod formed a Committee, the members of which were empowered to draw up Canons for the Church of Cyprus. In this the Holy Synod took care that the Committee was subordinate to itself and defined its general scope. The Committee completed and published its work in May, 1914, under the name "Canons of the Most Holy Apostolic Church of Cyprus," which was immediately put into force.

As printed, these Canons were preceded by an Encyclical of the Holy Synod to the Christian Congregation of the island, their aim being the adjustment of the various relations of our ecclesiastical life in such a manner as to remove any incertitude in the use of customs. The Encyclical made it clear that all blanks in the prescribed administration of the Church were to be filled by written clauses, and a system

of management was to be established which, while taking away all misunderstanding, might secure a better working, and which, in the words of the Encyclical, might draw closer "the bonds between the Church that is shepherded and its shepherds."

The Church of Cyprus, being naturally a part of the Orthodox Church, is governed according to the Canons and Decrees of the Local and Œcumenical Councils by which the whole Church is governed. The Canons enacted have therefore no other object than to indicate particularly and more clearly the practical carrying out of these local Canons and Decrees in connection with ecclesiastical usages and in Church administration which time has consecrated, but which do not come in conflict with the above-mentioned General Ecclesiastical Decrees and the laws of the Councils.

The Canons of the Holy Church of Cyprus, consisting of thirty-five pages, comprise 138 articles, the last four of which contain the General Decrees; the rest of the pages comprise seven chapters, and treat of the Holy Synod, of Dioceses, of the election of Bishops, of the duties and rights of the Bishops, of parishes and parish priests, of marriage and divorce, of Holy Monasteries, and finally, of ecclesiastical economical management.

CHAPTER I.—There are sixteen articles in this chapter. In the first article it is defined that the Orthodox Church is governed and is ruled by the Apostolic and Synodical Canons and sacred traditions of the Orthodox Church. The other articles treat of the Sessions of the Holy Synod, which is composed of the three Bishops (Metropolitans) of Paphos, Kition, and Kirikánias, under the presidency of the Bishop of Nea Justiniana and All Cyprus. The chief duties of the Holy Synod are prescribed in the ninth article, and consist in watchfulness over the Orthodox religious teaching of the faithful, in provision for the celebration of the Sacraments (Mysteries), and in the preservation of the rite of worship according to the Canons of the Orthodox Church, in the supervision to be kept to secure obedience to the decrees and commands of the Church, in the provision of instruction for and the fitting maintenance of the clergy, in care that each class of clergy should carry out its own duties, in ecclesiastical discipline, in provision for the safety of sacred objects possessing an archæological value, in the exercise of the synodical duties of the Bishops in the election of the Archbishop as well as in the function of acting as the highest ecclesiastical Court of Jurisdiction in the island, and in dealing with offences committed by clergy or laity against the Canons of the Church.

In the eleventh article, there are seven paragraphs dealing with the penalties imposed according to ecclesiastical law on guilty clergy or laymen who transgress the law of the Church.

CHAPTER II.—This chapter contains fifteen articles (17-31).

Therein are mentioned the Dioceses—that of the Archbishop, that of the Bishopric of Paphos, that of Kition, that of Kirikias, in the order of precedence belonging to each Bishop. Each Bishop, as well as the Archbishop, has the right to have a deputy Bishop. On the Archbishop's See becoming vacant, the Bishop holding precedence—viz., the Bishop of Paphos—is called to act as *locum tenens* of the Archbishop's See. In the event of a vacancy occurring in any of the Dioceses through the death of the Bishop, the Archbishop becomes spiritual head of the Diocese. This temporary authority is confined to ordinary procedure and the indispensable matters of the Diocese. It is decided that all candidates from among the clergy eligible for the See should be not less than thirty years of age, should hold a diploma of a theological college, and should be of unblemished character.

The assembly to vote for the appointment of an Archbishop is composed of the Bishops, of the Deputy Bishops, if such exist, the Abbots of the Monasteries of Kikkou, Machaira, St. Neophytos, Troodissio, Chrysoriatissis, Stavrovounion, and St. Pandaleimon. If there are no Abbots of the Monasteries, then their representatives (the Monasteries) are to be two graduated priests belonging to the Archbishopric, two graduated priests from Lefcosia, the *Economos* (priest) of Phanaromeni and the Archimandrite of Tripokiton, if such exist. Also 66 other representatives are to be elected throughout the whole of Cyprus after an Encyclical by the Episcopal Authorities.

From among the representatives 33 are chosen from the Archbishop's diocese, 10 from the Diocese of the Bishop of Paphos, 13 from the Diocese of the Bishop of Kition, and 10 from the Diocese of the Bishop of Kirikias. Out of these representatives 22 are to be drawn from the parish priests, 44 are to be laymen, and the candidates must be over twenty-five years of age and Greek-Orthodox. They must also be in possession of their ecclesiastical rights—i.e., they must not have been deprived of them through any official act of the ecclesiastical authorities before the election. According to the above-mentioned Encyclical, the special representatives so to be chosen are afterwards to proceed to choose the general representatives. The Holy Synod is to hear and try any objections raised against these elections, and to decide any appeal made against the validity of the elections. In the event of any election being invalid, the Holy Synod is to order a fresh election to be held. The special representatives must be above the age of twenty-one. The elections are to be held on the basis of an electoral roll drawn up previously, and duly confirmed by the Bishop of each Province or of the Diocese. The Encyclical for the election of the general Representation is to be given out by the Bishop holding precedence a fortnight from the vacancy of the Episcopal See. If he does not comply with this, then the second in precedence shall carry out the formalities

dealing with the elections and so on in rotation, a week after the expiration of the above-mentioned term.

During the three days following the ratification of the elections of the representatives, they are to be formally invited (together with the others mentioned above, as being members of the Assembly for the election of the Archbishop) to attend on a certain day of the week and at a certain hour. At this Assembly, which is to be held at the Archbishop's Palace, the quorum is the number of the elected members, with one extra. If this is not obtained, the meeting is postponed until the next day, and the same hour as the previous one, at which a quorum is to be considered to have been obtained by as many members as are present. Whereupon the Chairman is to declare the meeting opened, is to state its object, and to invite the election to the Archbishopric of a person possessed, according to the Article XIX. of the Canons, of the "qualifications for election." For the position of Archbishop all ordained clergy are eligible who are not younger than thirty years, of unblemished character and devotion, and in possession of the Diploma of an Orthodox Theological College.

If all those gathered at the Assembly are in agreement about one particular person, then his election is to be held accomplished. If not, a vote by ballot is to be taken, the name of the person proposed by each member being written down and cast in the ballot box. On the votes being counted at the end of the voting, he who has the majority of votes is to be declared elected Archbishop. He is then to be immediately enthroned by the Holy Synod in the Cathedral in accordance with the usual rites and customs if he is a Bishop. If he be not a Bishop, then the service of enthroning him as Archbishop is to be preceded by that of his consecration. After the installation of the Archbishop on the Episcopal throne a notification of his election is to be sent to the Government of Cyprus and to the Christian Community.

For the election of a Bishop, the same decrees are in force as for that of an Archbishop, with the difference that in the election of Bishops, whatever is to be carried out by the Bishop having precedence in the election of the Archbishop, is to be carried out by the Archbishop. The electoral Assembly for the election in question is composed of the Archbishop, the Bishops, the Deputy Bishops, the Abbots of the Monasteries of Kikkou, Machaira, St. Neophytos, two graduated clergy of the Archbishop's Diocese, the Abbots of the Monasteries dependent on the Episcopal throne, two graduated clergy of the particular diocese, and thirty-six clerical representatives of the diocese, a third of whom are to be drawn from the parochial clergy.

MONASTERIES IN GREECE

By EUPHROSYNE KEPHALA

FROM the great Church of the East sprung the Orthodox monasticism that flowered all over Greece and the lands of the Turkish Empire where people of the Greek race predominated, leaving us as priceless legacies of architecture the splendid group of the "Metēra" in Thessaly, Phanaromené in Salamis, and Pendeli and Petraki in Attica, Megaspelion, founded in the thirteenth century by the Empress Euphrosyne, and the medieval monastery of Hesios Leukas in Bœotia, built by a Byzantine emperor in the tenth century on the plan of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

Last of all, that great nucleus of monastic life at Mount Athos in Thrace, called the Holy Mountain, where every nationality professing the creed of the Orthodox Church is represented by a convent of its own. They formed themselves into a republic after obtaining privileges from the Sultan Mohammad II., to whom they made submission before his conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Each of these monasteries has its history. Sometimes it is the tragedy of an emperor, who, renouncing the world, its pomps and its vanities, comes hither to exchange a crown for the monk's cap; an act of devotion or penitence of some proud noble of the Byzantine Court; or, again, a holy man like the Blessed Luke of Stiris, who found a tomb there as a last resting-place.

Thus it came about that these monasteries received many who sought, within their fortified walls, peace and seclusion; where besides the spiritual comfort afforded by the services of the Great Church, they could give themselves to scholastic pursuits, hymn-writing, and painting. Many of the most beautiful prayers composed for the services of the Greek Church were written by monks.

The master artists and craftsmen of Christian monasticism in those early days of the faith must have been, one feels, imbued with a deep spirituality which expresses itself in the rich pictorial art and in the rich poetry embodied in the chants of the Church services.

Hidden away in remote mountain districts, always in a solitary environment, there was doubtless many an artist who was dead to the secular world under his *kaleyē's* (monk's) black gown.

As he tilled the ground, or pruned his vineyard, many a monk must have chanted the hymns and praise of the Virgin or saints with equal zeal as when at his offices in church, content to live in these romantic spots his life of toil and faith.

For all these monasteries, with their dependent priories, sketes, or

hermitages, and chapels, are incomparably beautiful in position, clinging as they generally do to a steep mountain spur, or perched—towering above the blue sea, enclosed between three mountain sides—almost on the rocks themselves, with their terraced vegetable gardens and vineyards stretching away on all sides around.

There are so many of these lovely old places scattered all over Greece that have mercifully escaped desecration by the Turk.

Life goes on in them much as it did centuries ago; nothing is really changed. Year in, year out, the monks say their offices, keep the fasts, roast the Paschal lamb, and are laid out to rest finally in a corner of the grounds under the tapering cypress-trees.

All through the years of Turkish domination, he continued saying his prayers unmolested, using the same beautiful language of the great Fathers of the Church in those prayers with which were mingled also all the hopes and aspirations of his nationality; hopes which sustained him and kept alive his faith in Providence until the day of dawn should break for the Greek people.

Sometimes it is the pilgrims who bring their wax candles and silver votive offerings to the monastery church, to crave the intercession of Virgin or saint on behalf of their sick ones. Then the austere silence of the cloister is broken by the sound of many voices. And when the *Leitourgia* is finished, the people, most of whom have come from afar on foot, sit in the shady courtyard and partake of their simple fare before starting on their homeward journey. The hospital monks supplement its frugality by generous gifts of wine and fresh fruit, refusing payment for them in truly monkish style.

In days gone by and when the Greek people were planning the great rising of 1821, their leaders who were members of the "Philike Etairia," or "Society of Friends," used to hold secret meetings at the monasteries, which, owing to their secluded position, were considered safe for this purpose. There is a tradition, for instance, connected with the Monastery of St. Michael and All Saints at Lagora in Thessaly, which has been handed down to the writer from her family, that the patriot bard Rigas Pheraies and his little band of Thessalian patriots—including her great-grandfather—first discussed there the possibility of the "Risorgimento of Greece."

Subsequently, many of the monks abandoned the cloistered safety of the monastery and won the crown of martyrdom in the great struggle for independence which swept over the entire country.

Although from most monasteries women are absolutely excluded, yet in some cases they are often hospitably received and entertained, as it was in our case, when we visited the Monastery of Hosies Leukas in Bœotia.

The journey from Delphi was one through magnificent scenery, over

ground where the memory of Œdipus rose vividly before one at the meeting of the three roads—from Aulis, Thebes and Delphi, the scene of the legendary murder of Laius by Œdipus—past primitive inns where peasants forgathered and partook of Homeric fare in an atmosphere absolutely classic in its setting.

After journeying for nearly all day, night overcame us on the plains; but after ascending a steep bridle path for half an hour, and spending some twenty minutes in passing some precipitous slopes, at the head of the valley to the right we spied the welcome lights of the monastery, twinkling through the dark, and heard the deep baying of the watchdogs as we approached and knocked at the gates for admittance.

In the pitch darkness of the night we could only discern the black shadow of a monk unbarring a side-gate. After a whispered confabulation with the muleteer, he admitted us into a vast paved courtyard crossed with great arches, and through these conducted us to the place set aside for visitors.

The monks of Hesios Leukas are proverbial for their hospitality to all who visit the monastery, and they showed it to us gladly enough, in spite of the fact that they had been aroused from their sleep.

They began by giving us food to eat and brandy to warm us, seeing how perished with cold we were. An enormous copper brazier with wood-ashes was brought into the room. Father Nicodemus, a black-bearded, jolly-looking monk, hovered around us while we were partaking of our meal and seemed to anticipate every wish of ours. Indeed, the good monks could not do enough for us, a novice, a lad of sixteen, bringing us hot water *ad libitum*.

The loud clanging of the bell for morning service woke us, and Father Joseph, a young and handsome monk with a fair beard and soft brown eyes, came to conduct us to the Church of "Hesios Leukas" and act as our cicerone.

He also brought us the Abbot's greetings of welcome, who was confined to his room with an attack of rheumatism, and could not come in person.

After pagan Delphi, we found ourselves in a decidedly medieval atmosphere; for, on going out into the great courtyard through which we passed the night before, with its massive Byzantine arches, we discovered we were in a fortified enclosure of high walls and strong gateways.

In the centre stands the ancient church, while all round it are build the refectories, cells, and other monastic buildings. The whole looks like a tiny city clinging to one side of the hill 1,800 feet high; it overlooks the deep valley below, the ground sloping away in a succession of terraces, and commands a marvellous view of Mount Helicon and the surrounding country.

There are forty monks and thirty novices at the monastery. We occasionally caught glimpses of these solemn black-bearded figures as they walked alone under the arched galleries of stone that run along the south buildings, reached by greystoned steps worn by centuries of use.

In the dim light and coldly austere atmosphere of this old church, built in the tenth century (and once so richly decorated with marbles) after the plan of St. Sophia at Constantinople, with its precious stones, silver and gold ornaments, one feels that sense of desolation and melancholy that the sight of great age coupled with decay never fails to arouse. How ancient it is, withal how sad, with the weight of its memories clinging to it, a thing of the past, yet still living on!

The pale and ascetic countenances of the saints and Apostles that surround the Christ in the central dome—many of them, alas! sadly defaced by the infidel Turk—look down upon us solemnly, oblivious of time and its ravages.

The blues and reds, purples and dull golds of the figures in the mosaics still glow in a harmonious symphony of colour on the dark walls of transept, nave, and narthex.

The rainbow-like arches throw out their soft lines in gentle curves, crossing and intercrossing all of them, illumined with multi-coloured tracings of the Byzantine artist.

Conspicuous also are fragments of the marble rood screen wrought in exquisite design and workmanship; the cross rising from among foliage that entwines itself about its base, and the vine throwing out its tendrils in curling wreaths. But the church has lost many of its treasures, having suffered much from pillaging and looting in the days when the Crusaders swept over the land.

Beneath the chancel, in the vaulted crypt, we saw the original tomb of the Blessed Luke. He was a saintly man, lived in a cell at the village of Stiris, and died in the year A.D. 946. Before his death he prophesied that his native country Crete (his parents having fled from that island on the occasion of its invasion by the Saracens and settled in Phœcis) should be delivered by an emperor named Romanus. When, therefore, in 961 Crete was reunited to the Empire under Romanus II., that emperor built this monastery in acknowledgment and dedicated it to the prophet Luke, whose remains were transferred to the church and buried in a sumptuous tomb. Quite near, at the entrance to the choir, there are the tombs of the Emperor Romanus and his wife. Altogether this ancient church gave one the impression of a huge cave hollowed out into the shape of a cross.¹ We were in there at Vespers, and the effect of the many black-figured monks

¹ The more ancient church of the two, where are the tombs of St. Luke and the Emperor and Empress, is beneath the one described above.

who chanted the psalms and hymns to the Virgin, sitting or standing in the dim recesses, was weird and impressive; they looked like sad spirits imprisoned in the bowels of the earth. The monk who chanted the "Trepation" of the day had a singularly fine voice, and at times the notes of exultation which crept into his voice were extraordinarily beautiful. It was Friday in Lent, one of the Fridays on which all the hymns of praise to the Theotokes are intoned together and are most of them full of exquisite poetry. After which we were taken by our guide, Father Joseph, into every nook and cranny, not omitting a dark underground cave, its walls dripping with moisture, to show us the four granite columns which support the two churches.

He took us over the monastery grounds, where we picked sweet-smelling flowers, while he told me of the life they led in the monastery. And one realized how little life had changed for these simple people since the foundation perhaps of this order of things. The great Lenten fast was on, which permitted of no eating of meat, milk, eggs or cheese, by the monks, according to the rules of the Greek Church. "On Easter Sunday," he said, "we shall eat lamb, the only day in the year that we eat meat, it being the greatest festival of the Church." Indeed, there are many laymen who, being strictly Orthodox, never touch animal flesh except on Easter Sunday.

He told us that the novices work in the vineyards and gardens when they are not occupied by ecclesiastical duties.

The monks, he said, no longer do manual work, but confine themselves to their offices or painting eikons or making rosaries.

He insisted upon our partaking of refreshments in his cell, and in an adjoining cell we saw an old monk a hundred years old, who knitted stockings in his spare moments. I saw him sitting by the fireplace thus cheerily occupied, and he did not certainly look his age. He came into our room where we were taking tea, and sat and talked to me about the monastery and religion. I offered him a cup of tea with plenty of sugar, which greatly pleased him. He appeared keenly interested in hearing about the Anglican Church, to which I told him my companion belonged, and did not seem to regard the latter as a trespasser into the holy precincts of the monastery.

Father Joseph showed us some wonderful old books, veritable treasures, contained in the library of the monastery, relative to its history, which were of great interest to us to see.

On the morrow we departed, after spending another night beneath its hospitable roof, charmed with the kindness and courtesy of the monks, who, moreover, refused any kind of payment for all they had done for us.

Thus ended a most delightful and very pleasant trip in pagan and Christian Greece.

THE CHRISTIAN FAR EAST

WHAT THE HOLY ORTHODOX CHURCH HAS DONE FOR IT

BY THE REV. J. INGRAM BRYAN, M.A., B.D., PH.D.

THAT there is a Christian Far East, as well as a Christian East, at this time needs no elaboration; and it is with that aspect of the Church's work that this article aims to deal. Nor will this Review be extending its scope beyond its title in welcoming to its pages some discussion of what the Holy Orthodox Church has been, and is, to Japan.

We are accustomed to say that Christianity was born in the East; for our Lord was an Oriental as well as the universal man and the incarnate God. But not so many, even among scholars, are aware that it was first through Greek Christianity that the Church most influenced the Far East. Not Christianized the Far East, be it remembered, for that section of the world, representing as it does the majority of mankind, is not yet Christian; but it has been influenced by Christianity nevertheless, though space does not here afford opportunity to traverse this aspect of the question. Let it be sufficient to say that the influence of Greek Christianity penetrated into India, even independently of St. Thomas, and exercised a distinct influence over Buddhism, which carried certain marks of Christianity with it even into China and Japan. True, it was an influence seen more perhaps in sculpture and ritual than in doctrine and moral and spiritual force, but it was an influence of no small significance, none the less. And when the Russian Orthodox Church took up its work in Japan, it came into a field where its ideas and modes took first root.

One is apt to overlook the fact that the Slav, after all, is more of an Oriental than a European. In love of eye effect and restrained emotion, if not in civilization, Russian psychology appeals powerfully to the East; and the signal success that has attended the labours of the Russian Orthodox Church in Japan would in itself be sufficient ground for raising the question whether its impressive Christian ceremonial might not prove the most effective way of presenting a worshipping Christianity to an æsthetic people like the Japanese. It would indeed be difficult for anyone familiar with the circumstances to take exception to the statement that the Holy Orthodox Church has been the most successful of all the Christian Missions in Japan. No other Church or denomination in the Far East can show the same results for the same expenditure of time, money, and force of personnel. For the Greek Church in Japan, after a labour of forty-five years, has 36,265 com-

municants, the fruit of the efforts of but one foreign missionary, and he the Bishop of the Church, working through an active native ministry. Perhaps not since the days of the Apostles can one man show a finer example of Christian evangelization among a highly intelligent people than is revealed in the life and work of the late Archbishop Nicolai of the Russian Mission in Japan.

Archbishop Nicolai arrived in Japan somewhere about the year 1860; for a time he was an official in the Russian consulate in the bleak northland of Hokkaido—at Sapporo or Hakodate, I think it was; but he soon determined that it was his call to preach Christ among the Japanese, as he had then acquired a working knowledge of the language. It was clear from the beginning of his labours that he might expect better results by first planting the Church in the capital of Japan; and so he removed there in 1872 at the age of twenty-four, and began that wonderful work that he never laid down for forty-five years, and then only to receive the Crown of Life. It will be freely admitted by anyone familiar with the circumstances that the marvellous growth of the Church during that time was due, under God, to the indefatigable zeal and unstinted devotion of the Bishop. His only foreign worker was the priest that in later years he brought out to train for the apostolic succession, and who is now Bishop of the Holy Orthodox Church in Japan.

The late Archbishop Nicolai was a man much beloved of all classes, foreigners and Japanese alike. He was always on the most cordial and Christian terms with our S.P.G. Mission in Japan, and with such men as the late Archdeacon Armine King the late Archbishop was on the most intimate terms. The dignified and patriarchal figure of the venerable Archbishop was seen at our church services in Tokyo on great and important occasions. Nor were we less anxious to be present at great festivals in the Russian Cathedral. So beloved was the Archbishop by the entire nation of Japan that, during the Russo-Japanese War, when all other Russians had to depart, he was allowed—yes, requested—to remain; and no suspicion of anything but Christian sentiments ever crossed the Japanese mind concerning him during the trying days of the war. This may have been to some extent due to the fact that all the clergy of the Church were Japanese; but it was mainly owing to the character of the great Archbishop.

The big Russian Cathedral surmounting Suruga Hill in Tokyo, and dominating the landscape for miles around, is a worthy monument to the energy and faith of its builder, and especially of his conviction that those grand services there held so frequently must do much toward showing the beauty and power of dignified Christian ceremonial. The large congregations that assemble in the Cathedral Sunday after Sunday and holy day after holy day the year round hear the services

rendered in a vocal music that is both impressive and inspiring, no instrument being used. Nor are there any seats: the congregation simply stand or kneel. All races and creeds go betimes to hear the services at the Russian Cathedral.

The present statistics of the Russian Church in Japan are as follows: Russian clergy 1, being the Bishop; native priests, 48; native workers, 163; annual baptism, 961 (more than the whole Church of England in Japan); total communicants, 36,265; church buildings, 217; children in Sunday Schools, 1,971; Japanese annual contributions to the work, 11,877 yen; Russian contributions, 3,930 yen. Of course the Holy Orthodox Mission in Japan has been undergoing great economic hardship during the years of the revolution in Russia, and especially since the Bolshevik ascendancy. The Imperial Family of Russia were staunch supporters of the late Archbishop. The work now depends for financial help almost wholly on Japanese sympathy and the generosity of the native Christians themselves. The present is indeed a time of testing, and an ordeal in which the Mission might well enlist the economic sympathy of people in England. The untiring devotion and constant self-sacrifice of its priests, from the Bishop down, set an example which the whole Church is not slow to follow in a truly apostolic fashion.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH

CHAPTER I.—THE HEATHEN SERBS

ASIA is the original home of the Serbian people, who are mentioned by historians in very early times under such various names as Weneda, Wineda, Wenda, Winda, Weleta, Weneta, Wana, Sarmata, and Skita, Tribala-Srba, Spora, Soraba, Sorba, Srba, Chuna, Tračana, Anta, and Ilira. Lastly, a Greek historian named Jornandes, in the sixth century A.D., calls them Sloveni. As the various tribes spread over the lands which they had subdued, circumstances led them to adopt new names. The Russians, Poles, and Bohemians took the names of their ancestors; others, such as the Croats, Moravians, and the Serbs of Lausitz (the Wendts), were called after the countries in which they had settled; others, again, came to bear the names of the peoples by whom they were conquered. Such was the case with the Bulgarians.¹ The Serbian people alone kept the old name of "Srbi."

¹ The Bulgarians are generally considered to be originally of Finnish stock. But they intermarried with the Slavs whom they conquered, and adopted their language and religion. They retained, however, their non-Slav name. It is a mistake to regard the Bulgarians as a pure Slav race. [Trans.]

The name Sloveni is used at the present day as a general designation for all the Slav races. Beyond this all historians of importance are agreed in thinking that the name "Srb" is older than that of Sloveni, which is not found before the sixth century. Some writers have thus been led to maintain that the ancestors of all the Slav races sprang from the Serbs, that their oldest name was not "Sloveni" but "Srbi," and further that all the Slav races spoke Serb. General history places the Serbs amongst the Aryan races, and includes them in the Indo-European family. When the great migration of the peoples took place, the Serbs settled for the first time in North-East Europe, in the district between the Baltic Sea and the Sea of Azov.

From thence they spread farther westwards and inhabited the countries round the rivers Volga, Don, Dnieper, and Dniester. Crossing the latter, they became masters of the Carpathians and settled along the Oder and the Weichsel. Their progress was checked for the first time in the countries now comprised in the German Empire. When the Germans conquered their present country they drove a portion of the Serbs farther southwards into the Balkans, but the rest they subdued, and gave them the name of "Slaves." The Serbs so conquered became Germanized. Only the Serbian names of some rivers, villages, and towns have been preserved—with very trifling changes for the most part—to the present day. In the German language, too, there are still many words of Serbian origin. The Serbs immigrated to the Balkans at different periods from three directions—from the north, south, and east. Isolated Serb families had arrived even before the Christian era. Later on they peopled the country surrounding the Gulf of Salonica in great numbers. There they founded their State, to which they gave the name of Salonican Serbia, with Serbiza for its capital city. From the north several Serbian families had entered the Balkans even in the first century, but from 105 A.D. onwards their settlements became much more numerous. During the reign of Constantine the Great, 300,000 Serbs crossed the Danube at one time alone by Trajan's Bridge. Later on they occupied the western lands of Pannonia, Liburnia, Istria, and Dalmatia. From the east many Serbs, allied with the Huns, entered the Balkans under the leadership of Attila in order to assist the latter in attacking the Byzantine Empire. But when the Serbian soldiers, who had come over with the Huns, recognized their brethren in the Byzantine camp, they refused to fight against them. So Attila was compelled to withdraw from the Balkans, while all his Serbian warriors remained with their own people. The last immigration of the Serbs into the Balkan peninsula took place in the reign of Justinian I. (sixth century A.D.). This Emperor had much to suffer from the Avars in the west and the Persians in the east. In order to protect himself against his foes he

allowed many brave Serbs to settle in his empire, and those who came over—to the number of about 100,000—occupied Lower Moesia and Thracia. The Serbs in the Balkan peninsula multiplied so quickly that shortly after the time of Justinian many Serbian principalities had arisen. Thus, Lower Serbia comprised:

(1) Peloponnesian Serbia, which included two Serbian tribes, the Jezjerzi and the Milinzi.

(2) Welogezitia (Salonican Serbia).

(3) Sagudatia, on the right bank of the Vardar.

(4) Dragovitia, between the Vardar and the Nests.

(5) Wajunitia or Bojka, on the left bank of the Vardar.

(6) Runchinia, between the Lake Beschike and the River Struma.

(7) Smoljena, bordering on Macedonia and Thrace, and

(8) Strumia, with the capital cities Struma and Pernik.

All these principalities had their own rulers, and were governed according to their national customs for more than two hundred years. In the eighth and ninth centuries they changed very much in outward form, several larger States being formed, or rather growing out of them. These became eventually the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire, the Serbian Kingdom, and the new Bulgarian State. From the eighth century onwards, historians, when mentioning the power and might of the Serbs, speak of them as an independent people of Slavonic race. This portion of the Slav race has maintained itself in the Balkan peninsula from that day to this, under its old name of "Srbi." Although forming but a little State, it has had a glorious past, which gives hopes for a still grander future. The Serbian people were always brave and manly. Their arms were bow, spear, and shield. Owing to their courage, their able-bodied men were always eagerly incorporated by foreign rulers in their armies. Fishing and trade were also carried on by them vigorously, and these occupations brought them into the neighbourhood of sea and river. After they had become settled, cattle-breeding and agriculture also flourished amongst them. Of tools, they were acquainted with axe, hatchet, etc., though these were of rough workmanship at first. They were indeed as a people both honourable and industrious, but were most of all distinguished by their family and communal life, which they preserved with great care. Thus it might well happen that a family numbering from fifty to a hundred would live contentedly under one roof round which various other buildings grouped themselves. The religion of the Serbs before their conversion to Christianity was an anthropomorphic polytheism. They revered the various powers of nature as gods. Their principal divinity was the so-called Perma, who sent down lightning and thunder from heaven. Next to him they honoured the sun-god, "Sunze Dajbog," whom they regarded as the source of all earthly prosperity. The lesser gods of

the Serbs were "Oblazi," the mist god, "Mora," the ocean or sea god, "Jezera," the lake god, "Reke," the river god, and lastly, "Watra," the fire god. Every family had their own family gods. The Serbs were always a very pious people. They brought sacrifices to their gods of living animals and of fruits of the field. The head of the house sacrificed for the whole family, just as in the case of a sacrifice common to the whole tribe. Superstitious beliefs were widespread.

The Serbs had their male and female soothsayers to whom they turned in case of need to learn the future. A dim idea of an overruling, omnipotent God lay dormant within them, which made it easier for them to accept the doctrines of Christianity, and to receive baptism from the apostles of the new faith.

(To be continued.)

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF INDIA

THOSE who are accustomed to think that India is an entirely Hindu and Moslem country, and that the trifle of the Christian people she has are solely the result of European missionary work, will perhaps be surprised to know that from the very beginning of the Christian era there have been in Southern India a Church and a Christian people existing. If one goes from the West into the midst of these simple, contented, and till recently stagnant people, one would be able to perceive very familiar circumstances. Perhaps he would be a little astonished with the people's religious zest. Before the cock crows he may be awakened by the utterance of biblical verses in the streets by fanatics. In the evenings from behind the small kerosene or cocoanut-oil lamps he may hear melodious hymns, followed by the family invocations and the Lord's Prayer, fervently uttered. He will enjoy the familiar church bells, the imposing street crosses, the enthusiasm of the revival meetings, and the morning tramps of the Sunday-school children.

Once a year, as one of the great rivers of Travancore in South India dries up sufficiently, on a spacious and beautiful river-bed these people for a week assemble in a great convention. Many travellers who have attended it testify to the spiritual usefulness and the unique beauty of this assembly of 40,000 people.

The country Malabar where these people, who are known as the Syrian Christians of India, have lived for all these centuries is a most beautiful one. It has a wide expanse of backwaters, into which many deep and beautiful rivers flow. These are surrounded by banks covered with perpetual tropical greens and abundant and tall cocoanut trees. The country, besides having a long and continuous mountain

range, is pleasantly sprinkled with hills and rocks, now small, now imposingly high, and all the year round is crammed with vegetation. The roads are comfortably shady and are often thickly covered with avenues of banyan and mango trees, and as one goes by the abundant fruits of the season delightfully fall—here, there, and about. Birds, which are plentiful in the country, sing sweetly from the copses continually. Malabar has a fertile soil, too, which yields sometimes as many as three yearly crops; and a very steady rainfall, thanks to the mountain ranges, always keeps the wolf from the door of even the poor—unlike most of the other parts of India.

Living as they did in such a place, the Syrians were always in more or less comfortable circumstances. It is the pride of India that there was religious toleration in the country from very early times, and the fact that the Syrians were always treated with respect by the Hindu people and princes contributes to the strengthening of this opinion. The Syrian Christians always occupied a respectable position socially, and they even enjoyed regal powers in ancient times, and the last of their princes was one named Beliarte. They are converts exclusively from the high-caste Hindus, and they have their legitimate share in having trampled viciously upon the "untouchables" and in observing, until lately, a sort of rigid caste system. Hinduism influenced the Syrian Christians greatly, and they took part in certain ceremonies in the Hindu temples, and the Hindus used to go on pilgrimages to the Syrian churches.

As to the date of the origin of the Syrian Church and its founder, foreign scholars disagree, but there is not the vestige of a doubt about it in the heart of any Syrian. With the same zest with which they believe that Christ is the Son of God or that Virgin Mary was His temporal mother, they believe and assert that their Church was founded by St. Thomas, the Apostle of Christ. He is believed to have founded seven Churches in Southern India, which are said to exist to this day. He was finally assassinated, and lies buried in St. Thomas Mount at Mylapore, near Madras.

There are numerous popular traditions which help to feed the beliefs of the people. There are a hundred beautiful songs which all old men and women know, and which are handed down by fathers to sons from forgotten times. There are numerous stories which every Syrian mother teaches her children. They speak of how St. Thomas came into India; how, as he was travelling in a cabin boat, he saw a number of Brahmins bathing and worshipping the sun; how he challenged them to perform a miracle in the name of the god they worshipped, and how they failed, whereupon he performed the miracle himself and converted the Brahmins there into Christianity; and these, it seems, formed the nucleus of the Syrians. But more reliable evidence than tradition

would have been available except for the Portuguese Roman Catholics, who came into the country in the sixteenth century and, in a frenzy to convert the Syrians to Roman Catholicism, are said to have destroyed the evidence that connected the Church with the Apostle St. Thomas.

But before we trace the history and influence of the Roman Catholics on the Syrians, let us note what was happening among the St. Thomas Christians before them. In the latter part of the third century some traders pushed their way from Antioch, Babylon, and such places into India, and were thoroughly surprised to find a Christian people there in the south of India. The Christians of India naturally rejoiced to find the foreign traders who believed in the one God with them and in Christ. Representations were made to these traders that the St. Thomas Christians should have some priests and bishops sent to them from Antioch or Babylon. The travellers faithfully took the message back with them when they returned, and early in the next century a colony of Syrians, under the leadership of Thomas Cana, arrived. These freely intermarried with the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, and the priests among them introduced Syriac into the liturgy of the Church, which language the major portion of the St. Thomas Christians use in their churches to this day. It is on account of these reasons that the Syrians got their rather outlandish name.

From the fourth century onward an intermittent connection was maintained between the Eastern Church and the Indian Syrian Church, and bishops were requisitioned at intervals by the latter indiscriminately from the Nestorian and the Jacobite Churches. In this connection it will, of course, be remembered that nearly from the fifth to the fifteenth century the Jacobite sect dwelt in the middle of the Nestorians in Central Asia. In A.D. 696 a Jacobite bishop is believed to have arrived in Malabar. And it may be of historical interest to note that, during the reign of Alfred the Great, the Bishop of Sherborne visited the shrine of St. Thomas in India about A.D. 883, and that reference is made by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, to the prevalence of Nestorianism among the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.

After this there is a deeply regrettable historical gap reaching out to the sixteenth century. In 1502, or close on that, Vasco da Gama arrived in India with a number of Portuguese for trading with the country, and they, in their turn, were surprised to find the Syrians and about a hundred churches in Malabar. The Syrians once again welcomed the Christian foreigners, and the throne of the Syrian King, which fell vacant at this time for want of an issue in the royal family, is said to have been handed over to Vasco da Gama. The Portuguese, by virtue of their trade, gradually acquired great influence with the

Hindu princes also, and they utilized their political power and influence to convert the Syrians into Roman Catholicism. Those Syrians whom they found impossible to convert by fair means they intensely persecuted. They seized and made a prisoner of the Syrian Bishop Mar Joseph. They convened what is known as the Synod of Diamper, at which about 150 of the Syrian clergy were forced to attend. These were accused of crimes, such as marriage, of not invoking saints, of not worshipping images, and of disbelief in purgatory. On peril of suspension from Church benefices they were asked to abjure these tenets. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects should be burned, "in order that no pretended apostolical monument may remain." A section of the Church yielded and accepted the supremacy of the Pope, on condition that they were allowed to continue to pray in Syriac. The Pope graciously compromising on this point, a large portion of Syrians became Roman Catholics. These are known as the Syro-Romans.

But a small section refused to yield. They proclaimed war on the Synod of Diamper. They hid such of the books as they had and fled to the mountains. Some sought the protection of the neighbouring Hindu princes.

KARIMPANKAL V. THOMAS.

(To be continued.)

AFFAIRS IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA

By FATHER WAGGETT, S.S.J.E.

THE Orthodox Church in Palestine might well call for the special prayers of English Christians at this time, in virtue of the new relation between our country and the Holy Land, and because of the special needs of the Church.

The work of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre—one work—was maintained throughout the war with the least possible variation, and with the addition of special efforts for suffering classes. The suspension of some activities enabled the Church to place great buildings in and near Jerusalem at the disposal of the authorities for the shelter of refugees.

Worship was never interrupted, nor the care of the Holy Places.

Since the Armistice, and, indeed, since the Allied occupation of Jerusalem, the work has rapidly resumed its old channels. The learned work of the community has not ceased any more than its holy work of incessant prayer, and has made its manifestation during the past year by the renewed publication of the journal NEA CION under the direction of the Archimandrite Timotheos Themeles.

The rulers of the Church have always been in happy relations with the authorities of the Allied Army and the Administration; and, indeed, the Orthodox as a body have been a force on the side of contentment and progress. It need scarcely be added that the attitude of His Beatitude the Patriarch towards the English Church is cordial and friendly.

But the material resources of the Church are enormously reduced by the cessation of pilgrimage, and by the interruption of communication between the Patriarchate-Brotherhood and its European properties. At the same time, the cost of living has vastly increased, and Palestine, from being one of the cheapest, has become one of the dear countries of the world. The late, strictly military, Administration was most zealous in remedying scarcity and keeping food accessible and prices as low as possible under the difficulties inseparable from a state of war just ceasing and the world-wide competition for supplies which began as soon as the seas became free. It may be that the new, quasi-civil Administration has been able to do more in this direction.

The essential interests of the Patriarchate, as of all other religious institutions in Palestine, have been undisturbed either by war or by occupation.

But the severe pressure of poverty upon the Great Church should be borne in mind in the hope of action at some more fitting time. Not only the institutions of the Holy City, of Bethlehem and Jordan, of Nazareth and Capernaum, are the care of the Patriarch, but every parish, mission, school, and orphanage from Ptolemais to Es Salt, and from Es Salt to Gaza, must be budgeted for by His Beatitude. A financial revolution as we learn in England, even if it is soon to be successfully accomplished and a new stability attained, presents a stage of extreme difficulty and much suffering.

Turning from the churches directly controlled in all respects by the Patriarchate to the Russian Orthodox establishment, a different account must be given. Here there has been serious interruption of life and work. The Russian churches and convents in Jerusalem and in the country were closed during the war and during the first part of the occupation, on account of the absence of priests and of most part of the faithful. The Russians who remained, left high and dry by the disappearance of "Russia" during the war, were and are very poor. They were, in fact, destitute. A band of women was employed in the administration buildings. Others received relief. The churches, as I said, were closed and sealed.

A small body of Russian ecclesiastics has now for some time been established in Jerusalem by the beneficent action of the Administration and of His Excellency the Spanish Consul. The principal Russian church—commonly called the cathedral—in the great Russian com-

pound north of the city, has been for more than a year reopened for regular services, and the conventual establishments on the Mount of Olives and at Ain Karim are restored to something of their normal state. The Church of St. Mary Magdalene, so conspicuous with its golden domes and pinnacles, in a part of the Garden of Gethsemane, was until lately still closed, but was within these last days the scene of the solemn and pathetic obsequies of the Archduchess Elizabeth, a Princess known in all the Churches for her good works, and, during her life, the president, I think, of the "Imperial Society of the Palestines." Of the other Russian works, in Nazareth, in Hebron, and elsewhere, I can give no particular account. The survival, so far, of this suffering community is very wonderful. The Russians in Jerusalem are, let it be repeated, very poor; and this national part of the Holy Orthodox Church calls, like the Great Patriarchate, but in still deeper need, for the prayers of the faithful in England.

Of the Orthodox Church in Syria—that is, principally of the Patriarchate of Antioch seated in Damascus—I have no very recent knowledge based on personal intercourse. I was last in Damascus in the winter of 1918. But I know that this Church also maintains unflaggingly all its good work and works; that it is in great indigence, both for other reasons and, especially, because of the state of Russia; and that its interests, which are of unmeasured importance, not only to Syria, but to the Farther East also, as well as its renown as the first see of St. Peter and anciently the sole Patriarchate, should incite us all to specially urgent prayer at this time.

Of the political anxieties which, as all the world knows, hang over the countries of the fallen Turkish Empire, and concern so especially the most ancient persistent elements in those countries—namely, the Christian Churches—this is not the place to write.

The time is a bad one for a special effort with regard to the financial needs of the Great Church in Palestine. Any persons wishing to send alms, though in a small way, to the Church of Antioch might, I think, correspond with His Excellency Haddad Pasha, who is at present in London. He is a cousin of His Beatitude Gregorios, Patriarch of Antioch, and would, I think, be willing to transmit any gifts to Damascus in a convenient way. Such gifts, even though they were small in relation to the work and needs of the Church, would convey a sensible encouragement to His Beatitude, and the simple arrangements of life in Damascus make each shilling immediately useful in the orphanages of the Patriarchate.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH UNDER BOLSHEVIK PERSECUTION

THE night is darkest before the dawn. In Russia there are many signs of the coming of a great new day. Thus in Petrograd, as Mr. Zvegintzov recently wrote in the *Church Times*, there have sprung up many brotherhoods, which, headed by the priests, are facing the times with no reactionary aims but with the outlook of the Orthodox heart. Here is a description which he gives of a debate held by one such brotherhood in its parish church: "All persons recently escaped from Soviet Russia bear testimony to the strong religious movement with a peculiar character of its own which has developed in Moscow and Petrograd during the last year. Its leaders are mostly young parish priests and members of the intelligentsia. The new type of priest differs essentially from the old. He is a strong adherent to the idea of an independent Church, and holds himself aloof from all politics in the sense of mixing in political plots and organizations. At the same time, he is a staunch Democrat, and in most cases opposed to the Soviet Government. He frequently speaks openly against the abuses of the existing régime, and the Bolsheviks are obliged to tolerate such speeches. For the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Church has ended in the definite and obvious victory of the latter. The Bolsheviks no longer dare attack religion. More than that, verified facts prove that ever-increasing numbers of Communists observe religious rites, such as getting married in church, having their children baptized, and receiving Holy Communion on their death-bed. At the demand of Red Army men a religious service was held at the opening of a military hospital. The strong anti-religious current of two years ago has almost entirely disappeared. The Orthodox Church has conquered in her bloodless struggle against Bolshevism, and emerged purified by her trial. She has become more Christian and more truly a Church."

"A great number of Christian brotherhoods have of late sprung up in Petrograd. They are established locally, and, including as they do all the religiously inclined persons of the neighbourhood, form a kind of community of the early Christian type, founded on charity and brotherly love, everything being shared in common. They hold frequent prayer-meetings and religious philosophic debates. At their head usually stands the parish priest of the new type. Cases of laymen entering Holy Orders are becoming more and more frequent."

"All these brotherhoods, of which there are about a hundred in Petrograd, are grouped around the Theological Institute—a unique institution, almost the only one existing unsubsidized by the Government, and maybe for that very reason possessing great vitality. Professor N. Lossky, an eminent philosopher and one of the directors of the Institute, testified to the extraordinary zeal of the students. In the bitter cold, with temperature below freezing-point in the lecture-rooms, they never missed their classes, and showed touching solicitude for the professors by bringing them a log of wood or some bread to their flats."

"Religious debates are taking place more and more frequently in the churches after service, especially in labour districts. One such debate has been described by an eyewitness—a man completely alien to religion and the Church—who confessed that it had left an indelible impression on his mind:

"The small church, dimly lit by smoky strips of wood (wax candles being no longer obtainable), was as crowded as on a church holiday. The people all belonged to the working class, the women with shawls on their heads, the men in working clothes. Men were in the majority. On the raised dais before the altar stood Professor Lossky, small in stature, powerful in speech. He spoke of the Soul of the Universe, of the knowledge of the Deity, his philosophic intuition closely interwoven with the doctrine of the Orthodox religion. He spoke clearly and simply. After he had finished there was a long silence. Then a Communist—a young man of about twenty, the president of the local union of Communist youths—rose up and began to speak vehemently, attacking God and the Church. And suddenly, as if at a given signal, the whole congregation began to sing a hymn. A group of young people—a small one—in their turn started the *Internationale*. And for a long while the two chants—the prayer and the *Internationale*—were blended together until the *Internationale* was drowned by the mighty swell of the hymn. After that Lossky spoke again, and when he had finished the whole crowd fell on their knees and prayed long and fervently. . . . And the majority of that crowd were working men. . . . To me it was a strange and uncanny sight. . . ."

One of the most disquieting phenomena of the day is the loss, almost entire, of the sense of the solidarity of Christendom. The apathy of the Western Churches, including ourselves, concerning the awful fate of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire is paralleled only by the incomprehensible indifference to the sufferings of the Church in Russia at the hands of what the Labour Union in America calls the "bestial tyranny" of the Bolshevik régime. General Aladin, of Wrangel's army, recently told a public meeting that the movement in the Russian Church toward the Anglican had received a severe check by the refusal, immoral and unchristian as it seemed to them, of the leaders and the body of the English Church to announce boldly and uncompromisingly that she stood with her sister Church in denouncing the antichristian persecution of religion and civilization.

The Russian Church has now joined her sister Churches of the south in the proud title of Martyr for the Faith, and we in the West can at the least acknowledge our debt of admiration and gratitude for her faithfulness. Accounts that come through in spite of censorship all agree in the fact that never have the churches been more thronged with suppliants, never have the priests had a greater spiritual influence. One of the great signs of the times is the remarkable return in the "intellectual" class to the faith of the Church, and the reception by several eminent men of Holy Orders.

To give Anglican readers an idea of the monstrous persecution through which the noble Russian Church is passing we print this extract from *Izvestia*, the Moscow Bolshevik organ, dated January 23, 1921:

On January 27 the case of the Archangel Clergy and Laity Union will be tried by the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal (18, Bolshaia Lubianka), with Smirnov as presiding judge, and Steinberg as public prosecutor. The accused are prominent members of the Archangel clergy, headed by Bishop Platon and Protopresbyters Tchekhan, Popov, Fedosikhin, Meletiev, Legatov, Nechayev, Soloviev, and various organizations of the counter-revolutionary Union of Clergy and the Laity, and are accused of actively assisting the blockade of North Russia by the Entente Powers, of having made pogrom speeches against the Soviet authorities, resisting the Red Army, spreading provocative literature, of entering into communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury with the object of persuading the British to continue the blockade of the northern coast, etc. Besides that, the priests above mentioned are likewise accused of spreading false reports concerning a pretended vision of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus, and of distributing literature in connection with this, trying by such means to persuade the superstitious ignorant masses to struggle against the Soviet authorities.

The trial will occupy several days. Admission free.

Later issues of *Izvestia* report that, in pursuance of the above, from January 28 and 31 the Archangel clergy and others were brought before the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal.

Bishop Paul, protopresbyters Tchekhan, Popov, Legatov, and Meletiev, the priest Popov, late secretary Sokolov, and former merchant Shaposhnikov, were accused of founding in Archangel an organization called "The Archangel Union of Clergy and Laity," nominally for safeguarding the interests of the Orthodox Church, but in reality for the active support of the blockade of Northern Russia by the Entente, which organization existed from July, 1918, to March, 1920. For this purpose they were said to have made collections in money and kind; in their speeches and appeals to have excited the population against the Soviet Government; to have composed and despatched an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to use his influence to prolong the Allied occupation of Northern Russia; and to have sent out experienced preachers to the anti-Bolshevik front.

The Revolutionary Tribunal pronounced the following sentence: the late Bishop P. Pavlovsky, D. Sokolov, secretary of the Diocesan Council, protopresbyter John Popov, editor of the *Diocesan News*, and protopresbyter V. Tchekhan, were sentenced to the highest grade of punishment (death penalty), but, in accordance with the amnesty of November 20, 1920, the sentence was mitigated to five years' imprisonment, while in the case of Tchekhan, in view of his age and ill-health, imprisonment is substituted by provisional detention. Legatov, Meletiev, Michael Popov, Vladimir Popov, and Shaposhnikov were sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but in accordance with the amnesty the sentence was mitigated to three years' provisional detention.

The Ekaterinodar *Red Star* reports the execution of Bishop Nikanor (R.I.P.) for communicating with the rebel Cossacks of Batalpashinsk.

The Petrograd *Izvestia* of February 16 reports the trial of the former Novgorod Diocesan Council, which took place in Novgorod on February 11. The accused were the Metropolitan Arsenius, Bishop Alexis, protopresbyters Jakovtsevsky, Sokolov, priest Vikhrov, and citizens Finikov and Skorodumov.

They were charged with having violated the decree for the separation of the Church and State. The trial lasted two days. The verdict of the Revolutionary Tribunal was pronounced at midnight, February 12. The sentence being mitigated in accordance with the amnesty, the Metropolitan Arsenius was sentenced to five years' detention, his residence being fixed in Archangel; Bishop Alexis to three years' detention, the citizens Finikov and Skorodumov—accused, moreover, of publishing counter-revolutionary articles in the *Diocesan News*—were sentenced to five years' detention and deprived of the right to occupy responsible posts in Soviet institutions; the protopresbyters Jakovtsevsky and Sokolov to five years' provisional detention; the priest Vikhrov to three years' detention.

Usque tandem, Domine?

Our prayers are with our Russian brethren.

SERBIAN CHURCH NOTES

By D. S. MARIĆ

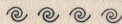
THE Serbian Church at the present time is in a process of consolidation, after two events of very great importance—viz., the solution of the question of the second marriage of priests and the proclamation of the Serbian Patriarchate. As regards the first, which has agitated very much the Serbian Church during these last two years, the Episcopal Council seems to have succeeded in putting an end to some attempts to settle that question in an irregular way. We read in *Vesnik*, the organ of the Orthodox Priests' Association (No. 45, December 25, 1920), that "the Holy Episcopal Council of the Serbian Patriarchate" has decided to undertake the following disciplinary measures in regard to those priests who have contracted marriage a second time: (1) All such priests will be deposed, if they do not dissolve the second marriage; (2) those priests who repent and subjugate themselves to this decree, after a "penance," may be allowed to reassume their former positions, provided the diocesan bishop consents; (3) all those priests who after the issue of this decree contract a second marriage will be immediately deposed; (4) all those priests who performed the rite of marriage in the above-mentioned cases will be punished "according to the existing laws."

As a reply to this, on the part of the priests, there was held on February 2 this year in Belgrade an extraordinary conference of the Priests' Association, in which prevailed a conciliatory attitude towards this decision. The conference decided to renew their former appeal to the Episcopal Council for a favourable settlement of the question.

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As to the New Patriarchate of the Serbian Church, there is proceeding an administrative and judicial organization of the now united bodies of the former anathocephalous Churches of the Serbian race. The Prince Regent has signed a provision which, being accepted by the Patriarchate, concentrates the whole authority of the Patriarchate into the hands of four main

bodies. There is: (1) the Episcopal Council of the Patriarchate, which is not permanent; (2) a permanent Synod of four bishops and the Patriarch; (3) the Great Ecclesiastical Court; and (4) the Great Administrative Council of the Serbian Patriarchate, in which half the members are laymen. All bodies are under the Patriarch's presidency, except the Great Court, in which the members are nominated for the session of every year. The Patriarchal Synod, with the Patriarch as its head, forms the kernel of all this composite organization, and among its four departments, with bishops as the chief of the departments, there is also a department for "foreign affairs." This department has, with other duties, also the duty of receiving and sending all correspondence in regard to the reunion of the Churches.



A further point of interest is that the Episcopal Council of the Serbian Patriarchate has recently decided that there shall no longer be any distinctive ecclesiastical costume to be used outside the church services; and priests in future will wear ordinary lay costume, with, however, some sort of distinctive mark to be decided later on.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

THE disastrous elections in Greece have put a stop to any active reunion work for the time so far as the Greeks are concerned. The election of a permanent Patriarch has been put off until the political situation is stable and the final settlement known for a certainty; and the summoning of a great Council of the Orthodox East—or, at any rate, the Greek part of it—must likewise await the appointment of a successor to St. Chrysostom.

Under these circumstances it has seemed more profitable to pay greater attention for the time being to the Separated Easterns, and the presence of the Patriarch of the Old Syrians [Jacobites] in the city is an exceptional opportunity that could not be missed. He attended matins and the Eucharist in my Church on Christmas Day, the first time His Holiness had witnessed an Anglican service, and afterwards I had a long and careful conversation with him. He insisted that the Athanasian Creed represented the faith of his Church accurately, and if this is really so it would, of course, clear the so-called Jacobites of all suspicion of heresy. If the disturbed state of Asia Minor keeps the Patriarch here long enough, it may be possible for the Archbishop's Committee to submit some test and reach an official understanding in some degree.

I returned the visit at the Eastern Christmas, and only last Sunday was invited to the ordination of a priest. Apparently the Syrian community has grown from three hundred to two thousand, during the war and since, from fear of massacre and general restlessness, and as this increase is likely to be permanent a second priest is needed. It is worth noting that the ceremony was fixed for eleven o'clock—a much later hour than their usual Sunday Eucharist—and was not over until 12.30. Unfortunately, my own services prevented my attending until the latter part, and I missed the actual laying-on-of-hands; but I understand that this was done three times, and before each the Patriarch stood with hands outstretched towards the altar, and then turned and immediately placed them upon the candidate's head. There was also a threefold tonsure, the three locks of hair being carefully wrapped up and put away, and the coif, or skull-cap, was offered before the altar before being placed on the ordinee's head. Afterwards the new priest preached a fluent sermon, and officiated for the rest of the Eucharist. At one point

the "flabella" were shaken over his head, and this was also done at the laying-on-of-hands, when cymbals were also used and a small bell rung.

After the service the Patriarch took his place in the reception-room, but the newly ordained and his attendants still continued chanting in the church; the singing drew nearer, coming slowly up the stairs, and I was told that he was begging permission to enter. At last the door, which had been carefully shut, was flung open, and the procession entered. The Patriarch put incense into the censer, and the ordinee censed the assembled company, afterwards receiving His Holiness's blessing.

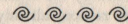
I find that there are also nearly a hundred Nestorians scattered about the city, including one or two priests. Unfortunately, their begging propensities and a tendency to throw themselves upon your charity and renounce all responsibility for themselves [a usual Eastern failing] alienates sympathy.

The town is also overrun with Russian refugees, and I am engaging a colonel of artillery as sexton, and him and his wife as my household servants. But there are also many bad characters amongst them, and the British do not feel very friendly towards them owing to the number of Russian restaurants, dancing saloons, and gambling halls that have been opened, and the prodigal way in which those who had money flung it about on their first arrival. Here, again, the urgent need of the moment is to find shelter, food, clothes, and work, and reunion work must wait for happier times.

R. F. BOROUGH,
Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church.

A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

IT is with a heavy heart that after this number had been put into type, the tragically sudden and lamented death of His Grace the Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Throne constrained us to make many alterations in it. We had written with eager expectation of the happy events to which we were looking forward in connection with his visit. "God worketh not as man hath thought," wrote pagan Euripides, "And what man thinks not, God hath wrought, So hath each tale an ending." A terrible blow has fallen upon our Eastern-Orthodox brethren. We share in its pain. None the less, we know that this common sorrow will prove another bond between us and them.



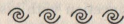
Those who were on the platform at Victoria to welcome the Locum Tenens will never forget the informal but abundant eagerness with which the members of the Greek community present greeted His Grace. Dignified gentlemen in top-hats pressed forward to kiss his hand, little children were held up by their friends to secure his blessing. His Grace, on alighting from his compartment, stood still for a moment, looked round, and then in fervent tones prayed for a blessing on this country, its King, its Archbishop and Church.

Wherever His Grace went his dignified presence, courtly manners, great kindness, and simple goodwill won universal admiration. He was received by the King, entertained at the Athenæum by Mr. Riley to meet a distinguished company, paid visits of ceremony to the Archbishop, visited Fulham, and interviewed Lord Curzon. He had arranged a considerable programme of a like ceremonial character. In view, however, of the terrible

danger threatening his people, and unless or until the objects of his mission be achieved, he had relegated the acceptance of pleasurable, personal engagements to the provisional.

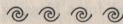
On March 13 he assisted at the Liturgy in St. Sophia, the beautiful Greek church in Bayswater which is built on the pattern of Great St. Sophia, and is adorned with replicas of its hidden mosaics. His doing so was naturally an event of the greatest importance in the history of the Greek community in England. Needless to say, a large congregation of his people assembled to receive (for the first time in the lives of most of them) a patriarchal benediction.

On March 10 he had taken the opportunity of a visit to Lambeth in order to present the Archbishop of Canterbury with the enkolpion,¹ which, as *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* recorded, the Holy Synod of Constantinople voted recently should be offered to His Grace. The enkolpion in question is an oval medallion worn on the heart, on which the stavropegeion, or crowned double-headed eagle, is set in brilliants. A little consideration shows the nature of this peculiarly delicate and gratifying compliment. The stavropegeion has been the peculiar emblem of the Patriarchate since 1453, in virtue of the fact that, during the abeyance of the Imperial office, the Œcumenical Patriarch holds the civil headship of the Eastern Orthodox throughout the Turkish dominions. As such it is, for example, printed on the central tile of those monastic churches which are stavropegiac—i.e., which are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch—and is treated with marks of great veneration, the reader of the lections at Esperinos kissing it, etc. To invest the Archbishop of Canterbury with the stavropegeion is to give him a particular claim to the goodwill of the Eastern Orthodox.



The particular enkolpion presented to him, however, was that which from the time of his first enthronisation in 1878 was worn next his heart by the famous and venerated Joachim III. As such it is more than an heirloom which would naturally be cherished by the Eastern Orthodox.

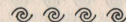
Joachim III. is, not without reason, already regarded as a saint. His stavropegiac enkolpion, therefore, is a relic (*λείψανον*) which would not lightly be given to any individual, and in the ordinary course would be preserved as such relics usually are, being placed in some reliquary or in a holy table or an antimension. Its presentation to the Archbishop of Canterbury may be taken as being a carefully thought out and symbolic expression of the relations between the two Churches.



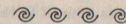
The presentation took place in the following manner: The Archbishop of Canterbury, fully robed and attended by his chaplain bearing the Pastoral

¹ An enkolpion (*ἐγκόλπιον*) is a medallion worn on the breast by bishops and bishops only. A Metropolitan can wear two—i.e., of the Virgin and Child and of the God-Man. In Constantinople none but the Œcumenical Patriarch may wear two.

Cross presented to him by the members of the Lambeth Conference, received the Locum Tenens and two members of the Mixed Council of the Patriarchate (MM. Ioannides and Kara Theodori), together with Father Germanos, the Assistant Secretary of the Holy Synod, and Dr. Gennadios, at the altar steps. The Locum Tenens, vested in mandyas and carrying his staff, speaking in Greek, addressed the Archbishop as "My dear brother in Christ," and said that he was acting in accordance with a decree of the Holy Synod and the Mixed Council of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in asking His Grace to accept the enkolpion as an earnest of the brotherly feeling of the Orthodox Eastern Church towards the Church over which His Grace presides, and that it would serve as a pledge of the fellowship of the two Churches in the service of Our Lord. He then placed the enkolpion on the Archbishop's breast. In reply the Archbishop said: "Your Grace, I need hardly assure you with what deep feeling and recognition of the importance and far-reaching meaning of your act to-day I receive this gift which you, in the name of the Synod, are presenting to me as the occupant of the chief seat in our Church of England. The enkolpion, beautiful in itself, is beautified still more by its sacred symbolism and by the memories of its use by successive Patriarchs, among them one so worthily honoured as your great predecessor, Joachim III., with whom I myself had the honour of being in communication years ago. That the gift which you have presented to me to-day may tend to mark the closer friendship of our two communions and enable us the better to work together for the winning of this world to Christ, for the conquering of what is evil and amiss in Christendom and outside Christendom, and for the deepening of the spiritual life of our peoples, is my earnest prayer, as I thank you with all my heart for the honour, with its far-reaching meaning, which you have paid to our Church to-day." The Archbishop then offered prayer at the altar and gave the blessing. Among those present in the chapel were the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Western New York, Bishop Gore, the Principal of King's College, Professor Jenkins, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, and the Rev. J. A. Douglas.

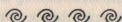


Joachim III., we may notice, was by general consent the greatest of all modern Œcumenical Patriarchs. His tenure of the throne (1878-1884 and 1901-1913, when he died at the age of eighty-two) was marked by many reforms and by the beginning of close relations with the Anglican Churches. The Turks and Abd-ul-Hamid himself, whom he dared to confront and to withstand, held him in unusual respect. His great claim to memory as a statesman, indeed, is that he brought his people without massacre through the reign of the Red Sultan, and that without ceasing to hold and maintain the Greek vision of the redemption of St. Sophia.

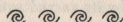


He was fond himself of telling a story of how, when a Metropolitan, he visited the church which he afterwards dreamed, but without realizing his passionate desire, of reconsecrating as Œcumenical Patriarch, he climbed

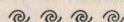
the stairway into the Gynæceum. As he mounted he sang the Lenten psalm—"God is for us," etc. Presently above him he heard the same words chanted. He stopped and waited. The unknowing singer continued and came on down. It was a Turkish *imam*, a Stavriote, one of those Christians who, Moslems in name and seeming, have secretly cherished the Faith since 1453.



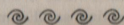
The Director of the Theological College of Halki always holds the titular metropolitan See of Seleukia. The present occupant of that important office, Germanos, who came to London in order to accompany the body of the Locum Tenens to Constantinople, has presided over the College for nine years, and is a man of great power and vigour. Since he is both a staunch friend of the Anglican Churches and in the prime of life, we may confidently look forward to much contact with him in the future. Last year he represented the Eastern-Orthodox Communion at the Geneva World Conference. He is a frequent contributor of interesting and scholarly articles to *Νέος Ποιμήν*, the theological monthly of the college.



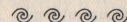
The ex-Œcumenical Patriarch, Germanos V., who died in January last, was reputed to have been strongly pro-German. That he could have been so at heart, we doubt; for the pivot of German policy was to buttress up the Sultan's tyranny, the condition of that tyranny was the repression of the Greek race, and the Turkish method of that repression was outrage and murder. If Germanos V. trimmed his sails to the storm, who can prefer to explain his doing so by his inclination rather than by his fear for his people? If he had showed the least leaning to the cause of the Allies, Talaat and Enver would have got the work they itched to do. Germanos V., who was seventy-four when called to the throne, seems to have been a well-meaning though neither a strong nor consistent man. In happier times he might have filled his office with dignity and sufficiency.



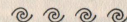
Mar Ignatius Elias III., the Patriarch of the West Syrian Church, who is now in residence in Constantinople, visited Christ Church formally on Christmas Day last. The title Mar Ignatius is assumed by every Patriarch of the "Orthodox Syrians," as those who are wrongly termed Jacobites style themselves on his enthronization, "Mar," of course, being Syriac for Lord. The West Syrians are now reduced, thanks to the deportations and massacres in the war, to about 200,000 people. Half a million East Indians, who are ruled by their own Matran, or Metropolitan, acknowledge him as their Patriarch. It is a very small remnant of a very ancient Church, which, of course, possesses its own Liturgy and other distinctive characteristics. Mar Ignatius Elias III. expresses himself as ready to affirm the Athanasian Creed, and is eager to enter into union with other historic Churches on the basis of autocephalicity and of the fundamental of primitive patristic faith.



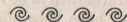
In Constantinople there are a few thousand Italians and Maltese who are Roman Catholic and who worship according to the Latin rite. There is also one small Papalist Church, which belongs to the so-called Uniates (*i.e.*, Papalist Greeks or Slavs who use the Orthodox rite). It is not generally known that last year the Pope caused a "Greek Catholic bishop to be consecrated" for Constantinople, the decision not being explicable by the need of a bishop for so small a flock but by the Vatican's determination to "maintain its rights" and to prevent "Constantinople becoming a monopoly of Orthodoxy." What would Newman have said?



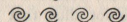
Archbishop Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, who arrived in London in the middle of February but left for New York on March 9 in order to regulate certain matters in the Greek Orthodox American community, intends to take up his residence in London for a time. His Grace was present at the Society of the Faith Eucharist in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on St. David's Day, and, with the diocesan's invitation, preached a very eloquent sermon, appealing to the English Church not to abate its sympathy for the suffering peoples of the East and to sustain the demand for the redemption of St. Sophia—the two objects for which the Holy Sacrifice was offered.



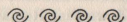
On the evening of the same day His Grace, who had been entertained at luncheon at the National Liberal Club, preached again and with great force on the comity and amity existing between the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches.



Bishop Nicholai Velimirović, who has been translated to the ancient and famous See of Ochrida, visited London in January on his way to America. He expects to be with us again in April.

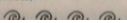


Father Waggett, of S.S.J.E., and the Rev. Algernon Ward, have been added to the Archbishop's Committee on Relations with the Eastern Churches.



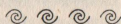
This extract from a letter recently written by a distinguished Professor at Constantinople will interest our readers greatly:

"I finished my essay about your Orders. My conclusion is that our Church must recognize your Orders as she recognizes the Orders of the Roman Catholics and Armenians, and consequently recognize above all your Sacraments—that is, not only Baptism, but Confirmation, Eucharist, Marriage, etc.; and if a person ordained by you comes to us and accepts our Faith, to accept him in his Orders. But as concerns Intercommunion, to do the same as with the Roman Catholics and Armenians—that is, not to communicate until the union takes place, that is, till we come with you or the Armenians to an agreement about the fundamental truths that are to be believed as sufficient for the union."



The question of the remarriage of widowed priests has arisen in the Serbian and Roumanian Churches, involving the consideration of the permissibility of departure from the ancient Canon Law of the first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa which prohibits all marriage after ordination to the diaconate. Many priests returning from exile in Bulgaria found their children motherless and homeless. Their need intensified a movement for the allowance of remarriage, and a demand was made by many to the Holy Synod at Belgrade for permission, failing which they said they would nevertheless proceed to marry. They were forbidden, pending enquiry concerning the attitude of the Patriarchate at Constantinople. Among the delegates on this question was Bishop Nicholai Velimirović. The reply of the Patriarchate was that while the matter could be finally determined only by a Council, the Serbian Church, acting with due discretion, would not be acting reprehensibly if in the special circumstances and needs it decided to allow such remarriage.

Meanwhile some of the clergy had remarried and were suspended from office, and the Serbian Synod has decided for the present not to allow remarriage. The sanction of Constantinople to the exercise of this concession and dispensation of "economy" by the local church in this matter of Œcumenical law is noteworthy.



The Serbian Synod has decided not to proceed further in the matter of the reordination of the Czech Roman Catholic priest who in August last was reordained to the diaconate by the Metropolitan of Nish. They have, however, at the request of the Czecho-Slovak "national" Church, recently separated from Rome, accepted three men to be trained and consecrated to the episcopate. Certain concessions have been offered concerning the marriage of the priests, Holy Communion in two kinds, etc.; but the continued use of the translated Roman rite has not been allowed.

This reordination illustrates the Orthodox view on the Sacraments. The Eastern-Orthodox Churches do not allow that Sacraments can be certainly valid outside the unity of their communion. But in the case of a convert they hold themselves free to accept or reject by economy the Orders and other Sacraments received before his admission into the fold. The Russian Church since 1667 has laid it down that Roman and Protestant Trinitarian Baptism shall be accepted. The other Churches have not abolished formally a constitution of the four Patriarchs of 1756, ordering the rebaptism and reordination of all Westerns who have been baptized by affusion. None the less, it has been largely abrogated in practice. Mr. Douglas dealt with this in an article in our September number, and now has a book on the economical treatment of heterodox sacraments in the press.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The Great Protosynkellos Athenagoras holds an office at the Phanar, which corresponds to the Papal Cardinal Secretaryship of State. He is a scholar and archæologist of high repute.

Miss E. J. Robinson is well known in London as the secretary of the Armenian Red Cross, and a staunch worker for the Armenian cause.

Professor Papaporphyrion is one of the best known theologians of the Church of Cyprus.

Miss E. Kephala, until recently a secretary at the London Légation de la Grèce, is the author of a remarkable little book, "Sketches of Eastern Church Life." Her home is in Athens.

The Rev. J. Ingram Bryan is a S.P.G. missionary, who has worked long in Japan.

Father Waggett until recently held an important Government post in Jerusalem.

Miss Scott Hopper is a well-known novelist.

Mr. Marić is a Serb student, now at St. Sava's, Oxford.

OUR BOOKSHELF

The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion. By the Rev. Dr. A. C. HEADLAM. (John Murray.) 12s. 6d.

A book on Reunion by the Oxford Regius Professor of Divinity must at any time be a book of importance, but when, as Dr. Headlam tells us in his Preface is the fact with his Bampton Lectures, it presents the conclusions of the study and thought of thirty years and is uttered at so decisive a moment as the eve of the Lambeth Reunion Conference, we naturally read it with the expectation that it may well prove epoch-making. That expectation is reinforced in the case of this book by our knowledge that not only at King's College during the difficult period of its incorporation in London University, and in the Faculty of Theology of the University itself, but also in the revolution which is now taking place under his régime in the Divinity School of Oxford, Dr. Headlam has been in close contact with the leaders of English non-episcopal Christianity, and has had a rare experience of those imponderabilia, the wise handling of which is essential to Home Reunion. It is, therefore, surprising neither that the basis of General Reunion which he lays down in his concluding lectures should be consistent, nor that in its main features it should be the only basis conceivable on which—granted the will to do so—the right wing of Anglicanism would consent to unite with non-Episcopalians, or its left wing with the traditional Churches of the East and West. Our business, however, here is to examine his proposals in relation to the Eastern-Orthodox and not their general practicability. Briefly they are that all Christians should unite in one Church on the basis of: (1) The affirmation of the so-called Nicene Creed; (2) the acceptance of the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; (3) the full acceptance of all Orders, episcopal, presbyterian, and congregational *pro hac vice*; (4) the future requirement of Episcopal ordination. In other matters he would have mutual toleration, and in effect would leave the *affirmanda* without other definition than is to be found in the Creed and the ancient Liturgies.

In view of the limitation of our scope we are not concerned here with the summary of the investigations into the doctrine of the Church or the history of the ministry of the priesthood which occupied Dr. Headlam's first five lectures. Very few of those who are most in touch with our own movement could accept his conclusions without reinstating the pillars of their belief and religious life. That, however, need not trouble us. The question which we have to ask here is, would the

Eastern-Orthodox consider that basis worth discussion? In spite of their eagerness, their manifest and pressing eagerness, to find a means to meet us, the answer must be in the negative. We wish the fact were otherwise and they wish it were otherwise, but as the Anglican position is to-day, and as the Eastern-Orthodox position is, there is a chasm between our respective fundamentals which cannot be bridged. At the time of writing I have a little book in the press in which I have collected a series of passages from authoritative Eastern-Orthodox documents bearing upon the doctrine of the ministry. Beginning with the first of the Eastern-Orthodox five symbolic books, the famous answers of the Œcumenical Patriarch, Jeremiah II, to the Württembergers at the end of the sixteenth century, and including extracts from synodical utterances, encyclicals and catechisms of the next three centuries, they leave no doubt that, as the Constantinople reply to Leo XIII., 1895, asserts, "no other basis of reunion than that of the Faith of the first nine centuries" is possible for the Eastern-Orthodox. All their theological writers of the last century—Macarius, Philaret, Khomiakoff, Samarin, Sokoloff, and Bulgakoff among the Russians; Damalas, Rhossis, Mesoloras, Androutsos, Dyoouniotos among the Greeks—have told us the same thing explicitly. They have also reiterated almost to weariness the warning that it is impossible for them to consider reunion with a Church which includes in its membership those who reject part of the tradition of those nine centuries or which is in communion with another body that does so. This last caution would alone make us realize that the Eastern-Orthodox could not at present accept Dr. Headlam's basis of reunion; but when we remember what was the Faith of the first nine centuries, or for that matter the Faith of the first century, as the Eastern-Orthodox hold it to have been, we realize that to propose reunion to them upon the affirmation of the Nicene Creed as the fixed limit of dogma is comparable to inviting the Jew to discuss union upon the basis of the Messiahship of Jesus, or the Papalist upon that of the autocephalicity of the English Church. Professor Androutsos has told us politely but markedly that full dogmatic union is altogether an essential preliminary to Intercommunion. Every Eastern-Orthodox theologian who has discussed the case has said the same thing, and has said it in unmistakable terms.

The ground may shift, but to say nothing of relatively minor matters such as the *Filioque*, the Eastern-Orthodox fundamental to-day includes the recognition of the Seven Œcumenical Councils as the incontrovertible organs of the infallible Church, the necessity of Episcopacy, the priest's power to absolve, the Septenary Sacramental System, the expiatory nature of the "unbloody Sacrifice" of the Eucharist as offered for the living and the dead in union with the Great High Priest, the metousiosis of the Eucharistic elements, invocation of the saints, and prayers for the dead. Moreover, to the Eastern-Orthodox all of these are inseparable from each other and form part of the living tradition of orthodoxy, to maintain which, as preserved among themselves through the infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit since the days of the Fathers without "addition, diminution, or innovation," is their fundamental position.

That being so—and it may be doubted whether a single Eastern-Orthodox theologian or bishop could be produced to dispute it—it would be extraordinarily inept to invite the Eastern-Orthodox to consider reunion on the basis proposed by Dr. Headlam. In saying this I do not mean to suggest that we should disguise the fact that it is also not in the realm of present probability that the Anglican Churches should discuss reunion on the Eastern-Orthodox basis. Indeed, for the sake of both truth and wisdom it is especially incumbent on us to avoid alike the temptation to equivocate or its appearance, and to state plainly that, although Anglo-Catholics and many others share the same fundamental as the Eastern-Orthodox and could unite with them forthwith, that fundamental could only be adopted by the Anglican Churches at the cost of disruption. Unless they leave us or force us to leave them, we cannot part with the children of our own mother even to obtain the much

desired reunion with our brethren of the East. Nor, I am convinced, would such a plain avowal check the growing ties of spiritual intimacy, or be a bar either to the deepening of the *entente* between the two communions or to those symbolic acts by which it has of late years been expressed and which are now normal.

On the contrary, the Eastern-Orthodox understand the Anglican Churches very well. The risks most to be avoided are first the rousing of unwarrantable expectations, and secondly the attempt to arrange terms of union before the present chasm between our mutual dogmatic fundamentals is bridged. Meanwhile, as I have tried to show in the little book to which I have referred, we and they should be well content to wait patiently and to prepare the *terrain* by cultivating each other in the many ways which our respective principles permit.

Accordingly we may be well glad that a *ballon d'essai* such as those admirably drafted terms of intercommunion of which a first sketch appeared in the September *Christian East*, 1920, and which, it is an open secret, are a practical application of Dr. Headlam's Bampton Lectures, is to be circulated unofficially among the Eastern-Orthodox. On the other hand, we should regard their formal communication to the heads of the Autocephalous Churches as a blunder no less great than the Bonn Conference.

Turning from the certain attitude of the Eastern-Orthodox towards Dr. Headlam's proposed basis of reunion to the particular references he makes to them in his lectures, I venture to regret that he did not point out that, in spite of a scholastic seventeenth-century infiltration, the main body of Eastern-Orthodox theologians have never abandoned the Cyprianic teaching as to the defectibility of the *character* of Baptism and Orders, and also that he seems to assume that the Eastern-Orthodox accept Baptism whenever rightly performed as valid. In regard to the former, most authoritative Eastern-Orthodox theologians lay it down that heresiarchs lose the *character* and cannot confer it upon others. In regard to the latter—and he makes considerable use of it¹ in establishing his conclusions as to the essential validity of our Episcopalian Orders—the fact is that with St. Cyprian the Eastern-Orthodox refuse to admit the validity in principle—*i.e.*, *per se*—of any Sacraments outside the One, True Church as forming part of which they are unable to recognize the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, or other "heterodox." Professor Androutsos's book, to which I have referred above, makes this abundantly clear, and among the quotations in my own there are many which illustrate it.

It is further surprising and, in view of the figuring of the recognition of the validity of non-Episcopalian orders as one of the three planks in his platform, very surprising, that Dr. Headlam in no place refers to the function of *Economy* or "prudent stewardship" which the Eastern-Orthodox hold to belong inherently to the Church. It is in the exercise of this function that the Eastern-Orthodox Churches have from time to time accepted as valid Papalist, Armenian, and other Orders, or have from time to time rejected them. Professor Dyoouniotos in his dogmatic treatise on the Seven Sacraments² goes so far as to say that the Church has discretion to accept as valid Orders which have been conferred with an imperfect rite and without Apostolic Succession or to reject Orders which have been conferred with a perfect rite and with Apostolic Succession. He adds, indeed, that there is no precedent for the acceptance of the former and that it is unthinkable, but on his showing the acceptance of non-Episcopalian Orders is theoretically possible.

J. A. DOUGLAS.

¹ E.g. p. 229. "It is for this reason that the undoubted decision of the Church is that Baptism is valid if rightly performed. Therefore any repetition of Baptism which has been rightly performed is a violation of the Catholic rule which forbids the repetition of this Sacrament." Very many Eastern-Orthodox theologians would deny both the premise and the conclusion.

² Athens, 1920.

The Pilgrim in Jerusalem. By the Rev. O. H. Parry, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 1920.) Pp. xxiv. With maps, plans, and twenty-four illustrations by the author.

Mr. Parry has achieved well a difficult task. He has filled a gap which one had not suspected in the great libraries of books which concern the city of the Great King. His work is a short history and a really helpful guide; but it has (as he modestly claims) an individual "point of view." The city is seen through a personality, and that gives the little treatise both distinction and charm. Such is the happy impression given by the letterpress—an impression deepened and verified by Mr. Parry's wonderful drawings. In that rarer and more eloquent art he is a "little master," perhaps, but yet certainly a master. As the author says in his Preface:

"Drawings, all except the worst, can do both more and less than photographs. The camera tells you the facts, or most of them: a drawing can select and emphasize and combine the essentials, and ignore what does not matter."

Mr. Parry thinks the existing guides "apt to be one-sided in their appeal," either Latin or Protestant; "in any case out of sympathy with Eastern-Orthodoxy." He says rightly that the "invaluable books of the Palestine Exploration Fund make little appeal to religious sentiment."

As might be supposed, he himself is laudably scholarly—in a way detached—and accurate, and has "tried to recognize the claims of all—Jews, Moslems, and Christians." Yet he does not hide his own opinions, and considers that the tradition of the Universal Church is "not lightly to be set aside."

A word of praise should be given to Mr. Parry's admirable selection of mottoes for his chapters. R. W. BURNIE.

A Short History of the Church of Russia. By R. F. Bigg-Wither. (S.P.C.K.) 8s.

An admirably written and interesting Introduction which it would be well to read before proceeding to such a book as Dr. Frere's "Links in the Chain of Russian History." The book contains a portrait of the Patriarch Tikhon and other fascinating illustrations.

Tà Merà tήν "Άλωσιν. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920.)

This series of valuable notes of the events which followed the capture of Constantinople in 1453 throws much light upon the inexorable and secular policy by which the Vatican has strained every effort to secure the destruction and, failing that, the oppression, of the Patriarchate.

The Black Book of the Sufferings of the Greek People in Turkey from the Armistice to the end of 1920. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920.)

This terrible record, abundantly substantiated by evidence, will be an abiding study of historical pathologists. The type of bestial outrage and wanton murder to which the Turk has been consistently faithful during the war is now as familiar to us as it ever can be to those to whom it is incomprehensible, and to whom decency of language forbids its description. We know also that these unnamable and inhuman cruelties are natural to the Turk. The thing which passes understanding is that they have been allowed to go on persistently within gunshot of the British flag, and that seemingly Great Britain allowed Italian and French diplomacy to hold M. Venizelos in leash, and to prevent the advance of the Greek army at Brusa to the protection of its co-nationals. By all accounts, the Greeks might have entered Angora and abolished the Pooh Bah government of the Kemalists a year ago. After all, one is tempted not to be surprised that the people of Greece overthrew their great statesman last December. At least, it would seem that Constantine will not stay quiet while Greek blood is being shed and Greek victims abandoned to Moslem outrage. It will be strange if the glory of ending Turkish tyranny in Asia Minor should fall to him.

The Christian East

THE PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW

HIS HOLINESS TIKHON, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, is of clerical descent. After graduating at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy he consecutively filled the posts of Inspector and Rector at theological colleges and was ordained bishop. He was soon transferred to the United States, where he succeeded Bishop Nickolai as Orthodox Bishop in America. During his six to seven years' stay in that country Bishop Tikhon maintained a close contact and friendship with the Anglican Church in America. He returned subsequently to Russia, where he was appointed first Archbishop of Jaroslav and then Vilna.

After the March revolution of 1917, which restored the freedom of the Russian Church and reinstated the elective principle, Archbishop Tikhon was elected Metropolitan of Moscow.

As such he participated in the All-Russian Œcumenic Council, by which, in November, 1917, he was elected Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. His election coincided with the Bolshevik revolution. One of his first acts was the excommunication of the Bolshevik Government. The Patriarch's firm stand against the Soviet tyrants won him the universal homage and love of the Russian people. Immense crowds gathered wherever he went to receive his blessing. No threats of reprisals or death could daunt the Patriarch's calm fortitude. He was placed under domiciliary arrest, but, fearing his popularity, the Government dared not take his life, although there was a strong party in favour of putting him to death. In November, 1918, the Patriarch addressed a powerful encyclical to the Council of People's Commissaries in which he fearlessly exposed them as the "sons of iniquity." The text of this message has appeared in various English papers. To-day he is the one democratic force in Russia and the symbol of its future.

EDITORIAL

IN the promotion of Intercommunion with the Eastern-Orthodox two policies are possible.

The one, which is advocated by Professor Headlam in our present issue, is to define terms of Intercommunion such as there is good probability that the great body of Anglicans would endorse, and present



HIS HOLINESS TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW.

them forthwith to the authorities of the Eastern-Orthodox Autocephalous Churches.

The "Suggested Terms of Intercommunion with the Eastern-Orthodox,"¹ recently published at "the request of the Archbishop's Eastern Committee,"² and prepared by a sub-committee of its members, among whom Dr. Headlam himself served, may be taken broadly as an example of the maximum approach to the historic doctrinal position³ of Orthodoxy which the whole Anglican Communion would support. We propose to examine those terms in detail in our next number. It will be enough to say here that though the Eastern-Orthodox would probably not quarrel much with the statements in them, in our judgment they would find them insufficient.

The other policy, which has also recently been stated⁴ by one of our editors, is to prepare the *terrain* for ultimate reunion by the necessarily long and slow process of friendly intercourse, of the exchange of opinion on points of difference, and of the creation of ties of spiritual intimacy, howsoever and whensoever possible without the sacrifice or compromise of principle.

This was the policy urged by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck and adopted by Bishops John Wordsworth, Blyth, and Collins. It is also the policy followed up to the present by the Anglican and Eastern Association.

Its possibilities are confirmed and increased by a weighty monograph received as we go to press, in which Professor Comnenos,⁵ of Halki, who was the principal theological expert in the Constantinople Delegation of 1920 to Lambeth, after fully investigating the rite, purpose, and succession of Anglican Orders, urges not only that the Orthodox must accord them parity of acceptance with Roman, Armenian, and other Orders, but also that authority should be given for the mutual reception of all the Sacraments by the members of both Communions.

If our judgment is in favour of the less attractive, less swift, and less bold of these two policies, it is because it appeals to us as the wiser.

In the first place, as Professor Comnenos has told us again, and as the Metropolitan of Nubia⁶ told the Geneva Conference last autumn, the Eastern-Orthodox have repeatedly made it clear that for them

¹ "Suggested Terms of Intercommunion with the Eastern-Orthodox," S.P.C.K. 1921. 6d.

² It should be noted that the "Suggested Terms" are not published as hall-marked by the Archbishop's Committee, but simply at its request, in the hope that they will promote "further discussion of the whole subject."

³ *I.e.*, to "the Faith of the first nine centuries."

⁴ "The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern-Orthodox," J. A. Douglas. Faith Press. 1921.

⁵ Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὰς Προσπαθείας πρὸς Ἑνωσιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. Τεύχος, Α., Constantinople. 1921.

⁶ See his report to the Patriarch and Holy Synod of Constantinople, published by the World Conference on Faith and Orders.

Reunion—or, which is much the same thing, formal Intercommunion—can be contemplated only on the basis of full dogmatic union. Most Anglo-Catholics would, indeed, adhere to that principle. It is also probable that there is no fundamental difference in matters of doctrine between them and the Eastern-Orthodox. It is otherwise, however, with strong sections of Anglicans that openly controvert the very dogmas which the Eastern-Orthodox Church regards as incontrovertible.

In such circumstances, we take it to be consistent with the best tradition of the Anglican Churches to cultivate the closest relations with the Eastern-Orthodox that are possible, again without sacrifice or loss of principle, and being content with the lesser good, to work and wait on patiently for the greater.

Secondly, it needs no close study of the three previous periods of Anglican *rapprochement*¹ with the Eastern-Orthodox to realize that while Archbishop Laud, who perhaps reached the greatest understanding with them, never addressed himself to negotiating formal Intercommunion, the Non-jurors and the High Churchmen of the seventies failed in their attempts because in all that they said and did they had an eye to the effect which their success would have had upon home controversies. It is thus that we are persuaded that the time at which discussion is in progress as to whether it is possible for the whole Anglican Communion to discover a basis on which it can unite with the body of non-episcopalian English Christianity, is not the time at which to enter upon formal negotiation for the same end with the Eastern-Orthodox. After all, our leaders are only human, and either of these undertakings demands undistracted attention. But to say nothing of that, however much the two movements are connected with each other as parts of the movement to General Reunion, it needs no saying that they are not altogether easy to reconcile.

We hold, therefore, for this secondary reason that the present is not the time to put forward formal proposals for Intercommunion to the Eastern-Orthodox, but that negotiations with them must be postponed until they can take place without the complication of home controversies. *Festina lente*.

THE FUNERAL OF THE LOCUM TENENS

TRANSLATED FROM 'ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ 'ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ

THE funeral of the Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Patriarchate will be remembered in the history of the town of Constantinople as an unforgettable event in the annals of that history. For the exceptional circumstances of the death in England of the Locum

¹ *Sc.*, under Abbot and Laud, after the Restoration, and in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Tenens—fighting for the cause of the Christians of the East in Great Britain—added a melancholy interest to the funeral rites performed over such a high dignitary of the Greek Catholic Church.

No conqueror returning home after victory could have met with greater respect and devotion than the dead Locum Tenens, this representative of the entire Greek nation (the Patriarch of Constantinople is literally the head of the Greek nation, and is called Ethnarch) whom a melancholy fate had cut off in the midst of his activities.

From early dawn the roads leading to the Patriarchate from the landing-stage were thronged with dense masses of people, as were also the windows and balconies of the houses there. Flags flew at half-mast over buildings and shops, which were all closed for the occasion.

Inter-Allied police and Turkish gendarmes kept order. The great gathering of the members of the Holy Synod, the Metropolitans sojourning in Constantinople, and the deputy Bishops who were invited to take part in the reception of the mortal remains of the late Locum Tenens was held in the chambers of the higher clergy.

There also were gathered the priests and deacons who would participate in the service.

At three o'clock in the afternoon two steam launches flying the Greek national flag half-mast, and on one of the launches a Byzantine flag (the double-headed eagle, the emblem of Byzantium) and carrying the committee of laymen and the clergy, left the landing-stage and took up a waiting position on either side of the British flagship, H.M.S. *Cardiff*. The Metropolitans of Amasia, Pisidia, and the Dardanelles were the clergy, while MM. Fermanoglou, Kchayoglou, and Papadopoulos, accompanied by the two heads of departments at the Patriarchate, MM. Phytou and Zachariadon, composed the lay committee.

They were received on board the flagship by the captain and officers, to whom the Bishop of Amasia offered a short address. They then awaited the arrival of the British destroyer *Centaur*, which appeared shortly after, bearing the remains of the Ex-Locum Tenens, and anchored off the *Cardiff*.

The officers and crew of the *Cardiff* were all drawn up on deck in an attitude of attention. The Patriarchal Delegation was also assembled according to precedence. As the destroyer glided silently into the waters of the Bosphorus, the dais on which the coffin rested was visible to all, covered by a Greek flag and guarded by British marines.

Both the *Centaur* and the *Cardiff* flew their flags at half-mast, as did all the Allied warships and merchantmen in the harbour.

The Greek Delegation immediately proceeded on board the *Centaur*, and the Bishop of Amasia in a few words full of deep gratitude thanked the captain for conveying the remains of their

beloved Archbishop to Constantinople. He touched upon the friendship shown by the British Government in permitting such marks of respect to be shown to the head of the Greek Church.

The Bishop of Seleukia, wearing his veil and pallium, recited a Trisagion, after which the bugle sounded, the officers stood with drawn swords and the crew with reversed arms while the coffin was slowly lowered into one of the steam launches by British sailors.

On either side of the launch bearing its precious burden a host of small steamers and launches formed an escort accompanying it to the pier at Phanari.

The sight of the thousands of people assembled on the bridges under which the launch passed, crossing themselves in a deep religious silence, was a truly impressive one.

From every point on the Bosphorus these great crowds seemed to flow in one silent stream towards the point where they could best see the procession pass. On the landing-stage of Phanari, the Protosyncelos, the Great Archdeacon, the Great Ecclesiastic, and eight lay officials belonging to the Patriarchate, who carried the coffin from there to the church, were assembled.

The whole way from the landing-stage to the church of the Patriarchate was lined by dense crowds and policed by the Inter-Allied and Turkish gendarmes.

The procession was then formed, composed of the Metropolitans of Angora, Silivria, Kirk-kilissé, and Tirolis; the other members of the Holy Synod, the former and actual members of the committee, the 'Οφφινιάλοι, and other officials of the Patriarch's court.

At its head walked officers belonging to the Patriarchate, followed by Inter-Allied police; then came next the Exapteryga, the readers of the Archbishopric, the clergy in white vestments; the leading Metropolitans, the Bishops of Eirenoupolis, Myra, Scopelos, Appoloniados, Constantias, Amphipolis, Neapolis, and Troad.

At the side of the coffin walked deacons robed in white and carrying large wax candles. A huge concourse of people followed.

On the arrival of the funeral procession at the church, the coffin was placed on a dais covered over by a black and white silk cloth, and the appointed Trisagion was sung while the bells tolled. Then followed the intoning of the "Blessed be thy memory," which is a farewell taken by the officiating clergy, who did reverence in front of the coffin, led by the Bishop of Angora.

During the singing of the Trisagion, the present Locum Tenens, together with other Bishops, remained within the Holy Sanctuary. Afterwards he received all who attended in the church in the great hall of the Patriarchate.

Within and without the church during the ceremony, Cretan

gendarmes and Greek officers rendered military honours to the dead.

The public was then admitted freely into the church, and the lying-in-state began, during which time, and immediately after the Trisagion was concluded, passages from the Psalms, Prophecies, and Apostolic Acts were read by priests in turn, lasting throughout the whole night.

It being Sunday the next day, the customary liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, which is used for the funerals of Patriarchs, was celebrated, at which the Metropolitans of Silivria, Kirk-kilissé, and Tirolas officiated. They were assisted by others amongst the higher clergy. A Trisagion was then intoned, and the public was again admitted to the church to the lying-in-state, which was kept in the right wing of the church near the holy relics of St. Euphemia¹ and other saints, whence the coffin had been removed. The priests continued to read the passages of the Gospel and Psalms appointed for this occasion, while the crowds of people continued to press unceasingly in front of the bier.

The number of people that did reverence before the bier must have amounted to several thousands. The vast crowds that lined the streets and thoroughfares leading to the Patriarchate must have been of equal numbers, judging by their denseness.

Even greater were the crowds on the day of the funeral itself. A strong police force kept order in the streets from Emin Onou to the Phanari, chiefly composed of French and Italian gendarmes, with a mixture of Turkish zaptiehs.

The decoration of the church was exceedingly simple. The coffin was placed on a white hornblock, and was covered by a white embroidered silk cloth covered with black Byzantine crosses, over which was thrown the Patriarchal standard. The Gospel was placed on this, and bands of white silk were draped round the entire dais; two great wax candles shed their light at the foot of the coffin, and were decorated with knots of white ribbon. No flowers were laid on the coffin. The great centre door was closed and hung with black curtains with white crosses on it, before which some of the more devout, including some Russians and Serbs, knelt in prayer.

The official representatives of the Allied Powers were met at the door by the committee appointed for that purpose, and conducted to their respective places.

The funeral service began at two o'clock, presided over by the new Locum Tenens, the Bishop Nicolas of Cæsarea, and assisted by twelve other Bishops chosen from the Holy Synod, and from the Bishops sojourning in Constantinople.

¹ The coffin in which the scrolls were placed at the Council of Chalcedon. It was saved in 1453.

Robed in their gorgeous vestments, without the mitre on their heads, they formed a semicircle about the bier and the Beautiful Gate. The deputy Bishops, the priests, and sixteen deacons holding lighted tapers, were also assembled near the bier.

The funeral prayers, after being first intoned by the Locum Tenens, were repeated by all the Bishops present, also by the Russian Bishop of Bessarabia, the Serbian priest, and the Anglican priest, who in turn each repeated the prayers. The Locum Tenens then read the Gospel from the Patriarchal Throne, which was followed by an address from the pulpit by the Archimandrite Alexander Zotos, the head of the Greek school in Constantinople.

In an eloquent address he referred to the activities of the deceased Locum Tenens in the great struggle of the Greek people; how he braved the inclemency and hardships of a long journey in winter in order to visit the British capital, and exchanged the pastoral staff for that of the suppliant in order to carry this out, hoping that by his presence he could persuade those in high authority to listen to his plea for the Eastern Christians. He declared the death of the much lamented Locum Tenens to be a national disaster, at the same time reminding his hearers that Providence often sent these disasters to those of His people who had wandered from the straight path—in this case, perhaps, it was meant as a chastisement for Greece's deviation from the path marked out for her by her great leader.

In conclusion, he addressed words of thanks publicly to the Government of King George of England and the head of the Anglican Church for their expressions of sympathy on this sad occasion.

Then came the chanting by the choir of that farewell to the dead in the words of the "Come, take a last farewell," which was the signal for the Locum Tenens to approach and devoutly kiss the Gospel lying on the top of the coffin, and to press reverently his lips on the coffin itself. All the other clergy in rotation followed his example.

The coffin, borne by officials of the Patriarchate and headed by the clergy and Exapteryga and three Bishops, was carried to the landing-stage of Phanari, where it was put on board a tow-boat. Two other boats were occupied by the clergy and lay officials attending, while a host of other craft of all sizes and descriptions accompanied them.

The shores were lined with vast crowds gathered there for the purpose of seeing the funeral procession pass. As it passed under the ancient walls of Bysantium, near the shores of Ypsomathion and Hepatapyrgion, and in front of the historic old church, the launch carrying the bier stopped and a Trisagion was sung. The procession arrived at Kazli at four o'clock, and was received by the Bishop of Myreon and a vast concourse of people. The coffin was placed on a hearse sur-

mounted by a double-headed eagle, a Byzantine flag, and palls with the Byzantine colours.

In front walked the Metropolitans of Angora, Silivria, and Kirk-kilessé, preceded by two mounted police belonging to the Patriarchate; the Armenian orphans, the Exapteryga, the deacons and priests, Greek, Russian, Armenian, and Serbian. Then came the Metropolitans and the Anglican priest, Mr. Borrow, and the coffin, surrounded by Cretan gendarmes, and Greek officers and soldiers.

Outside the Armenian Church of Haghia Paraskevi, the procession stopped for a Trisagion to be read; it then moved on to Balukli, where it arrived at the church of the Zoodochon Pighi, and was met by the deputy Bishop of Balukli and the parish priests. A Trisagion was sung, in which the Anglican priest, Mr. Borrow, also takes part.

The burial took place in the grounds of the church, in the allotted space of burial for a Patriarch, all the Bishops, clergy, laymen, and people joining in the last "Eternal be thy memory" as the coffin was lowered into the grave.

Only two wreaths of laurel leaves were deposited on the grave, and were those of the community of Broussa and of his native land of Syghi, on the white ribbons of which the words were inscribed: "Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Broussa and Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Throne, an illustrious offspring and pastor of our native land, which honours thee mournfully."

THE ELECTION OF AN ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH

BY ARCHDEACON T. MALTHOURAS

I HAVE often been asked by Englishmen as to how the election of a Patriarch of Constantinople takes place. Undoubtedly this question is the outcome of the great and vivid interest shown by many divines of the Anglican Church in the course of our national and ecclesiastical affairs.

I will do my best here to give an accurate description of such an election, according to the ecclesiastico-political statutes, which were valid before the War. In doing so I shall avoid discussing whether the way of the election based on these laws is adequate or not, leaving that matter to the judgment of my readers.

The full titles of the head of the Eastern Orthodox Church are as follows: The Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch. We can distinguish three points in this title.

1. He is now styled Archbishop, though he was once a mere bishop, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Heraclea.

2. He is Archbishop of New Rome, for the second Œcumenical Synod, after the translation of the Imperial Throne from Rome to Constantinople, recognized him as Archbishop of New Rome, and consequently as second in rank after the Pope.

3. He is styled Œcumenical Patriarch, since the time of the Patriarch John the Faster, to whom this title was first officially offered by the Emperor Justinian and the Synod of Constantinople in the year 553.

We are not here concerned to trace the history of the Patriarchs before and after the fall of Constantinople. For our end it will be enough to consider his ecclesiastico-political position up till the War.

(a) His *ecclesiastical importance* consists in the fact that, amongst the heads of the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches, he is the first in rank and the president.

(b) His *political importance* depended on his recognition by the Sultan as the spiritual and national leader of the unredeemed Orthodox Christians who live in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently the privileges and the rights of the Orthodox Christians recognized by Muhammad II., called the Conqueror, are centred in and protected by him.

It is due to this double importance which he possesses that in his appointment both the Church of which he is spiritual leader and the Turkish State have a voice. But although they both co-operate in the election, it is to be noted that, as we shall see, the rôle of the Turkish State is entirely negative.

An election, of course, becomes necessary on the resignation, deposition, or death of an Œcumenical Patriarch. As soon as the Throne is declared vacant, the Holy Synod of Constantinople, which consists of twelve Metropolitans, sit in joint conference with the Mixed National Council, and the two bodies together proceed to the election of a *locum tenens*.

1. They give a formal notice of this election to the Sublime Porte—i.e., the Turkish Government.

2. They inform, by encyclical letters, all the Metropolitans of the Œcumenical Patriarchate that a *locum tenens* has been elected, and invite them to send in a sealed envelope a card, on which they must write the name of the candidate for the throne whom they prefer.

3. By means of formal letters addressed to the twenty-eight privileged dioceses, they invite the Christians of those dioceses to appoint a representative, who will attend at Constantinople within the period of forty-one days at the most from the day of the election of the *locum tenens*.

4. The Metropolitans, of whom the Synod consists, as well as all the other Metropolitans who happen to be present in Constantinople

at the time, must act uniformly with the other Metropolitans to whom the election ticket was sent.

The Metropolitan of Heraclea is invited to come to Constantinople, for he enjoys the right of giving the pastoral staff to the new Patriarch. This is a sign that Constantinople formerly was under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It should be noted that strictly no Metropolitan from any diocese is allowed to go to Constantinople during the vacancy of the throne.

Five days before the expiration of the period of forty-one days which we have mentioned above, the *locum tenens* invites, by means of formal letters, all the members entitled to attend at the General Electoral Conference to come together on a fixed day at a fixed hour.

This General Electoral Conference consists of—

(a) *Clergy*: The Metropolitans, who form the Holy Synod, the *locum tenens*, the Metropolitan of Heraclea, and the Metropolitans that happened to be present in Constantinople at the vacancy.

(b) *Laity*: (1) The members of the Mixed National Council, eight in number. (2) Three superior officials of the Patriarchal House. (3) Three Orthodox Greeks of those in the service of the Turkish State. (4) Two Orthodox Greeks bearing the Turkish military title of Colonel. (5) Three Greek members of the Civil Service. (6) The Governor of Samos or his representative in Constantinople. (7) Three delegates from the countries lying on the banks of Danube (Paradunabian countries). (8) Four Orthodox Greek representatives of Science. (9) Five Orthodox Greek representatives of Commerce. (10) Ten Orthodox Greek representatives of the main Trade Societies. (11) One Orthodox Greek representing the Bankers. (12) Two representatives of the parishes of the Bosphorus. (13) The twenty-eight representatives of the above-mentioned privileged dioceses.

This Conference of the clergy and laity holds its meeting in the Patriarchal House with shut doors. After a short address by the *locum tenens*, the sealed election tickets are opened, and the names of the candidates which they contain are then registered in a list kept by the Secretary, together with the number of votes obtained by every candidate.

If any lay members of the Conference wish to propose the names of any Metropolitans as candidates, these are added to the list of the candidates, but only in the case that they are approved by two-thirds of the clerical members of the Conference. The list thus formed is sealed and signed by the *locum tenens*, the Synod of the Metropolitans, and the members of the mixed National Council.

But since the Patriarch is also the National leader, the Turkish Government has certain rights as to his election. The above list of candidates is sent at once to the Sublime Porte, and if the Sultan

thinks some of the candidates to be politically disqualified for the office he strikes their names from the list, which is sent back within twenty-four hours, in order that the final election of the Patriarch may take place. A second General Council is then assembled, constituted as above. The *locum tenens* announces to the members the decision of the Turkish Government—*i.e.*, whether the Government has disqualified any candidates or not. In the case of any disqualification, the election must be restricted to the candidates not disqualified.

Every member of the Conference indicates by ballot three candidates of his choice from the names in the list. After the counting, the three Metropolitans receiving the majority of votes are indicated as the exclusive candidates for the office of Patriarch. Soon after all the members of the General Conference descend to the cathedral of St. George. There, after a short ceremony, a new ballot takes place, in which, however, only the clerical members take part. The candidate who obtains the majority of votes is declared the new Patriarch. If two candidates obtain the same number of votes the *locum tenens* has the casting vote. The election being thus completed must be announced at once to the Sublime Porte, which notifies to the new Patriarch the fixed day and hour on which he must present himself directly before the Sultan and obtain his official recognition by the Turkish Government.

The presentation of the new Patriarch is accompanied by the same magnificent pomp which prevailed at the time of the Byzantine Emperors.

The only difference is one of great importance. The Emperor then was a Christian and naturally a defender of Christian religion, whilst now the Sultan is a Mohammedan and protects Mohammedanism at the expense of the Greek and Armenian Christians.

THE MARTYR-PATRIARCH GREGORY V.'S CANONIZATION

By E. KEPHALA

THE ceremony of the Canonization of the Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory V. was held with due solemnity in the Cathedral at Athens on April 22 (the anniversary of his martyrdom in the year 1821), which day will be in future considered as his festival.

The King and Royal Family, together with all the official world, including the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Holy Synod of Greece, attended in state.

The service opened with the singing by the choir of the new troparion, composed by the Holy Synod in praise of the new Saint. The

Bishop of Zante then read the act of the Holy Synod from the pulpit, which declares: "The Archbishop of Constantinople and Œcumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church Gregory V. to be henceforth a Saint of that Church, having suffered a martyr's death on the gallows for the sake of Christ and His flock."

After the act of the Holy Synod had been read, the choir sang the new apolytikion of the Saint written in pure Byzantine style as follows:

"The Peloponnesus, the much admired land of thy birth, Martyr Gregory, reared in beauty, rejoices at thy glory.

"The glorious city of Athens delights also in enclosing in her sacred soil thy revered relics.

"Being thus, let us cry, Glory to Almighty God."

The Patriarch of Alexandria, followed by the members of the Holy Synod, then signed the act of the Canonization of the Saint, during which time the Archbishop of Athens offered up an appropriate prayer. He then in a short address to all present enumerated the virtues of the newly canonized Saint.

On the next day (Sunday) a liturgy was held in memory of the blessed Martyr Gregory, the first official recognition, so to say, of his place in the Hagiology of the Church.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory V., was among the first to suffer martyrdom at the hands of the Turks after the insurrection of the Greek nation in 1821.

Although an old man, of saintly character, he was dragged out by the Moslem mob from church on Easter Sunday and hung in front of the door of the Patriarchal buildings. His body was then taken down and handed over to the Jewish rabble of Balata, as an act of derision and scorn; and after being trampled upon and having suffered every indignity it was finally thrown into the sea. The body was, however, rescued by the Greeks, who conveyed it to Odessa, where it received burial at the hands of the Orthodox Russians. It was subsequently removed to Athens and interred in a sumptuous tomb in the Cathedral.

The Patriarch whose martyrdom during the first year of the Greek rebellion raised such a storm of indignation has connections in this country who are descendants of a brother of his, whose granddaughter married into an Irish family.

It will be perhaps of interest to readers of *THE CHRISTIAN EAST* to know that Mr. R. B. Sheridan, the barrister and journalist, who writes with great knowledge on all matters appertaining to the Greek Orthodox Church (of which he is a member) and Greek-national affairs, can claim, through his mother, a family connection with the newly canonized Saint Gregory V.

IMPRESSIONS OF LONDON

BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE GERMANOS

[This interview with the Archimandrite Germanos, Under-Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate, who accompanied the Locum Tenens to London, is translated from a Constantinople daily paper.]

"WHAT did you think of the Anglican Church on closer acquaintance with it?"

"The life of the Anglican Church is a thing unimaginable. The Anglican clergy is unparalleled in the way it enters into the moral and social as well as the practical side of the Gospel, and has thereby obtained an unequalled influence over the entire family life of the people. Any extract or page from their books dealing with such questions introduces you at once into a new world of teachings and ideas which are productive of a fine conception of ethics. And is this all? No; everywhere there are open-air speakers addressing the people, lectures, special courses, and special meetings which strengthen and develop the firm sense of morality which is inherent in every Englishman."

"What do they think of the greatly desired Union of the Churches?"

"Many theologians with whom we have repeatedly exchanged ideas on the subject consider the Union, at present at least, to be impossible, because there must be first more unity amongst Anglicans themselves. The feeling shown by Anglican theologians in favour of the Union of the Churches can be further strengthened, so as to draw closer that moral and social union between us which already exists. Moreover, this union will prepare the ground for the fuller and more definitive Union to come. But while saying this, the Anglican clergy make it clear that the recognition of the validity of Anglican Orders is a primary necessity."

"And do you suppose that this recognition of the validity of Anglican Orders will be obtained?"

"My opinion is that the question of recognition will be solved satisfactorily at a Synod to be held shortly. Many theologians, as well as members of the clergy and the laity, have already come to a decision on this point."

"Did you discuss all these points with the more weighty amongst the Anglican Churchmen?"

"With the highest amongst the clergy itself, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the former Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Gore, and others."

"What impression did the Patriarchal Delegation make on the heads of the Anglican Church?"

"An admirable one. For both they, as well as those less highly placed, understand that, besides other matters, the Delegation went to England in order to procure, through British action, a living position for the Christians of the East. This much pleased them, and I can assure you that the idea has been taken up by all, great and small alike, with the sincerity and uprightness which characterizes the British people."

"Does the Archbishop of Canterbury take this view?"

"Certainly, since all the ecclesiastical authorities look to him with the greatest respect. You must understand, too, that the soil has been well prepared for friendship with the British, and this, in my opinion, will be of benefit to us in the future both nationally and ecclesiastically."

"What did you think of the Greek community in London?"

"Very flourishing from every point of view, carrying with it authority and able to make itself heard in matters connected with Greek questions. M. Calvocoressi, the President, is greatly esteemed, and is one of the few members of our communities abroad who, by his ardent activity, may be reckoned a national factor."

Our conversation brought us back to the regard shown by people in England for the advancement of our national affairs.

"I cannot adequately represent to you," Father Germanos said to us, "the great importance they attach to our Church. One cannot depict their feelings of love and respect for this Church. No opportunity is omitted to impress British public opinion with the necessity of liberating the Christians of the East. Their Press, special meetings, and, indeed, every other kind of means, are employed to attain this end. We also have worked in every way possible. The ground, so successfully prepared by the late Locum Tenens, assisted by the Patriarchal Delegates, must in future be cultivated with great care."

"What do you think the most efficient way of accomplishing this?"

"First and foremost the adoption of a very important decision of the Holy Synod which was arrived at some time ago, and by which it was decided to appoint in London a permanent Delegate and representative of the Greek Church. You cannot imagine how imperative this is. It is scarcely necessary to add that whoever is appointed to this post of representative of the Greek Church must be chosen with great care. He must, in fact, be one of our clergy most distinguished, not only for their piety, but also for the deepness of their learning. I think all that I have just told you is sufficiently important, and should be duly emphasized in competent circles; these aims must be understood and diligently pursued."

We thanked our informant and took leave of him. By other members of the Delegation we were informed that the death of the

Locum Tenens ought rather to be ascribed to intense fatigue than to the precarious state of his health. Before he even arrived in London he showed signs on the journey of this great fatigue, which increased on his arrival in London, owing to frequent visits to eminent persons, the alternate interviews with newspaper reporters, and invitations to dinner and other functions which kept him incessantly occupied. His illness was caused by a chill contracted by going out to preach and officiate at a service in the Greek Church of St. Sophia in London.

INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP VELIMIROVIĆ

[Bishop Nikolai Velimirović, who since March had been in America on a lecturing tour at the invitation of the Carnegie Educational Institute and the American Federal Council of the Churches, has lately passed through London on his way back to Serbia. During his stay he ordained the reader Constantine deacon in the Russian Church in Welbeck Street, preached at the Russian Liturgy at St. Mary-le-Bow, visited the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and found time to give an interview to our representative, the substance of which has already been printed in the "Church Times."]

BISHOP NIKOLAI thought that his time in America had been well spent. In two months he had delivered 140 lectures and sermons. He had made many friends, learning much and profiting much by intercourse with them. He had been greatly struck by the extraordinary friendliness towards England of the great body of Americans, of whatever original nationality, and by the friendship, without sacrifice of principle, which exists among all the religious denominations, the Roman Catholics alone standing somewhat aloof from the rest. He had, in fact, heard much more criticism of America in England than of England in America.

At the consecration of Bishop Manning in St. John the Divine, Brooklyn, for the see of New York, representatives of practically all the denominations in America were present. Bishop Nikolai took part in the consecration, laying hands upon the Bishop-elect, and praying that he might have grace to be a good Christian Bishop.

Asked what his expectation was in regard to Russia, he replied that he loved Russia very much, and was hopeful for her immediate future. In Russia to-day the two great forces are the Bolsheviks and the Church. As things clear, the strength of the Church is both becoming more apparent and greater. He had been told that there had been a great religious procession through the streets of Petrograd, when the people insisted upon the Bolshevik guards uncovering as it passed; the soldiers did not dare refuse, nor did they take action afterwards. All depended upon the ability of the better element in Russia to find a policy; at present some said, "We want a Tsar," others said, "We will have no Tsar; we must have a republic." There is a possible third

course. Many Englishmen say, "We expect something new, a great development and experiment in Russia, something that will be the product of the Slav temperament and genius." As things are, some Russians still look to Asia and wish once more to borrow Asiatic despotism. Others think that the English expect them to copy English institutions, and propose to have a Duma. What will save Russia? It is the Church which is fighting Bolshevism, and alone will and can save her. The time and the psychology of the Russian people are calling for what may well be termed a democratic theocracy. Let all Christian Russians—and there are few real Russians who are not Christians—unite in determining to restore Russia by electing the Patriarch of Moscow as Tsar for a term of years, not as an autocratic Tsar, but as a Tsar who will be the spiritual father of his people; who, like the good King of England, will not meddle in politics, but will be above them; who will give a great spiritual ideal to his people, and leave them to work out its application. That is something which will be new, and will create a new principle in State Government. It will make a great bid to the world to be a Christian world.

It might be asked whether such a preponderance of the Church in the State would not be the cause of endless conflicts. But the Patriarch Tikhon is a saintly and a wise man. He would not desire to interfere or to aggrandize the Church; also he would not be given the power. He would be like the English King. On the other hand, for the true Russian the State and the Church must always be identified, for the Orthodox Slav the world must be the Kingdom of Christ. What would be impossible in England would be natural in Russia. The old autocratic Russia is dead. Russia itself is to-day being attacked by a false democracy which can be no rule of the people, for the soul of Russia must die or be ruled in the name of Christ. To live, Russia must be a theocracy—*i.e.*, she must be a democratic theocracy. The people must govern themselves, but their instinct bids them to seek God's governance. They are a nation of mystics. God must rule them. The symbol of the State must be God's representative. The Tsar's strength was that he was that. Free Russia must have a democratic representative of God as its head. Otherwise the Bolsheviks will remain the gaolers of Russia until she is altogether dead.

Invited to say something of the see of Ochrida, whither Bishop Nickolai has been translated from Zica, to which he was consecrated, the Bishop said that Ochrida is at the south of Old Serbia, near the frontiers of Albania and Greece. In the old days it was of great importance. Justinian founded it in the sixth century, and called it Justiniana Prima, to distinguish it from Justiniana Secunda, which he afterwards founded in the plain of Kossovo. It played a great part in mediæval history, and was the seat of a Patriarchate during the

short-lived second Bulgar Empire King Stephan Dushan had great plans for its metropolitan when he was planning resistance to Islam. The name of that metropolitan was Nickolai, which, as the interviewer observed, was of good augury. Ochrida is on the border of the lake of that name, and is beautiful as a dream. St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the apostles of the Southern Slavs, made it their centre when, after having converted the Bohemians, they turned to the Serbs. There are still the nine monasteries which were founded in the tenth century dedicated to their nine disciples. Of all these parts remain, and the most important are still in use, that of St. Clement forming the cathedral and the Bishop's house. The old cathedral, St. Sophia, is still standing. The date of its foundation is not known, but it is very ancient. In the fourteenth century the Turks converted it into a mosque, and until 1912 it was the chief mosque of that region. In 1912 they were ready to hand it back, as in 1918 they were ready to hand back the Great Church, St. Sophia, in Constantinople. They expected the Orthodox to take it; it now awaits its full reconsecration. The country is settling down, and recovering rapidly from its five centuries of Turkish tyranny, and the horrors done to it in the Great War. The people who are not Slavs—that is, the Arnauts, Greeks, and Bulgars—are content, and are working with the Serbs. The great needs of the Serbian Church are, perhaps, outside their borders. They need the liberation of the Russian Church most of all, and next to that the liberation of Constantinople and the redemption of St. Sophia. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is the natural and necessary centre of Orthodoxy. The Patriarch must never again need a Turkish *berat*. He must be altogether free from political control. The Greeks are right in claiming that. When the Turks are gone from Constantinople, the Orthodox will be able to act as a unity. There can be no progress and lasting peace until justice is done and the people of Constantinople are allowed their liberty. Western Europe does not understand the crime it commits in keeping the Turk in the Mother City of Orthodoxy.

Asked, finally, about the cause of reunion, Bishop Nickolai said: "Talk about it. Pray for it. Discuss the terms among yourselves and with individuals among us. But don't be in a hurry, or you will postpone it for a hundred years. Your Archbishop's kindness and chivalry have done more to bring it nearer than anything else. But let the friendship and spiritual intimacies grow. When the time is ripe it will come."

NOTES ON RUSSIA

[The following are extracts from the proletarian "catechism" and prayer-book, found in "The Red Army Man's Memorandum Book" of a private of the Kaluga Separate Battalion of the Extraordinary Commission's Special Corps.]

"The God of the proletariat is Labour, and the elevation of his consciousness and wisdom is expressed thus:

"I. In the name of the Father—Socialism, and the Son—Communism, and the Holy Ghost—Marxism. Proletarians of all countries, unite.

"II. Our Father—Labour, which art on earth. Hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done that capital should disappear from earth. Our daily bread give only to us who toil and leave our debts² to the parasites: 'who toils not, shall not eat.' And lead us not into temptation of compromise with capital, but deliver us from the evil tyranny of the usurer. For Thine is the kingdom and power and glory for ever in this world of destruction, of the exploitation of man by man. Amen.

"III. Virgin Mother of God—the Commune, rejoice Blessed Mother of Equality and Brotherhood, the Lord—Labour is with Thee: blessed art Thou among women of the proletariat, and blessed is the fruit of Thy womb—the International, for Thou hast born Socialism—the Saviour of the souls of the toilers.

"IV. Holy Trinity: Socialism, Communism, and Marxism, abolish the tyrants; God—Labour, cleanse the sins of the capitalists; Lord—Proletariat, forgive the iniquities of the tyrants, predators, and parasites, and tie them down to looms in the factories and to the plough on the soil; Thou Holy, visit and cure their infirmities! 'Who toils not, shall not eat,' for the sake of Thy name.

"V. Lord—Labour, save Thy people—the workers of the world, and bless Thine inheritance. Give victory over its enemies to the Proletarian Universal Soviet, and protect the community by Socialism.

"VI. Lord—Labour, save and protect my one Communistic family, my brothers, sisters, and relatives in the one world flesh, and all the kindred world races of brotherhood and equality founded on Thy labour principles without distinction of nationalities, and grant them Thy peace and truth.

"VII. Them, who have abjured Thy kingdom and are blinded by Church ravings and prayers, enlighten by the light of Thy knowledge, and through the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring them to the fold of the apostolic socialistic truth, and of the catholic world Communistic church of Thy kingdom."

A RELIGIOUS manifestation on a grand scale took place in Petrograd on Sunday, May 8, 1921, by far surpassing anything seen before the war. The clergy from all parishes assembled at the Alexander-Nevsky Monastery, whence the procession moved along the Nevsky Prospect to the Kazan Cathedral. It is estimated that over 150,000 people took part in it, while dense crowds thronged the streets. Commissars and Red Army men who did not take off their caps were forced to do so, and some were severely beaten. It is the first public demonstration which the Bolshevik authorities have not suppressed. The Soviet press devoted a good deal of attention to this event.

The *Krasnaia Gazeta* ("Red Gazette") of May 10 wrote in its leading article: "What took place in the streets of Petrograd on the Sunday of the 8th of May—that pompous march of hundreds of priests with censers and banners, can only be a resurrection of the dead. These corpses of the bourgeoisie and Tsarism exhibited

¹ Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, the "Tche-Ka."

² In Slavonic the words "Forgive us our trespasses" are expressed "Cancel our debts," the idea being that through our sins we are all debtors to God.

their skeleton to the public. Even the astonished man in the street was amazed to see that what should have long been dead was still alive. It was a demonstration of down-and-outs—now speculators in the garb of Soviet employes. Everyone came out into the street—shopkeepers and bankers, jewellers and merchants, prostitutes and late 'excellencies'—all the riff-raff of yesterday. They came out to show the accursed Bolsheviks that they were still alive, that they were ready for any fresh villainy. Those who think that this was a religious procession are mistaken. For besides popes and curiosity-mongers there was also the flaxy wishy-washy intelligentsia. This was done to spite the Bolsheviks. The popes sang: 'Lord, save Thy people.' They roused the masses. And this happened a week after the 1st of May, when red banners waved triumphantly over Petrograd. It only shows that Red Petrograd is still full of vermin, which must be done away with. The counter-revolution contaminates everything it comes in touch with. The bourgeoisie wishes to impress foreign countries. It is an attempt to defy the authorities by hooligan methods."

The Petrograd Pravda of May 10 demands the punishment of the "offenders."

THE SERBIAN CHURCH

By BISHOP RUSTIĆ

(Continued)

CHAPTER II.—SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE SERBS—
FOUNDATION OF THE SERBIAN ARCHBISHOPRIC OF "JUSTINIANA
PRIMA"

THE study of general Church history shows us that members of the Serbian race were included amongst the early Christians, since both the Apostles St. Paul and St. Thaddæus are said to have laboured in the Balkan peninsula. Later on, Greek missionaries preached the Gospel and baptized Serbs in the Balkans, and Roman missionaries did the same in Illyria, but their progress was very slow, for the Serbs understood neither Greek nor Latin. These new clergy, however, had no desire to learn the Serbian language, for in spreading Christianity in Serbian territory they aimed at nothing less than the complete suppression of Serbian nationality. Their attitude towards the people was consequently proud and unfriendly. This hindered the Serbs for a long time from embracing Christianity. Many indeed of those who had already become Christians returned to their old faith and resumed the worship of their national and pagan deities. Thus Christianity only spread by slow degrees, and the organization of the Church was equally slow amongst the newly converted people. As the East Roman Empire found its authority supported by the Serbian people, the Emperor, Justinian I., founded a separate Archbishopric for the Serbs in his native city, which lay in the centre of what was then Serbian territory (Taurida, between the present Prisrend and Djusendil) and called it "Justiniana Prima" (A.D. 535). The first Archbishop of the Serbs was a Greek, since the Serbs were so backward in education, and possessed no sufficiently cultured men for the post. The independence

of the newly founded Archbishopric was recognized by Pope Agapetus as early as A.D. 536, by the fifth General Council in 553, and by Pope Gregory the Great in 601. This Archbishopric existed till well into the ninth century. Further details as to its end and the exact date of its foundation lie hidden in the obscurity of the past. The Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima included in its jurisdiction those territories inhabited by Serbs which were mentioned by the Emperor Justinian in his letters of institution to the first Archbishop Kattalin. On the east the Archbishopric was founded by the river Isker, and on the south by the river Drin, as far as the Adriatic Sea. On the west lay the Adriatic Sea and the Rivers Trebischniza and Bosna. Here the boundary ran farther up beyond the Save in a straight line to the Drave. On the north the boundaries were formed by the Rivers Drave and Danube. Salonican Serbia was not included in Justinian's Archbishopric, but remained under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Salonica. In the same way, Dalmatia was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Spalato and the Bishop of Diodora (Zara), though later on it was transferred to the Metropolitan of Ragusa. The Archbishops of Ragusa and Spalato were immediately subject to the Pope, while the Bishop of Diodora was subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Serbs were continually oppressed by their neighbours in the Balkan peninsula. The Greeks endeavoured to make slaves of them and the Romans to latinize them. The Serbs set themselves to oppose this twofold oppression vigorously, and preferred rather to preserve their nationality than to accept the strange faith which came to them in so harsh a form. Many, therefore, remained faithful for a long time to their ancient paganism. In this desperate struggle with the Greeks, Michael, Prince of Salonican Serbia, specially distinguished himself. This prince took a deep interest in the religious affairs of his people. In order to root out the hatred which his people felt for Christianity, he became a monk himself, and was made later on Archbishop of Pannonia and Morava. Even while prince, he had compelled the Greek clergy to learn the Serbian language and to conduct the Church services in the national tongue. He himself translated many prayers from Greek into Serbian, and wrote them in the Glagolitic alphabet, which had been known for some time to the Western Serbs, as well as to those in Dalmatia. Nevertheless, Christian faith and doctrine were only generally accepted on the appearance of the two national apostles, Cyril and Methodius. By that time, too, education had become more widespread amongst the Serbs, and the ecclesiastical books were written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

(To be continued.)

THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH SINCE THE WAR

By THE REV. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D.

MOST English Churchmen who care at all for Eastern questions know something of the magnificently picturesque part played by the "Nestorian" highlanders during the Great War. The present writer, General Austin, and that gallant lady Surma Khanim (who herself took a worthy part in the struggle) have told something of the story, and we may refer inquirers to those works¹ for the story of the defence of their mountain homes; of the retreat of the clansmen to Persia, and their maintenance for three years of a Christian enclave amid Mussalman enemies; their recognition by the British as an ally; and, finally, of the dastardly murder of the Patriarch who had been their leader through the years of tribulation; and of the wonderful migration of the nation to Baghdad, where they flung themselves with a justified confidence on the charity of the British Government.

How they were received, and how a modern city of refuge sprang up to receive them on the banks of the Diala, has been told by that most able organizer and kindly English gentleman who was responsible for the work.² In this article we hope to continue the story of later developments of this strange national Odyssey, so far as they have gone at present. The writer of 1918 saw the nation under canvas near Baghdad, confident that its troubles were over at last, and that after a few weeks' delay they would commence a return to their old homes under the escort of British troops. In this, however, they were disappointed, and, like everyone and everything in Mesopotamia, have had to suffer from the fact that statesmen could not make up their minds what to do with what the soldiers had won.

The Turk had thrown down his arms and put himself into the hands of the Entente, prepared to accept any terms that they dictated, with thanks to Allah that they were no worse, and conscious in his own mind that, after what he had done, the worst that he could suffer would be less than he deserved.

It was only after years of delay, divided counsel in the Entente, and in the case of America, at least, an open taking of the hand from the plough and turning back, that the Turk began to pluck up heart again. Who can blame him if, seeing the manifest divisions of the Allies, and their confessed reluctance to do justice to Christendom from fear of Islam, he remembered his own proverb that expresses the

¹ "Our Smallest Ally." Wigram. (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.) "Assyrian Church Customs." Surma Khanim. (Faith Press. 3s. 6d.)

² "The Baqubah Camp." Brig.-General H. H. Austin, C.M.G. (Faith Press. 2s. 6d.)

dealings of Europe with Turkey in one pithy sentence: "Allah is merciful. Doubtless He will set the dog to worry the pig"? When will statesmen learn that with Easterns the first necessity is to know your own mind; and that, while the Mussalman appreciates the justice he is constitutionally and religiously incapable of rendering to others, he never will, and never ought to, respect a Government that is afraid of him?

In Mesopotamia, then, the delay in settling the Turkish problem has been at the root of all the troubles we have made for ourselves in a land which asked for nothing better than government by Englishmen; and these troubles have fallen heaviest, perhaps, on those Assyrian refugees who still ask vainly for an answer to their request: "Put us back if you can in our own land, and protect us there; if that is impossible, put us somewhere where we may live." No answer can be given to that reasonable request by men upon the spot till those in authority will tell them what is to be done with the land as a whole, and meantime the suppliants wait, and "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

Yet the time of waiting has not been all dreariness or loss. They have been maintained at the cost of the British Government, though perhaps the taxpayer does not realize that he has been feeding 25,000 helpless guests for thirty months because his Government could not determine what to do with them!

All through this time it has always been certain that after a short interval they would be sent home, therefore it was not worth while to employ them in any remunerative work, and they have been for the most part idle. Unfortunately, two years' life as a pauper at others' expense is apt to leave marks upon the character. There is one thing, however, that even those who like these hillmen least admit that they can do: they can fight. They have (it is part of the problem of settling them) an hereditary and most natural hatred for Islam in general and Kurds in particular; consequently, when a contingent was raised from among them to fight their hereditary enemies under British officers and with British rifles—well, it seemed as near heaven as these rather irregular, and perhaps heretical, Christians are ever likely to get.

Twice this joy was theirs in Mesopotamian campaigns since the armistice, and the verdict passed upon them was the same in each case: "A bit indiscriminate, but first-class fighting men." "How do the Assyrians fight?" asked a British officer of a Gurkha sergeant. "Why did you not give us the mountain sandals they made for themselves?" came the answer. "*Then we should have done as well as they did.*" Small fault, surely, to be found with the fighting quality of the Assyrian when "Johnny Gurkha" apologizes for not doing so well as he!

Once they stormed the stronghold of an ancient foe, built, like

many another Kurdish castle, by the labour of Christian serfs for the enslavement of Christians. Their vengeance on it was natural, if there was more of highlander than of Christian in the message that went to a friend: "Now you never would say that there had been a house there." But the trophy won there that they prized most was two enormous service-books of their own Church (the "Khudra" and the "Gezza," to give them their technical names, which form the enormously multiplied equivalent of the collects and occasional prayers of our services). They had been captured from some unknown church when their valleys were plundered in the war; now they came back at last to Christian hands again. The fighting men brought them in triumph to their British colonel, with one request: Might they carry this trophy as their mascot and standard through the campaign? Leave was given readily, and (testimony to the size of the books) a mule detailed from the baggage train for the purpose, and the two volumes made a load for him! So for the rest of that hill expedition the service-books marched at the head of the column, and a volunteer guard of honour stood sentry over them every night!

They could be rough at times, and hard to hold, having, in truth, grim and recent memories in their minds. Let Belgians who have seen their country ravaged condemn them, for no Englishman has the right. Once during the Arab rising a British officer threw doubt on the losses they claimed to have inflicted on the enemy. "Rubbish! You never hit as many as that!" said he. They said nothing at the time, but after the next action sought out that officer again, and spread before him a grim collection of severed human ears! "You can't say we didn't hit those fellows, sahib!"

Fighting ended, the contingents were disbanded, and that wave of restlessness that has passed over all the world affected a people whose bane has ever been the tendency to quarrel among themselves. The natural leader of the nation, the Patriarch who had kept them together in the war, had given his life for the nation before it ended, and his successor had died of a disease contracted during it.

The best head in the nation, Surma Khanim, sister and counsellor of the Patriarch, was away in England pleading the cause of her people, and idle, leaderless folk tend to intrigue. The British authorities, too, were most naturally eager to settle the nation anywhere where it could be settled, and be rid of an administrative burden. It was an opportunity for any man who could make himself leader, and one was found to make the attempt. A certain Petros Agha, a man whose career had been more adventurous than respectable, but who had certainly shown himself a capable leader in the later stages of the war, came forward with a new plan. One party in the nation yearned for its old home in Persia, another equally naturally

for the mountains of Kurdistan. Petros suggested to the Government that they should be settled under his leadership in a vacant space between the two. To the people he seems to have promised that every little sept that followed him should have all that they desired, and the British authorities, desirous to be rid of a nuisance, and fascinated by the extreme plausibility of the adventurer, accepted his scheme, and urged all to accept him as temporal leader (August, 1920).

The bulk of the nation did so accept him, and were marched off to a temporary camp that was to be their starting-place on the march to their new home. Only a minority remained in their original camp near Baghdad, and this minority, regarding themselves as the faithful remnant who were loyal to their old patriarchal house, and feeling that ill had come on the nation because it lacked a leader, proceeded to elect and consecrate a new Patriarch. They chose, according to custom, the nephew of the late prelate, and consecrated him, in spite of the fact that their nominee was a child of twelve years! (September, 1920.)

The step was disastrous, not that there lacked precedent for hereditary boy patriarchs in the Church, for it had been the custom among them for three hundred years. Still, even conservative reformers felt that it was time such an anomaly should cease, and in this case there were other faults to find with the action.

By old custom the hereditary candidate for the episcopal headship of the nation must needs be accepted by the nation as a whole, and this acceptance compensated—in the eyes of these wild highlanders—for the scandalously uncanonical character of the whole proceeding in every other respect. In this case, however, the election had been the work of a minority, who felt rightly aggrieved, and which comprised just the very elements that had most to gain by continuing that hereditary system the reformers wished to drop. The late Patriarch was paternal uncle to the child now consecrated, and the consecrating prelate who put the matter through was also his uncle—on the mother's side.

The aggrieved minority had, in fact, given the majority a very satisfactory grievance, which is always a valuable possession, and there was a division in the people over the matter.

Meantime, preparations for the departure of the fighting force of the nation were pushed on. They were to occupy a district on the frontiers of Turkey and Persia, known officially as the Gawar-Ushnu area; but plans were indefinite in the extreme, and it was generally understood that they might take the city of Urmi if they could. "Let them go out into the blue and take all they can hold; but in any case let them go," was the attitude of British authority.

Petros Agha was to be leader. The force was composed partly of

"plainsmen" from Urmi, but partly of mountaineers from Hakkari, who would undoubtedly have to do all the serious fighting. Some mountain guns accompanied them, and it is an odd fact that the artillerymen were Turks captured at Urmi during the Great War, who had taken service with their captors as indifferently as any old soldier of fortune! This force was to occupy what territory it chose, and the women and children were to follow as soon as practicable.

In itself the scheme was not impossible. Four thousand well-armed Assyrians, if they held together, could go anywhere and do anything in Kurdistan *at the right time of year*. As things were, however, the time of year was all wrong, and the force would not hold together; each of its sections had its own idea of what it wanted, and cared as little for the other as the Highlanders of Montrose's army cared for their Lowland comrades. Petros had made at least very indefinite promises to each section in order to win them to follow him.

In addition, November had begun, and to campaign in winter in the highest and most rugged mountains of Kurdistan is impossible. Of course it had been intended to launch the scheme earlier, but the Arab rising had caused delay through the summer. Now the fact that British authority was anxious to be rid of the burden of keeping the nation through another winter seems to have been the cause why this obstacle was disregarded.

In details, too, all showed a most casual and happy-go-lucky spirit. An Assyrian has an engaging power of disregarding all difficulties in a plan that appeals to him; and Petros, though a brave man and with a knack of handling men in action, is not a trained soldier. He does not seem to have grasped the hard military fact that if four men can get through a country, it does not follow that you can lead four thousand there. Thus the British Government had provided medical stores and provisions in abundance, but the force went off with only seven days' food and not so much as a bandage. The two British officers who accompanied Petros "in a purely advisory capacity" pointed out this omission. Petros, hardly distinguishing between a campaign and a cattle raid, replied that his people were accustomed to go to war in that fashion! The scheme was thus launched under conditions that made success impossible from the beginning, and bad luck dogged it throughout.

Winter set in early, with constant sleet and snow, so that the mule transport speedily broke down, and the plainsmen of the force, unused to such conditions of travel, fell ill by scores.¹ In spite of this some

¹ A young mountaineer once expounded the episode in the Acts, "John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem," as follows: "Mar Markus was of those who live in plains, Rabbi. Of course, he could not travel among the mountains."

advance was made into the higher hills, and two sharp actions fought and won in the course of seven days.¹ Presently, however, news came in that made any further advance hopeless. The mountaineer wing of the force had left their comrades, and gone off westward by themselves in the general direction of their own country. By what was at least a grave error of judgment Petros had posted them on the left wing, precisely where such an act would be most easy.

The proceeding might have been foreseen. Did Petros, who at least knows his own people, ever foresee it? The mountaineer of the Assyrian stock cares very little for the plainsman, and was by no means inclined to conquer the fat plains of Urmi for him on a promise that he might settle thereafter on the rightful owner's leavings. His own gorges beckoned him, and in the meantime he had a good English rifle in his hands, well-filled cartridge belts around him, and the chance for once of getting his revenge in full on all accursed Kurds. Who could expect one who had been cateran for ten generations to look beyond such a prospect as that?

The Urmi people, abandoned by the only good fighting element among them, could do nothing but withdraw. Mules perished by the hundred, and all baggage was abandoned; men even left their rifles by the roadside² as useless lumber as they crawled back under the whip of constant sleet to the kindly plains. About one hundred men perished of fatigue and exposure; in fact, the whole expedition was a doleful failure, and the loss of life much less than might have been expected.

The mountaineers meanwhile continued their wild career, plundering right and left through a wide belt of Kurdish country. The utter perversity of things pursued them here also, for when they killed they always killed the wrong men. There are quite a fair number of known bad characters in Kurdistan, whom the British Government could see extinguished without a pang. None of them were touched, but the villages of tribes who had always been obedient and well-behaved were turned inside out. They even fell foul of Turkish authority (for the unquiet ghost of Ottoman administration still haunts those hills) in that they captured a Government mudir. They explained with grim humour that "His Excellency was not wearing uniform when we saw

¹ Certain Kurdish villages were plundered, and the reckless, unprovisioned mountaineers burned the corn stores, which is a gross breach of the courtesies of local war. Among the loot captured in this corner of wild Kurdistan was an English "Book of Common Prayer," bearing the stamp, "St. Paul's, North Battleford. Not to be taken away." It was given to a British officer, who wishes to send it back to the church if he can find the parish.

² This naturally excited the wrath of the British officers, whose comment was: "A Tiari man may be as big a thief as Heaven ever made, but at least he will leave his head before he leaves his rifle."

him"—that he certainly was not, for the Tiari men stripped him of every rag that he had on!

Finally, their progress was stopped by a British political officer, the A.P.O. of Dohuk. Gathering a few police, he met them on the road, rated them heartily for the disorderly rascals that they certainly were, took their plunder from them, disarmed them, and sent them down to the camp again. It shows the prestige of the right sort of Englishman among these people, that these wild hillmen should thus have obeyed an order that the giver of it had certainly no power to enforce!

They had ruined the scheme of settlement, once for all, had wasted much property, and had set every Kurd in Kurdistan in a state of natural fury, at the very moment that the Baghdad Government (with an Arab revolt still on its hands) most wished that turbulent district to be quiet! Meantime Petros, abandoned by both wings of his army, had also returned to the plain, observing that the expedition had failed, certainly, but that he had no doubt that the moral effect among the Kurds would be good!

There was of course great wrath in all Government circles, and talk for a moment of indiscriminate punishment for all concerned. It was felt, however, that those who had sanctioned a rather wild experiment, and sent Assyrians out uncontrolled to capture an enclave for themselves, must not be too hard on men who had only acted after their kind. Some luckless scapegoats who appeared specially guilty were confined, and the whole nation was, so to say, put in the corner in disgrace. The Government then addressed itself to the problem of what to do next for the settlement of a nationality that seemed to have settled on their shoulders like the old man of the sea.

At the date of writing, it cannot be said that this problem is solved at all. Various schemes have been proposed, and the definite withdrawal of the British forces from Persia has at least made it clear that it will not be possible to settle the men of Urmi in their land. There is, in fact, far more bad blood between the Urmi section of this people and their Persian neighbours than between the mountaineers and the Kurds.

A successful rebellion of serfs (for that is how the Persians look at the matter) leaves far more sting than even the most violent outbreak of feud between clans who have fought and made friends alternately for centuries: thus nothing but a British occupation—which is not possible—would make Urmi a possible dwelling-place for Assyrians now.

To recognize that part of a problem is impossible sometimes opens a way for the solution of the remainder of it; and in this case all depends on a clear declaration of what the British Government intend to do in this land and with the Ottoman Empire.

It is to be hoped that before these words appear in print the high

gods in Europe may have decided on some definite line of action in the Middle East, which will enable smaller questions to be settled, and incidentally may give a chance of life and development to this long-tormented people.—*MOSUL, April, 1921.*

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF INDIA

(Continued from p. 39.)

AFTER a time the rule of the Jesuits became so intolerable to the Roman Syrians that they resolved to have a bishop from the East, and applied to Babylon, Antioch, and Alexandria. One who was readily sent from Antioch was intercepted by the Portuguese and was condemned to the flames of the inquisition at Goa in 1653. This so infuriated the Syrians that they met in solemn conclave in their thousands at Coonen Cross in Malabar and renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome. The Syrian Church from this time split definitely into two large sections, one still clinging to the Church of Rome and the other repudiating the Roman domination. These joined forces with those that remained faithful to the traditions of the Syrian Church, and together developed into what is known as the Jacobite Syrians of to-day.

Since the Coonen Cross incident the Jacobites are governed by their own dignitaries, consecrated by the bishop delegates of the Patriarch of Antioch, and they adhere to the tenets introduced in 1665 by Mar Gregory, a Jacobite bishop. They use the liturgy, mainly in Syriac, of St. James, and their chief articles of belief are: (1) "They look upon the Holy Bible as the main authority in doctrine, practice, and ritual, but do not allow it to be interpreted except with the help of the tradition of the Church, the writings of the Early Fathers, and the decrees of the Holy Synods." (2) The Jacobites believe in the efficacy and necessity of prayers and charities for the benefit of the departed souls; they invoke the Virgin Mary and the saints in divine worship; they confess sins to, and obtain absolution from, priests. (3) They administer the Lord's Supper to the laity in the form of consecrated bread dipped in consecrated wine, and regard it a sin to provide the elements separately after having united them in token of Christ's resurrection. (4) They allow marriage ceremony on Sundays on the ground that, being of the nature of a Sacrament, it ought to be celebrated on that day, and that Christ Himself had taken part in a marriage festival on the Sabbath. (5) The Jacobites venerate the Cross and the relics of the saints. (6) They perform mass for the dead. (7) Re-marriage, marriage of widows, and marriage after admission to full priesthood are denied to the Jacobite clergy. (8) The

Jacobites believe in the efficacy of infant baptism, and acknowledge baptismal regeneration.

The Jacobites, who to-day constitute a large portion of the Syrians, are a very progressive body, and some of the best men of the Syrian community come from them.

The Syrian Church was fated to see yet another serious split, and, as it was due partly to British missionary inspiration, I must use a line or two to mention that Dr. Buchanan, a Church of England missionary, visited Mar Dionysius, the Jacobite Bishop, in 1809, and broached the subject of a union of the Syrian Church with the Church of England. The proposal was seriously entertained by the Syrians for some time, but did not find popular favour with them.

The Syrians now delegated a young man who had had a short course of English education at Madras, and possessed a deal of courage and energy, to proceed to Antioch and get ordained as a bishop. In spite of the intense transit difficulties of the time he accomplished his purpose, and returned in 1843. Mar Dionysius, who perceived a formidable rival in the new Bishop, Mar Mathew Athanasius, resisted him and applied to Antioch for help, accusing Mar Mathew of Protestant leanings. The Patriarch despatched a messenger to expel Mar Mathew. He arrived, and in course of time assumed the title of Bishop himself, with the connivance of Mar Dionysius. This was resisted bitterly by Mar Mathew, and the credentials of Cyril, the messenger from Antioch, were examined and proved to be false. Mathew Athanasius was consequently installed in his office in 1862, and Cyril fled the country. The Patriarch sent still another messenger called Ste-phanoes, but the Government interfered that Athanasius should be left alone. Upon this the faction of Mar Dionysius sent a young man named Joseph to Antioch for ordination, and he, returning duly in 1866, assumed the title of Dionysius V., claimed the office of Metropolitan, and applied to the Travancore Government for assistance. The Durbar referred him to the law-court, and then followed a series of lawsuits in which each party displayed zeal, subtlety, legal acumen, and hatred for one another.

In 1874 the Patriarch himself arrived in Malabar, and a synod was held. The synod supported the connection with Antioch, recognized formally Mar Dionysius as the accredited Metropolitan of Malabar, and condemned Mar Mathew as a schismatic. The great lawsuits, which commenced in 1879, ended in 1889 in favour of Mar Dionysius, the two Hindu Judges deciding in his favour and the one English Judge in favour of Mar Mathew. The followers of Mar Mathew, who did not live to see the grim end of the tragedy, lost almost all the churches along with the landed properties attached to these. The followers of Mar Mathew are to-day known as the Mar Thoma Syrians, or Reformed Syrians.

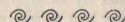
The Mar Thoma Syrians maintain that the Jacobite creed was introduced into Malabar only in the seventeenth century. They uphold the ecclesiastical autonomy of the Church, and claim that the Metropolitan of Malabar is the supreme head of the Church. They further hold that the consecration of a bishop by or with the sanction of the Patriarch gives no more sanctity than that by Metropolitan, inasmuch as the Church is as ancient and apostolic as any other. This is in opposition to what the Jacobites hold, that the consecration of a bishop is not valid unless it be done with the sanction of the Patriarch.

The doctrines and beliefs of the Mar Thoma Syrians are also much different from those of the Jacobites. They hold that the Bible is unique, and are not bound down by the traditions of the Church or the writings of the Early Fathers or the decrees of the Holy Synods in interpreting it. The Reformed Syrians do not pray for the benefit of the dead, do not invoke the Virgin Mary or the saints in divine worship. They do not confess sins to and obtain absolution from the priests. They admit the laity to both the elements of the Lord's Supper after the act of uniting them. The Mar Thoma Syrians do not hold marriage festivities on Sundays, and set the day apart for rest and religious exercises. They observe the Mass only as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. They regard the practice of venerating the Cross and the relics of the saints as idolatry. They do not perform mass for the dead. They allow the clergy to re-marry and restrict the liberty of marriage in the case of the bishops. They baptize infants, but deny the doctrine of regeneration thereby, and regard the ceremony as a mere external sign of admission to Church communion.

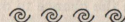
A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

SINCE last we wrote, three anniversaries of first interest to our movement have been kept. It was on March 25, 1821, a day never to be forgotten in the Calendar of Liberty, that the men of the Peloponnese, led by their Bishop Germanos, gathered in the monastery of Patras to raise the standard of the Cross in revolt against Islam. To know how hopeless seemed their courage, it is needful only to read the books of contemporary, unsympathetic travellers such as Leake. For three and a half centuries the country had been ground under a calculated, ignorant, and brutal tyranny. It was part "charnel-house," part desert. That its people had not perished remains a scarcely credible marvel. That they could remember their past or dream of a future can be understood only by the knowledge that it was their religion which saved their soul. But they had counted the cost. When they wrote "Death or Liberty" on their banners, they used no idle words. They had drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. There could be no looking back. The Turk was determined that the seemingly dead nation which struggled to return to life should be

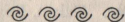
stamped out for ever in a wholesale massacre. Europe shut its eyes, shrugged its shoulders, and waited the event. The Greeks themselves were ready to die and to end it. But they were willing to live no longer in unspeakable helotage. And so the impossible was accomplished. Colocotronis won his hardly hoped victory at Valtetzi on May 24, 1821, and that liberation of the Greek nation and the Greek lands which is still incomplete was begun.



The Turks' answer was very swift. The Christian had been allowed to exist only on condition that he held himself as his master's slave. He had claimed liberty. The punishment of that effrontery was extermination. Therefore, on Easter Day, April 22, 1821, he hanged eighty-year-old Gregory, the Œcumenical Patriarch, outside the Church of the Phanar, and began to massacre the Greeks in his power. On June 16, 1821, for example, he wiped out the whole Christian population of Aivali—the scene two years ago of one of the most horrible deeds of Mustapha Kemal's butchers—and on August 14, 1822, slaughtered 23,000 Greeks in the Isle of Chios out of hand. The survivors he sold as slaves, a boy or a girl fetching a few piastres a head, in his market-places to the number of 47,000. It is to be noted, indeed, that while 1821 marks the beginning of Modern Greece, it marks also the beginning of the Turks' policy of extirpation. If bit by bit in these hundred years much of the Greek lands has been redeemed, the Greek nation has paid a heavy price in blood, not of its heroes shed on the battle-field, but of its unarmed and helpless children murdered under the Turkish flag. The two dates, March 25, 1821, and April 22, 1821, are epochal and inseparable.

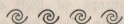


Thirdly, it was on May 29, 1453, that Mahommed II., the "Conqueror," sacked and appropriated Constantinople, the Queen City of Christendom, and seized St. Sophia, the Mother Church of the Greek nation and of Eastern Orthodoxy. Two years ago nothing seemed more reasonable than to expect that the centenary of March 25, 1821, would have been celebrated by a free Constantinople in a reconsecrated St. Sophia, or that the centenary of April 22, 1821, would have been celebrated by the Greek and Armenian nations with rejoicings at the fact that none of their people could ever again be in danger of Turkish oppression, outrage, and murder. As it is, the two long chapters remain unclosed, and it is in their second century that they must receive their colophon.

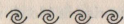


History is repeating itself indeed. The jealousies and indecisions of the "Great Powers" of a hundred years ago played into the hands of the Turk. It needed the siege of Missolonghi and the battle of Navarino to bring Europe to acknowledge half the *fait accompli*, and on July 3, 1830, to recognize the independence of the peninsula of Greece. The rest of the Greek world was thrown back under the heel of the Turk with paper guarantees, the worthlessness of which has been attested enough in blood-red letters. So

also, since 1918, when once again a clean cut became possible, the Powers have allowed back-stairs intrigues to delay justice and inevitability. Despite the protests and pleadings of the large majority of the people of Constantinople, the Turkish flag still flies on the Golden Horn, and St. Sophia is still a mosque. Despite the pledges and proclamations of the statesmen of the Entente, Mustapha Kemal in Asia Minor goes on merrily Turkifying the Greek and Armenian homelands by exterminating their native Christian people. The Allied navies allow him to receive his munitions and certain Allied Mercantile Marines to supply his needs. The ruins of the Church of Nicea are still smoking, and the bodies of his victims are still polluting the air, to show that he is unhindered by Europe's benevolent neutrality.

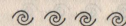


History shows clearly that if the Near East remained last century the breeding-place of restlessness and produced the monstrous birth of the Great War, it was because in its insane mutual jealousy divided Europe preferred to buttress up the Turk rather than to risk a free Greece. It is the same again. At the almost certain price of ceaseless misery and disturbance, and at long last of another war, the Turkish power is being reconstituted—over a limited area, it is true, but over an area which is not Turkish, and in which the Christian population, to say nothing of freedom, can never know safety and security. Neither the Greek nor the Armenian can ever stifle their conscience and leave their native country unredeemed.

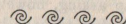


Putting all this on one side, the thought of what the Near East would be if Constantinople became the capital of a united and progressive Greece and the Armenians were given the chance to make their country that which, once free and unmolested, they would assuredly make it in a decade, it seems incredible, for another and more selfish reason, that Great Britain should be inveigled into playing the part of Dilly and Dally. It is by no accident that Mustapha Kemal and Lenin find themselves in partnership. However great the antithesis between Islam and Bolshevism, they have this in common: Both hate Christianity as their chief enemy, and must wipe it out of the lands over which they exercise a minority's tyranny or perish. Bishop Velimirovič tells our readers elsewhere in this issue of *THE CHRISTIAN EAST* that it is the Orthodox Church alone which is fighting the German-Jew in Russia. Mustapha Kemal has no doubt but that, to make Asia Minor all Turkish, he must annihilate that Church and the Armenian. Let there be no mistake in the matter. From the day that Turkey entered the Great War, the mask has been down. Talaat, Enver and Company may, as is said, have been atheistical, cynical brigands, but, at all events, they exploited the ambition of Turkish Islam. Religious persecution was their admitted instrument in their policy, and that power had an admitted religious end. It is so that now Kemal openly declares that the war of Islam against Christendom has been resumed. The Dar-es-Salaam will at last annihilate the Dar-el-Harb. The Christian Powers, he tells his merry men, are tearing each other to pieces. The defeat of Greece will be the defeat of Great

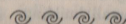
Britain and the beginning of the end of Christianity. Soon the resurgent Green Flag will recover all its losses and press on beyond the limit where Sobieski checked it. That is the slogan to which the mosques of Angora resound, and that is why the tough old official lovers of the Turk, who have lived their lives in Constantinople and talk of the Greeks as Levantines, begin to say that if the Sultan is left with the Young Turk in possession of the place their lives will not be safe.



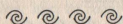
Why is it all happening? Two years back Asia Minor was obedient to the Entente. Its control was a simple thing. The Turk was resigned to the inevitable, to the liberation of Constantinople, and to the redemption of St. Sophia. The Sultan was ready to go to Iconium. Mustapha Kemal was nothing. The explanation is not to be found in the Indian menace. If anyone's flesh ever crept at that ridiculous bogey, it is patent enough now that the costly agitation which the pro-Turk engineered at the right moment was farcical. The surviving few *muhadjirs* have fled back from Afghanistan, sadder and wiser men. We must search nearer home for the sinister force which stultifies the conscience of Europe and leaves Great Britain to be dragged helpless at the tail of the Quai d'Orsay and the Quirinal. The fall of Mr. Venizelos has been used by French Chauvinists to stampede French policy. Italy has imperialistic ambitions in the Near East. And, working inexorably and without deviation, now as in the past, the Vatican is following the secular policy which makes its first aim, if not the extinction, at least the paralysis of the Eastern-Orthodox Church.



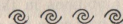
In writing the above we are actuated by no ill-will towards the Papacy as a spiritual power. Whatever may be our view as to its claims, we recognize in the Roman Catholic Church a great Communion towards which we are drawn by strong attractions. It is our prayer that the Papacy may speedily become the first See of an united Christendom. We acclaim the fact that much good comes out of the Vatican. Our "*J'accuse*" is directed solely against the temporal diplomacy which delivered its monstrous *démarche* at Paris against the redemption of St. Sophia, which protested at the landing of Greek troops in Bithynia, and which raises no voice to demand the lives of the Christian remnant in Asia Minor. We may also add here that we have not the slightest interest in politics. If we speak our mind plainly on the Greek question it is because, and only because, the very existence of our Eastern brethren is in jeopardy. If to desire the limitation of Turkish power to the Turkish part of Asia Minor be meddling in politics, then we are bound to meddle in them. To our mind, however, the matter is as much one of religious duty as the bringing a fire-escape to a man in a burning house. It is a poor phil-Orthodoxy which cultivates an entente with the Eastern Orthodox, but stands silent and tongue-tied while they are butchered and oppressed simply for their faith.



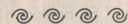
It may interest some of our London readers who wish to familiarize themselves with the Greek rite that the Liturgy begins every Sunday in St. Sophia, Moscow Road, at 11 a.m., and is preceded by Orthros at 10.15, Esperinos being sung at 5.30. The Liturgy will also be sung on the Transfiguration, the Assumption, the Nativity of our Lady, and the elevation of the Cross on our August 19, 28, and September 21, 27, at 10.30. Similar arrangements prevail for the Russians at St. Mary-le-Bow.



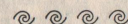
As all the world ought to know, the Indiction, or New Year, begins for the Eastern Orthodox on September 1, because it marks the garnering of the crops. September 14 is the anniversary of the foundation of the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem in 330, and finds an important place in the Eastern Calendar. The Greek Menæon tells us that the day after Helena found the True Cross, it was elevated with great honour. Part of it was sent to Constantinople. The rest remained in Jerusalem until A.D. 614, when the Persians captured and took it to their country. Heraclius recovered it in 628 and took it to Constantinople, where it was received with great dignity. The chest in which it was kept in St. Sophia was an object of great devotion. It was displayed for a fortnight after September 15 each year, and a portion of it will, in future years be displayed again in the same famous building on the same feast.



It is not our business here to have any opinions, except as far as they affect our cause, upon matters that concern Anglican relations with other Communion. We cannot help asking, however, how it can be right for the Anglican Cathedral in Jerusalem to have been lent, as, unless we are misinformed, it was recently lent, to a non-Anglican body which engages in proselytizing the Eastern Orthodox? It may be possible, indeed, that the authorities took advantage of the opportunity to urge on their guests the very grievous offence against Christian charity which they perpetuate in their attitude to the Eastern Orthodox. In face of repeated Anglican pronouncements against proselytization, they should have done so. A man is known by his friends.

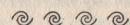


Archbishop Barsawm of Antioch writes of the Western Syrians: "J'espère que tous nos amis et connaissances fassent le mieux pour notre cause et nous délivrer des turcs. Les mouvements des bandes nationalistes, la neige abondante ont rendu la situation des plus délicates."

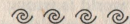


The opportunity of witnessing an Eastern Orthodox ordination in England is necessarily rare. It was, therefore, a privilege to be present when, after fifty years' service as a Reader, the Deacon Constantine Vasilovič was ordained on June 3 by Bishop Velimirovič in the Russian Church at Welbeck Street. The rite, which is merged in the Liturgy, is impressive, and did not suffer by being rendered in a small building. For the sake of any readers

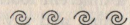
who do not know, we may say that the Bishop stands on a small carpet on which an eagle is woven, that the fitness of the candidate is proclaimed by cries of "Agiōs," and that the laying-on of hands takes place in the Diakonikon.



The appointment of one of our editors, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, to St. Magnus, in the City of London, was a matter of profound satisfaction to all who are interested in the Eastern Churches. Apart from the proper and well-deserved recognition of his past services and the fine work both as a parish priest and as secretary first of the A. and E.C.A., and then of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, we rejoice at his going to St. Magnus, because he will certainly make that very beautiful church a centre of intercession for the reunion and for the welfare of the Eastern Churches. Unless we are mistaken, the day of his receiving his call, which by the *sortes* was St. Magnus Day, will prove to have been noteworthy in the history of our movement.



We venture to congratulate the Diocese of British Guiana on its election of the Rev. O. H. Parry as its future Bishop. His labours among the Syrians and his knowledge of the "Separated Eastern Churches" are known to everyone. He is, of course, a valued member of the Archbishop's Eastern Committee. God bless him in his diocese, and further his work.



As we go to press, we receive the first volume of Professor Comnenos' Συμβολαί (contributions) towards reunion. In it our friend investigates Anglican orders, and gives his conclusions as (1) that they bear scrutiny on the ground of rite, intention, and succession no less than Roman orders; (2) advocating their acceptance; (3) that all our sacraments should be recognized; (4) that economic emergency intercommunion should at once be established, with the mutual emergency admission to all sacraments. For the last he quotes medieval precedent. His monograph is, of course, of first importance. Laus Deo!

UNION WITH THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox, especially in Regard to Anglican Orders. By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Vicar of St. Luke, Camberwell. (London: Faith Press, 1921.)

Terms of Intercommunion suggested by the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with her and the Eastern Orthodox Church. (London: S.P.C.K., 1921.)

WHAT are the steps to be taken with regard to reunion with the Eastern Church? On what basis is it possible? These subjects are discussed by Mr. Douglas in the work that lies before us. He has presented his views very fully also in a criticism of my Bampton

Lectures, which he published in *THE CHRISTIAN EAST*. A policy is sketched from a different point of view in the "Terms of Intercommunion" which have been drawn up at the request of the Eastern Churches Committee.

I must express my thanks to Mr. Douglas for the kind way in which he has expressed his dissent from some suggestions that I have made, and for allowing me the opportunity of criticizing his book.

The main contention is this: If you study theologians of the Orthodox Church, it will become apparent that they have a clear and definite basis of doctrine; that that represents, or is believed to represent, the teaching of the Undivided Church; that however friendly and courteous they may be, no reunion in any way is possible with them except on that basis; and that therefore to suggest anything else would be not only useless, but harmful. The attitude that they adopt is this: "We are right, and the rest of the world is wrong. If they will express their agreement with us, we shall be very glad to come to terms; if they do not, we can have nothing to do with them." Now that is a very natural basis; it is the basis which is adopted by most religious bodies, and it is obvious that it is one which would make reunion impossible. It is because that has become apparent to some persons that an attempt has been made to put things on a different footing. It is clear that if we all are quite determined to think and say that we are right, and no one else is right, then we must all stay as we are. So long as the Roman Catholics state that they will have no dealings with anyone who does not make his submission to the Church, so long corporate reunion will be impossible. So long as the Anglican Church says that it will not recognize in any way or in any form any non-Episcopal Orders, reunion with the non-Episcopal Churches is impossible. So long as the Free Churches say, "We will have nothing to do with Episcopacy in any form," reunion is impossible. So long as the Eastern Churches say: "We are the Church, and no one else can belong to the Church unless he is in union with us; we are orthodox, and no one else has any claim to be heard," reunion is impossible. And therefore, if Mr. Douglas's contention is sound, it really does not matter what we say or do.

It is with that consideration in one's mind that I ventured to put forward another way of approaching the subject in my Bampton Lectures. I suggested that we should recognize that all division is wrong, that no Church could make any claim to be infallible or absolutely right, that we should explore the field of Christian thought and action to try and find a more fundamental basis on which we could unite, and to the best of my ability I made some suggestions. Those suggestions in relation to the Eastern Church are worked out in the *Terms of Intercommunion* to which we have referred. The same point of view, not exactly on the same lines, was adopted by the Lam-

beth Conference, which boldly came forward and said: "Let us approach one another, not in an attitude of self-assertion, but in an attitude of penance, and let us see from that point of view whether we cannot make any progress." That is the striking characteristic of the attitude of the Lambeth Conference.

Let us now examine Mr. Douglas's statement of the claims of the Eastern Church. The characteristics of the Eastern Church are, he tells us, these: It has a definite faith on which it is united and on which it looks as essential.

"His case is neither more nor less than that the Faith, as he holds it, is the Faith of the earliest ages. For him the vital necessity of Episcopacy to the existence of the Church, the sacerdotal powers and office of the Priesthood, the Real Presence, the propitiatory character of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Invocation of Saints, the Seven Sacraments, the supremacy of the Œcumenical Councils as infallible organs of the Christian Society, and so forth, are as much fundamental to the Faith of Chalcedon as the dogmatic statements of the Creed, of which that Council made the affirmation the duty of every Christian.

"You cannot," the Eastern Orthodox tells us, "pick and choose what you will believe. The Church is the organism of Faith and Love. The Œcumenical Faith is its great unifying tradition, a deposit committed to the saints once and for all by Christ Himself, and safeguarded by the infallible working of the Holy Spirit in the whole body of the Church. It is to be accepted, not because of its logical warranty, but because not to hold it in its entirety is to break the unity of the Christian Brotherhood."¹

It is in relation to this that its attitude towards the Church of England and Anglican Orders rests. It is quite right to put aside all the objections which are made by the Roman Church, it says. "Its uninterrupted succession from and its connection with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, thanks to the latest historical investigations, must be acknowledged to be undoubted." So far quite satisfactory, but if we are to have our Orders recognized we must be prepared to state quite clearly what our teaching upon the Sacraments and Orders is.

So Professor Bulgakoff writes:

"If the teaching of the present Anglican Episcopate upon the Sacrament of Orders turns out to agree with the teaching of the ancient universal Church, this will be a clear proof that Anglicanism has not merely preserved the Apostolic Succession in an outward manner, but that it has not changed the essential nature of that ministry, which is indispensable for the Church according to the mind of her Divine Founder and Head. Only then will it be possible to decide the question as to what order of error the errors of the Anglican Church are to be referred; this is to say, whether the gift of the grace of the priesthood has been extinguished within her, or whether this

Church still has within her a glimmering of the light of grace, sufficient to enable her Orders to be acknowledged as valid."¹

As Professor Androustos writes:

"And generally it asks these questions of the High Church party:

"1. *As regards the Sacraments.* Does it receive the Seven Sacraments?

"2. *As regards Confession.* Does it take Confession as a necessary condition for the remission of sins; and the priestly absolving of sins as included in the authority given to it by the Lord?

"3. *As regards the Eucharist.* How does it accept the Real Presence of the Lord? And what is the character of the Unbloody Sacrifice?

"4. *As regards the Ecumenical Councils.* Will it receive these Councils as infallible organs of the true Church, the declarations of which bind *eo ipso* every particular Church, and accept them always as the true faith?"²

Now, putting those statements together, it is obvious that if we accept the divines quoted, they have not a glimmering of idea of how a Church ought to behave if it desires reunion. To me it seems absolutely impertinent to speak of the Church of England and ask whether this Church still has within her a glimmering of the light of grace. Certainly all the profuse arguments which Mr. Douglas indulges in to show that a section of the Church of England can answer satisfactorily the questions that I have quoted are quite useless and beside the point. The Church of England is never going to say that it looks upon Councils as infallible; it knows that there is no infallibility in this world, and that to say that simply means that these theologians of the Eastern Church are living in an atmosphere of the sixteenth and seventeenth and not of the twentieth century. And the same conclusion will be arrived at when we turn to what Mr. Douglas tells us is their belief on the doctrine of the Church.

The Eastern Orthodox, therefore, are bound to maintain that the Faith as they hold it in their Tradition is identically the same, without alteration, addition, or diminution, as the Faith of the Apostles and the Fathers.

Now that, stated, as it is done, on their behalf, is a proposition which would show them destitute of the intelligence which is necessary for proper theological discussion. In a sense it is true that the Christianity which we all believe is a not wholly imperfect representation of the teaching of Christ, but to maintain that the doctrine of the Eastern Church, as it is put forth in the present day, contains no addition to the faith of the Apostles, simply shows that they are ignorant of history, and that it is really not worth while to discuss things with them. But, further than that, Mr. Douglas tells us that this Eastern Church is so sensitive in its character that if these reasonably and carefully considered proposals made with regard to

¹ Quoted pp. 64, 65.

² Quoted p. 14.

intercommunion are put before them with any approach to authority, all negotiations and intercourse will come to an end. Not only do they hold what they say is true, and no one else at all has any idea of the truth, but also they say that they are not prepared to discuss matters with people who suggest anything else as a possible basis of reunion. Well, if what Mr. Douglas says is true, it certainly seems to me that it is better that we should put forward these views and make an end of it. It is no good spending our time in writing friendly letters, and in entertaining and so on all these Eastern prelates, if their attitude is as immobile and their minds are as stagnant as he tells us that they are. I am perfectly well aware that all his statements can be paralleled in Eastern theologians, but I am also quite convinced that there are many Easterns who recognize that such an attitude is an impossible one, and are not prepared to adhere to it. It seems to me, therefore, that the only thing, the right thing, for us to do is to think out, as those who prepared the above document have thought out, the relations from the point of view of the Church of England, to put these before the Eastern Church as representing a sound basis for discussion, and to ask them to approach us in a similar way.

The other night I had a dream. I saw a large plain, and in the plain were a multitude of people sitting in a great circle in chairs. They were all people who said that they were Christians, and it was suggested that it would be a very good thing if they could approach one another and shake hands; but when that was suggested a difficulty at once arose—everyone said: "I am perfectly willing to shake hands with everyone else, but let them get up from their chairs and come to me and shake hands with me." Well, as they all said that, it was quite obvious that nothing could be done. Then someone suggested: "Would not it be better for all of us to go into the middle and shake hands there?" A certain number of people thought it would be a very good idea. Then a number of those people who were sitting in chairs, and who bore the name, as I was told, of Anglicans, suddenly said: "Let us do that; at any rate, let us stand up and show that we are willing to do that, and see if any other people will stand up." So they all did so, and they suggested that they should all come together and shake hands in the middle in a certain way.

Now, as soon as they had done that they looked round to see whether any other people would be ready to get up like themselves, so as to prepare to walk into the middle. Well, there was an old man who was sitting in a great big chair with a lot of people round him, who called himself the Pope, and he said at once: "Do you think that I am going to stand up for anybody? I am Pope of Rome, and all that is worth knowing I know it. What I don't know is not knowledge. I am always right. Let them listen to me and hear what I say, and

let them all come and shake hands with me." And so, though there were some of the people round him who looked very much as if they would like to stand up, they were not able to do it.

And then I looked to the other side of the ground, and I saw a number of people who were sitting on quite low stools. As soon as they heard the Anglicans begin to talk they all began to shout in chorus, without taking much trouble to listen to what was being said:

"We won't be re-ordained, we won't be re-ordained;

We are far too slim to be taken in;

We will never, never, never be re-ordained."

And some people thought that, as what they were asked to do was to shake hands, this was unnecessary. Then there was a nice old man among them, a Dr. Garvie, who was sitting on rather a low stool, and he kept shouting at the top of his voice: "I will never be a member of an established Church."

I looked amongst the Anglicans, and I saw there was a venerable old man, Dr. Stone, and he was sitting in quite a nice chair, very old, which had been made for him by Dr. Pusey, and he kept saying: "We know the Romans do not recognize our Orders, and we know that the Greeks are very doubtful about them; but we have our Orders, and unless people come and be ordained we will not have anything to say to them; and then they are not really Christians, because they are not confirmed."

I saw in another place a lot of old men sitting in rather old chairs—they had once been very nice ones—and they kept saying: "We have never learned anything since the days of the Apostles, and we do not want to learn anything; in fact, we have been fast asleep most of the time, and we want to go to sleep again, and why should you trouble us?"

So the Anglicans remained standing and wondering what was going to happen.

And then I thought I would look at the chairs in which they were sitting. As I said, the chair in which the old Pope was sitting was a very fine one, but I looked at it more carefully, and I saw that sometime or other (about four hundred years ago, I understand) someone with a saw who was called Historical Criticism had set to work and sawn through one of the legs. They had knocked a nail in since and painted it over and made it look quite secure; and now there were other people with saws all sawing away at the other legs. There was Scientific Discovery, and there was Religious Liberty, and there was National Freedom, and they were very quickly getting through all the legs, and it looked very much as if the whole thing might come down; and a good many of the people round were saying: "Hadn't we better mend these legs?" But the old Pope kept saying: "No, we must not change anything; we must not mend these legs. I will go on saying they are

very strong, and what I say is true, so they must be; and we will just put a little paint over them."

And then I looked at the chairs in which the Anglicans had been sitting, and a great many of them were quite nice old chairs; but what I noticed was that all their legs had been mended, and they had been mended in a very ugly way, and great big bits of wood had been stuck on, and they looked rather uncouth, but still they seemed very strong and serviceable. These people with saws had been scratching at them, but they did not seem to have had much effect. And then I looked at the people on the stools, and they were very proud because the people with saws had been able to have very little effect upon them; but that did not seem very unnatural, because their legs were so short it would seem impossible to saw through them—in fact, many of them seemed to have no legs at all to stand on. And then I looked at the chairs in which those old men were sitting, and they were quite beautiful chairs—at least, they had been beautiful about a thousand years ago; but they were all tumbling to bits, and it was quite certain that if once people with saws came they would be down with a crash. And there were some of them who wanted to mend them, but a good many of them were far too sleepy to do anything of the sort, and Mr. Douglas kept saying: "Oh! do not mend them; they are far too beautiful. Do let them sleep."

But the Anglicans still kept standing, and looked to see whether anyone else would get up. The question is how long they would go on standing.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

A NOTABLE BOOK ON REUNION

The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox, especially in Regard to Anglican Orders. By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Vicar of St. Luke, Camberwell. (London: Faith Press.) 12s.

THIS book is very opportune and very important. It is opportune, because reunion is in the air, and plans made for reunion are sometimes very volatile, whereas this book never leaves *terra firma*. It is important, because it really puts before English readers the Eastern Orthodox point of view, and does it so thoroughly that the work of Mr. Douglas cannot be ignored in any steps towards approximation between Anglicans and Eastern Orthodox Christians taken in the near future.

Our relations with these Christians have passed through several stages during the last two generations. First there was ignorance tempered with vituperation. We remember reading a description of the

"Greek" Church which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* at the time of the Crimean War. We will not quote it, but mention that it had the merit of giving a charming illustration of a picture of Our Lady of Kazan. The second stage was ignorance tempered with curiosity. We remember giving an address on the Eastern Orthodox Church a good many years ago in the North of England to a gathering of cultivated clergymen. The address was received with interest, and an aristocratic and elderly priest remarked that he had not known that there was any Eastern Orthodox Church. And yet by this time careful spade-work was being done by Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, who was quietly advocating "friendly relations," and by Mr. Birkbeck, who had a deep understanding of Russian mentality and Russian piety, and tried to persuade religious Englishmen that they could learn something from the great national Church of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Birkbeck died in 1917, when the war was raging, the war that brought to England many refugees from Orthodox lands, including several young Serbian students and their priests, among whom was Father Velimirović, now Bishop of Ochrida. Some of the Serbian theological students had been taught in Russia, and it was a surprise and a pleasure to them to see the real Church of England. They had hitherto only known it from caricatures, usually German caricatures, and had much to learn both of Anglican doctrine and Anglican practice. Then came the Greeks and theological conferences in London and Oxford. And when the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a special committee on relations with the Eastern Churches, and invited to the great Lambeth Conference of 1920 representatives of the Church of Constantinople, there were many who only hoped, not that causes of friction would be removed, but that some definite measures towards union would be inaugurated. These hopes were very imperfectly fulfilled, and the Anglican Bishops devoted their attention rather to the question of reunion in Great Britain than the question of reunion with the East.

The line taken by the Bishops assembled at Lambeth is not wholly to be regretted. For it may reasonably be doubted whether any considerable number of them were sufficiently familiar with Eastern theology to tackle so serious a problem, and they have in the meantime learned to know more accurately the difficulties which exist in the way of the home reunion for which they were willing to make such generous concessions. The attention and the interest which, we do not doubt, will be raised by this book will prepare the path for a more serious rapprochement with the East at the next Lambeth Conference. Patience is a divine quality, and Mr. Douglas is right in urging that the time is not ripe for presenting to the Easterns a formal scheme of

reunion emanating officially from the Anglican Churches. We must first understand what the Easterns themselves believe, and state our own belief in terms which are intelligible to Greeks, Slavs, and Rumanians.

Mr. Douglas perceives that if Anglicans are to understand Eastern belief, they must understand the doctrine of *Economy*. It has been to a great extent neglected by English writers, and, in fact, it is not easy either to explain or to defend. Yet it is so important a function of the Church in Eastern eyes that it must not be ignored. It is the means by which a system of extreme rigour becomes tolerant, flexible, and variable to the verge of inconsistency. Readers of Purcell's "Life of Cardinal Manning" will remember that the Cardinal, extremist though he was, became indignant with some of his priests who absolutely ignored the fact that the greater part of the English people are baptized and "in the supernatural state of grace," and that many Protestants have not lost the grace of baptism. Of course, these English Roman Catholics were ignorant of the theology of their own Church. But they approximated very closely to the opinions which are held in Athens. The Greeks hold that the Eastern Church is the true Church and the only Church quite as firmly as the Pope holds that the great communion which owns his sway is the true Church and the only Church. But the Pope would certainly not say with Professor Dyovouniotos of Athens that "outside of the Church the grace of God does not exist" (quoted p. 61). We find that the Easterns maintain a theory which in the third century of the Christian era would have rejoiced the heart of St. Cyprian. It looks as sharp and clear as June sunlight piercing through the shadows of a group of trees.

But *Economy* then comes upon the scene. Students of early Christian theology know how this word was used to signify the "dispensation" of the Incarnation, so that sometimes it is almost equivalent to the word "Incarnation." The Greeks now use the word of a different "dispensation." It means the power of the Church to use her own discretion "in those matters which neither belong to the realm of dogma nor are governed by œcumenical canons" (p. 55). According to the letter of the law, there are no true sacraments outside the Church; Papist, Armenian, and Anglican are destitute of grace and true means of grace. And yet, as Mr. Douglas correctly says, "economic acceptances of heterodox Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders have been abundant, and in certain cases now have synodical authority" (p. 56). Roman and Anglican baptisms are alike regarded as valid by the Eastern Orthodox, though a hundred years ago they would have been treated as invalid. What, then, are the limits restricting this economy in addition to the limits imposed by œcumenical dogma and œcumenical canons?

According to Professor Dyovouniotos, there seem to be no limits, the Church being able to reject even the sacraments of schismatics "among whom they are accomplished canonically and the Apostolic, succession has not been broken" (quoted p. 60). The Church can establish "the invalid as valid, and the valid as invalid." Professor Androutsos seems to modify this by maintaining that the Church would not, or could not, treat as valid either the orders of heresiarchs and originators of schism or the sacraments of sects which "have mutilated the outward act of the Sacraments" (p. 58).

The bearing of this doctrine of *Economy* on the recognition of Anglican orders is too clear to be mistaken. We believe that Mr. Douglas is quite correct in holding that the Russians are in harmony with this view of *Economy*, and also with the opinion of the Greeks that the exercise of it in our favour would be greatly facilitated by an expression on our side of a clear belief as to the necessity of episcopal ordination and the sacerdotal powers of the priesthood. Possibly he is also correct in thinking that the Russians are more inclined to concentrate their attention upon our *rite* and the Greeks upon the *general attitude* of our Church towards the Eastern Orthodox Church. We doubt, however, whether he is correct in thinking that the Russians were more influenced by Latin scholastic methods than the Greeks, and in tracing to such an origin the Russian treatment of Anglican orders. It was not the Russians who learned from the schoolmen to describe the veneration due to the saints by the word *dulia*, which the Russian theologian Makarius, who is very far from being a Protestant, paraphrases by "a lower respect," using the word which in Russian corresponds with the English "my respects." The Russians, unlike the Greeks, do not regard holy orders as indelible, and they think that a priest who has been lawfully deposed is a priest no longer. The Russians, as Mr. Douglas carefully notes (p. 75), dropped the word "accidents," which the Greeks had accepted in their anxiety to defend the truth of the Real Presence against Calvinistic innovation. The word *μετουσίωσις* was officially adopted by the Greeks in the seventeenth century, but we think that Mr. Douglas would have done well to have dealt more fully with its earlier use and meaning. The matter is discussed at some length by one of the most important recent Russian theologians, N. Malinovskii ("Orthodox Dogmatic Theology," vol. iv., p. 177f., note 1). Malinovskii says that it is used thrice by Georgios Scholarius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1453-1459), and by three writers of the next century, and was finally adopted in order to oppose the teaching about the Eucharist in the work alleged to be by Cyril Lucaris. Malinovskii treats the word as identical in meaning with *transubstantiatio*, and we cannot doubt that he is correct. The Russians use the word *prelozhenie* to correspond with the Greek *μεταβολή*, and

presushchestvenie to correspond with *μετουσίωσις*, as Mr. Douglas notes. The word *transubstantiatiizija* is not really Russian at all, and may be dismissed as one of the jargon words which Slavs borrow from Western languages before they have accurately learned their meaning. Assuming, therefore, that the whole Eastern Orthodox Church has adopted a word equivalent to transubstantiation, it is important to notice that all the Slavs decline to associate this word with the scholastic term "accidents"; and, secondly, that all the Eastern Orthodox would probably refuse to accept the sharpened Tridentine doctrine which was laid down by Rome in 1875.

As an immediate and practical step towards a recognition of Anglican orders on the part of the Eastern Church, Mr. Douglas has, with the help of other theologians, drawn up a suggested Declaration, which he believes could most profitably be signed by "priests of the Anglican Communion." It deliberately, and we think wisely, goes beyond the questions which Professor Androutsos asked with regard to Anglican belief touching the number of Sacraments, Confession, the Eucharist, and the Ecumenical Councils (see p. 14). The eleven sections of the Declaration (p. 90 ff.) answer his questions, but also deal with the Ecumenical Nicene Creed, the place of the Thirty-nine Articles in our theology, Ordination, Prayer for the Dead, and Intercession of the Saints. They are composed in language intelligible to Easterns, and we have no doubt that if they are adequately made known they will obtain a sufficient number of signatures to convince our Eastern friends that there exists widely among us a respectful and brotherly attitude towards their Church. That a corresponding attitude may be found among the Easterns is proved by many things, and notably by the very recent and frank statement of a leading Greek professor as to the validity of all Anglican sacraments, and the part taken by a Serbian Bishop in the consecration of the Anglican Bishop of New York. This and other actions of friendship and spiritual hospitality must not be regarded as finally committing the Eastern Church to any collective act or opinion, but they are recognized on both sides as expressions of mutual love and as a stimulus to reunion. In this connection we may mention that Mr. Douglas is not one of those Englishmen who in their desire to conciliate foreigners are ready to throw vitriol in the face of a member of their own Church. He is quite courteous, though firm, in what he says about a Greek theologian who has written a very uncomplimentary sentence about the English Church, and he is equally courteous and firm in what he says about some recently suggested terms of intercommunion coming from the English side.

There are a good many questions which this book will raise anew—e.g., whether the Eastern Orthodox Church in those countries where divorce is scandalously rife considers that *Economy* can be exercised to

invalidate Christian marriages, and whether there has been any general approval of the action of the Serbian Bishops, who are alleged (we hope falsely) to have refused intercommunion with the Czechs unless they gave up the use of the Czech translation of the Roman Missal.

In any case, we are grateful to Mr. Douglas both for what he has written himself and for the very numerous quotations which he has selected from authoritative Eastern documents.

We have noticed one or two small misprints. On p. 51 we find "Magdalene" for Magdalen, and on p. 76 we suppose that "Pius IX." stands for another Pope of the same name.

LEIGHTON PULLAN.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

THE most noteworthy event of the past three months has been the official invitation to the Anglican clergy of Constantinople to officiate at the burial service of the Acting Patriarch, a special request being added that we should wear our vestments. The invitation was accepted by the Embassy Chaplain and the Senior Chaplain to the Forces, as well as by myself. We wore the ordinary quire-habit of surplice, hood, and tippet. Every member of the Holy Synod recited a prayer in turn, then a Russian Archbishop and a Serbian priest; after that I followed by singing "Man that is born of a woman" to Merbeck's music, the Embassy Chaplain went on with "I heard a voice" with inflections, and Mr. Hughes ended with a collect and the Grace. Though our vestments were of a minor order, we were not found wanting in our music, and it should be noted that although the Armenian and Syrian Patriarchs were present with their suites, the Anglican clergy were the only non-"Orthodox" who took part. The Archbishop of Canterbury's rôle at the Greek service in London was significant and epoch-making, but there was something just as unique in the fact that the latter half of the English Burial Service and Merbeck's music should be heard in the Patriarchal church at the headquarters of Eastern Orthodoxy. Canon Whitehouse and Mr. Hughes left after the service at the Phanar, but I thought it right to take my place in the procession to the water's edge and go to Balukli, to the Church of the Life-Giving Fountain outside the walls, where I said a final prayer over the body.

The Holy Synod has recently determined to send a permanent representative to London. The post has been offered to the Rev. Dionysios Menas, secretary of the Holy Synod, a very able man. He has not yet definitely accepted the offer, preferring to await the election of a Patriarch, so that he may be sure of being in sympathy with the official policy. As I write there is a rumour that the Athens Government intends trying to stop the Metropolitans of Macedonia and Thrace going to Constantinople to take part in the election. There is also curious news from Anatolia to the effect that the Angora Government is insisting on the Orthodox in their power "voluntarily and spontaneously" separating from the Phanar and establishing a Patriarchate at Cæsarea, which is to have jurisdiction over Smyrna and Thrace (when recovered)! The expression "Turkish Orthodox Church" even is used, but, needless to say, that does *not* mean the conversion of Turks to Christianity and the use of a liturgy in Turkish!

Since he wrote to you, Professor Komnenos has discovered a precedent in the Middle Ages which justifies his recommending not only that the offer of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 to give Communion to Eastern-Orthodox out of reach of their own priests should be accepted, but that the same offer should be made to

Anglicans in similar circumstances. His report is, of course, of enormous importance, but it will have to be accepted and endorsed by the Holy Synod before it can be effective, and much water may flow under Galata Bridge before then. The Papalists will be sure to get busy so soon as they hear of it, and leave no stone unturned to stop its acceptance. It will be easy for them to speak of our exchange of pulpits with Dissenters and the proposals for women's ministrations, and to exaggerate them, or, at any rate, represent them in the worst possible light, with a view to frightening the Greeks off any further rapprochement. The new Uniat Bishop has already issued an appeal to the Greeks to "return to the true Church," but I have not yet succeeded in getting a copy. I am also not quite sure whether he assumes the title of Patriarch. Some say that there has always been a titular Patriarch of Constantinople living at Rome, but that now he has been sent to take up his residence here and begin aggressive work.

The Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown has sent me a copy of the new South African liturgy, and asked for the opinion of Eastern theologians as to the adequacy of the form of invocation, and also as to the necessity of repeating it in the event of reconsecration. The above-mentioned Professor has expressed himself as satisfied with the form of words, but as quite unable to admit that any explanation could excuse the repetition of the epiclesis when reconsecrating. The secretary of the Holy Synod was also consulted, and emphasized his great distaste for alternative liturgies. He is of opinion that it will be necessary for every branch of the Anglican Church to adopt an epiclesis before complete and formal intercommunion can be brought about.

I have to report the death of the Archimandrite Teknopoulos, who will be remembered by those who took part in the early stages of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union. He held no ecclesiastical post latterly, and lived in retirement very quietly, so that the funeral was over long before I heard of the death. May God give peace to his restless soul!

The Patriarch of the Old Syrians has been inquiring rather anxiously as to whether the Archbishop's Committee is ready to present their test of orthodoxy for his consideration. It seems a pity that this golden opportunity should be missed.

R. F. BOROUGH,

Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

THERE is no need to tell who Bishop Velimirović, Professor Headlam, and Dr. Leighton Pullan are.

The Archimandrite Germanos is the Under Secretary of the Constantinople Holy Synod, and was the chief ecclesiastic in the retinue of the Locum Tenens in London last April.

Archdeacon Mallhouras is of Zicycus, and has for some time been resident in Oxford. He returns to the East this month.

Bishop Rustić is a very distinguished Serbian ecclesiastic, and well known as a writer in that country.

OUR BOOKSHELF

Αἱ Ἱστορικαὶ Μοναὶ τῆς Νήσου Χάλκης and Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον καὶ Ἡ κυρὰ Βασιλική. By the Great Protosynkellos Athenagoras. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920 and 1921.)

In the great Protosynkellos Athenagoras the Phanar possesses a fine scholar and an assiduous archaeologist, who is at his best in these two monographs. Halki is, of course, the official theological centre of Eastern Orthodoxy, is of great interest to

English students, who will find great profit from reading these accounts of its famous monastery.

A Mediæval City in Greece. By J. A. Hamilton. (Jolly, Aberdeen. 1921.) 3s.

This admirable contribution to the bibliography of the important city of Mistra is of real interest to the student of the Greek Church. Among other things we note the description of the Mistra St. Sophia as very good.

Lives of the Serbian Saints. By Yanick and Hankey. (S.P.C.K. 1921.) 6s. 6d.

We wish we had greater space to describe this book, which appears as one of the S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Series VII. It contains exactly what is needed to give the reader a whiff of a first-hand impression of Serb psychology. At the same time, it forms a valuable book of reference. We advise our readers to buy it for a permanent place in their libraries.

The Body is One. An Introduction to the Problem of Christian Unity. By C. BEAUFORT MOSS, M.A. (S.P.C.K.) 2s. 6d.

The modest sub-title of this book, and the still more modest Preface, do not at all prepare the reader for its intrinsic value and weight. It is a most complete and practical introduction to a problem in relation to which we venture to express a hope that some suggested schemes of solution may issue in detail at no distant date from the author. For "The Body is One" is a book with a purpose, informative as well as suggestive; a book full of facts, not merely of words or opinions. The historical Introduction to the present problem is excellent and exhaustive, while the concluding chapter is full of valuable suggestions as to the conditions of approach to the solution of the problem of Reunion. Particularly well timed is the emphasis on such points as the sinfulness of schism (a conception lacking in much of what is spoken or written on the subject at the present time), the danger of the proselytizing temper (a danger from which we are by no means yet exempt), the necessity of dogmatic unity (a necessity apparently overlooked in most "schemes of Reunion"), and the freedom from State control (an ideal as yet unrealized in East and West alike); while the summary of the present difficulties and future possibilities of the Anglican Communion is clear and concise.

The author displays throughout a charitable outlook as admirable as it is refreshing in discussions of this kind, particularly in regard to the Church of Rome. We could wish, indeed, that all remarks on this subject were characterized by the same balance, sense of what is due to the Holy See, and abstention from controversial irrelevancies. In passing, we venture to question, in this connection, the desirability of the term "Romanist," however verbally accurate, since ordinarily, though clearly not in this work, it savours too much of Protestant prejudice.

The parts of the book specially relating to the Eastern Church are naturally of the greatest interest to readers of THE CHRISTIAN EAST.

Particularly informing is the concise summary in Chapter II. of the state of the Church in the Empire between the fourth and seventh centuries; while the description in Chapter III. of the relations between Rome and Constantinople in the period leading up to the Great Schism of 1054 is very fair to both East and West, and true to history. The chapter headed "Light in the East" forms an invaluable introduction to the study of Eastern Christendom, and as such should be read with great interest by the friends and sympathizers of our Association, since it furnishes an excellent synopsis of our aims and activities.

In conclusion, we may add that this work is written from the standpoint of a convinced Catholic, and may be obtained, complete with glossary, appendices, and index, price 4s., from S.P.C.K., or the office of the Association, 24A, St. Charles Square, W. 10.

C. NORMAN SMITH.

The Christian East

EDITORIAL

PROFESSOR COMNENOS' weighty study of Anglican Ordinations, of which we print a translation this month, must not give rise to extravagant expectations of the quick adoption of the action which he urges.

To begin with, a decision of the kind cannot be taken during the vacancy of the Œcumenical Throne; and that vacancy, though now nearly of three years' duration, may continue for an indefinite period. It will be remembered that last June, when arrangements had been made for an election, forty-six bishops meeting at Adrianople notified the Holy Synod that in their judgment no canonical election was possible in the disturbed state of the Patriarchate—*i.e.*, of Thrace and Asia Minor. In consequence, the election was postponed until Mustapha Kemal should have been brought to book. Now that the Greek Army has abandoned, at least for the present, the attempt to occupy Angora, the pacification of Asia Minor may be a matter of years, and if the same objection to a Patriarchal election be maintained, it may be very long before the Holy Synod can discuss Professor Comnenos' recommendations.

But even if an Œcumenical Patriarch were elected, there are indications that the authorities of one or more of the other autocephalous churches might dissent from Professor Comnenos' view that the Great Church of Constantinople could or, if it could, should take action in this matter independently of the others. If a strong representation to that effect were made, say from Athens or Jerusalem, it is extremely doubtful whether it would be disregarded. We could hardly wish it to be. But if it were successful, one has only to think of Russia in order to realize that it might be many years before the concerted action of all the autocephalous churches will again be possible.

Apart, however, from the question of machinery, it would be foolish to blind oneself to the fact that Professor Comnenos has made an advance upon his predecessors, and that his conclusions may meet with dissent. Widely disseminated and long-existent misconceptions are not removed in a day. In England, there are still many of us who have been inoculated by the mediæval slanders upon the Byzantine Church, which Gibbon and Montesquieu took in with their mother's



This portrait of His Holiness Sahag II., Catholicos of Sis, was taken for the *Christian East* during his late visit to London. The Catholicate of Sis, which as a separate jurisdiction like that of Aghthamar originated in a schism, has long been subordinate to the Supreme Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. His Holiness, however, possesses the full rights of a Catholicos in his jurisdiction which comprises Cilicia. The vestments in which he is shown robed are of the early seventeenth century and are adorned with many jewels, being heirlooms of the Catholicate. He is deeply loved and venerated by his martyred people and has recently applied for an asylum for himself and them in Cyprus.

milk and passed on to the modern world. Writers such as Hergenröther and Pichler are still quoted as authorities on Orthodoxy. Books such as Dr. A. Fortescue's "The Eastern Orthodox Church" are still read. Much spadework is needed before the ordinary Englishman understands the position. It is still freely asserted that the Œcumenical Patriarchate, in the case of Mr. Morgan, sanctioned the reordination of an Anglican priest. It is as hard to get false coin out of currency in the East as in the West. Only thirty years ago Provost Maltzew devoted some thirty pages of his "Die Sacramente" to recapitulating the Papalist criticisms of Anglican Orders, and, though he did not condemn them, termed them "at least very doubtful." Bishop Milaš seems also to have heard of the Anglican Church only as Calvinist. Bulgakoff and Androustos themselves had doubts on that matter. Moreover, a third party, to which the very idea of the Anglo-Orthodox *entente* is a nightmare, is very busy, and is not to be ignored.

Therefore, while we may well be thankful for Professor Comnenos' study and courageous plain speaking, we must be prepared to wait and work and pray on.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

PROFESSOR COMNENOS is a Professor of Halki, editor of *Anagenesis*, and a leading theologian of Constantinople.

MR. MIYATOVICH is a distinguished Serbian diplomatist.

MR. MARITCH, who studied at Oxford, is now home in Serbia.

MISS ROBINSON is Secretary of the Armenian Red Cross. She edited *Ararat*.

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The Dissensions in Jerusalem was supplied by a very competent correspondent.

The full report is to be published by the Clarendon Press.

Read the Important Notice on p. 145, and act on it.

THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM¹

This patriarchal see, having been vacant for upwards of fifteen years, is now occupied by the Archbishop Elisée Dourian, known as a great scholar. His election took place at Constantinople a few weeks ago. The new Patriarch, who is one of the most prominent figures of the Armenian Church, was unanimously elected at an extraordinary meeting of the National Assembly, presided over by H.B. the Patriarch Zaven.

It is well to mention that the Patriarch Dourian has very great sympathies towards the British people and the Church of England; therefore the Armenian nation is animated by the hope that he will be successful in his high office in connection with the British protection of the Holy City.

✠ ABEL, VARDAPET.

¹ See also p. 144.

ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS

By PROFESSOR P. COMNENOS

(TRANSLATED BY J. A. DOUGLAS)

[Professor Comnenos is known in person or in name to a large section of Anglicans, not only as an authoritative theologian but as one in whom caution and reserve are a habit of mind. He was, of course, the principal lay expert in the Constantinople Delegation to Lambeth last year. Most of those who came in contact with him then will agree that he gave little indication as to the far-reaching conclusion which he was approaching. He is not given to saying smooth things.

Their knowledge of him will, therefore, leave Anglican readers unaffected by a spontaneous warning, which I notice that several Roman Catholic writers who take a keen and lively interest in Anglican affairs are offering us now that they have discovered that there is a great difference between the Eastern-Orthodox and the Papalist attitude to us and our Orders. Unless I am very mistaken, they are quite wrong in thinking that what the Patriarchal Delegation told us in Conference was born of a wish to be polite, and was therefore unreliable.

At any rate, Professor Comnenos cannot come under that suspicion. It is true, indeed, that he does not speak as the mouthpiece of Eastern-Orthodoxy. He simply gives his own opinion. But the suggestion made, e.g., by Father V. McNab in the July issue of *Blackfriars* that the Eastern-Orthodox are led by their desire to be pleasant to us into saying what they do not mean is not only an assumption, but in case of Professor Comnenos is shown to be ridiculous. We presume that the efforts of Roman controversialists to convince Anglican and Orthodox that they cannot and ought not to find it possible to approach each other have an adequate motive, but those efforts are foredoomed to failure. They only help forward what they seem intended to prevent.

The fact, indeed, is that Professor Comnenos' monograph marks the last stage in that investigation of Anglican Orders in which the Eastern-Orthodox have been engaged for many years. Much has happened since Philaret of Moscow told Dr. Liddon that in declaring Anglican Orders to be very doubtful he judged them on the evidence as presented by Roman Catholic writers. Since then the investigation has continued and has been completed, as is shown by its summation by Professor Comnenos in the last thirty-seven pages of his monograph, which we have not space to translate here.

Thus, if Professor Comnenos' conclusions are far-reaching, they are not rash or phil-Anglican. They are the result of long and protracted study of the matter. If he goes farther than his predecessors, it is because his enquiry began where they left off.

It will be noted that in the main text of his work he concludes that—

- (1) Our Orders are valid for economical acceptance.
- (2) Our Eucharist and other Sacraments are valid.

(3) The Eastern-Orthodox could unite with certain of the Churches in our Communion without uniting with others.

(4) The administration and reception of the Eucharist, etc., could and ought to be mutually allowed between us and them in emergency.

(5) The Great Church of Constantinople can and ought to proceed at once to allow them—if necessary without the concurrence of other autocephalous churches.

The translation of the main body of his monograph has been checked by Miss E. Kephala, and is, I believe, satisfactory. The notes in brackets are mine.—[A.D.]

THE present short study aims at convincing every impartial reader that the reserved attitude of our Church towards Anglican Orders is altogether unjust, and that any notion of the absolute or conditional reordination of those of the clergy of that Church who may accede to Orthodoxy is even more so.

We hold that [the conclusion] which on every reasonable consideration governs our present attitude towards Roman Catholic and Armenian clergy should on the same consideration govern our attitude towards the clergy of the Anglican Church. In regard to the Roman Catholic and Armenian clergy, inasmuch as they have preserved the Apostolic Succession of Ordination, have the same view of it in its essentials as ourselves, and maintain the necessary forms, [our procedure is that] we recognize them as such, and if they accede to Orthodoxy, receive them individually in their particular grade, on the condition that, as is reasonable, they first subscribe the requisite *Libellum Fidei* or are chrismated.

We are of unhesitating opinion that the selfsame rule ought to be adopted and applied to the Anglican clergy, inasmuch as they also are demonstrated by the relative *notabilia* to have received not the semblance of Ordination but an Ordination which is real and is based upon a most incontrovertible, humanly speaking, historic succession from the Apostles, upon its canonical transmission, and upon an essentially and fundamentally right conception of it and reverence for it. It is true that according to the broadly prevalent aspect [of the action] of the Ancient Church teaching which declines from Catholic [fulness]—i.e., heresy, destroys even the priestly *character*—i.e., the power of transmitting Sacramental Grace, so that in the Sacred Canons it is laid down that on the [individual's] return to the Catholic Church both Baptism and Ordination be received again. That Canon, however, was not general in application. A distinction was made among heresies, and in each case the attitude of the Church to them was regulated by canonical action. Ecclesiastical practice indeed was not everywhere of the same pattern, the Church acting on occasion the more severely or on occasion the more gently. This being so, and our Church having at other times accepted the ordination of heretics—e.g., of the Arians—as

valid, I am of opinion that no one should hesitate in any way about the recognition as valid of Anglican Ordinations. And further, in view of what has been said above about Roman Catholics and Armenians, the validity of whose ordinations our Church rightly and properly recognizes to-day, we think that a considered judgment given by Guetté bears on the matter. He writes ("Exposition of the Teaching of the Orthodox Church," p. 26): "From what has been said it follows that the teaching of the Anglican Church is more akin to the teaching of the Orthodox Eastern Church than is the teaching of the Roman Church." As bearing on which judgment it must be noted that Guetté made his pronouncement before the Vatican Council (1870), which proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope and opened wider the chasm which separates the two Churches. This further observation may, I think, be added. The Œcumenical Patriarch, Jeremiah III., decided in regard to the manner of the accession of the followers of Luther and Calvin (M. Gedeon, "Canons," vol. i., p. 148) that "on one of them acceding to the Church he be received simply by Chrism," apparently with, at the same time, the proper *Libellum Fidei*.

In its treatment of Armenians and Roman Catholics the practice of our Church is as a general rule in conformity with this—with the exception of the well-known Oros delivered for well-known reasons under Cyril II. in the matter of the rebaptism of Latins. Taking, therefore, into consideration the fact that apparently¹ the recognition of Baptism involves that of Ordination—in so far as the particular conditions necessary for it are observed, which conditions are not found among the followers of Luther and Calvin, but are found among the Anglicans in essentially equal measure as among Roman Catholics and Armenians, it follows that from this standpoint the recognition of the validity of the Anglican priesthood claims logical warrant.

It is not unknown to theologians, and especially to those of us who follow the life and relations of the Churches, that, through the Bull of Pope Leo XIII. dealing directly with the subject, the Roman Church has characterized Anglican Orders as invalid. The arguments, relying on which the Papal Curia promulgated this severe declaration, at least those advanced officially and publicly, are of a character chiefly dogmatic though connected with the [Anglican] liturgy and rite [of Ordination]. The principal dogmatic argument is that inferred from private opinions contemporary with the initial compilation of the Anglican Ordinal, from that [Ordinal] itself, and from the Thirty-nine Articles [the twenty-fifth], and consists of allegations of an imperfect con-

¹ D. Petrakakos, in his study on the "Validity of Ordinations," p. 18, expresses himself much more categorically, writing: "Accordingly, after the acceptance of the validity of Baptism, the recognition also as valid of the other Sacrament of Priesthood follows as a logical consequence."

ception of the Priesthood and of its having been stripped and deprived of its most significant and therefore of its principal mark.

Now, first of all, as to private opinions given, especially during the first years of the English Reformation: many quite plain and discordant opinions and declarations were put forward on the subject. But these opinions and declarations in effect contradict the totality. For they are found to be opposed to a most important extent to the official documents that express the official voice of the Anglican Church, which in the storm and tempest that seized her was manifestly not forsaken by the Divine Pilot. In spite of all its possible deficiencies the Ordinal of Edward VI. stands as a clear witness of that. In its most noteworthy Preface the three grades of the Priesthood are referred back to the Apostles and it is defined that nobody be received into one of them except he be chosen and approved, except prayer be made publicly for him, and except there be the laying on of hands.

Indeed, as an analysis in detail and a collation of it demonstrate (see below), the theory of the Preface permeates all the contents of this Ordinal, and is applied to them and is realized in them. That theory is the transmission under the proper conditions of the special Grace of the Priesthood which has been inherited from the Lord through the Apostles and their successors by the Church of Christ, the objective of which Grace is to make suitable persons competent for the Ministry of the Divine Word, the Holy Sacraments, and the government of the faithful. As having such a character and being necessary and indefectible, this Grace must necessarily be of a sacramental nature, as, indeed, it is incidentally termed and characterized.¹

It follows also logically, and according to the principle of *Lex orandi, lex credendi*, that the reference to the Priesthood in the twenty-fifth Article should be interpreted in the same sense rather than independently of it by themselves. And here, also, it must not be forgotten that a very secondary authority is assigned to the Thirty-nine Articles, which, in their details, are not binding on the clergy themselves, are designated as Articles of Religion and not of Faith, to-day have chiefly an historic value, are being abandoned entirely every day by this or the other of the Episcopal Churches, and, being formally retained almost only in England because of their former political importance, were drafted with a view to the religious, and consequently to the peaceful, settlement of the country.

Finally, as to the conclusion that by removing the words of the

¹ It must be noted that the term "Sacrament" as applied to the Priesthood is not entirely absent from the—in a sense—official books of the English Church. Thus in the Homilies we read: "Neither it [the Ordering of Ministers] nor any of the Sacraments else, be such Sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are." [The reference is to the Homilies appointed to be read, 1563, "Of Common Prayer" and "The Sacraments."—J. A. D.]

ancient Ordinal which were uttered to the presbyter by the Bishop, "Take authority to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate Liturgies [Masses] for the living and the dead," the Anglicans appear as denying the Sacrifice in the Eucharist and so as having stripped the priest of his special character and mark, we are of opinion that that conclusion is not warranted by the evidence.

No one who, as have the Anglicans,¹ has the Holy Scriptures in his hands can deny the Divine Eucharist to be a Sacrifice, as much as it is connected with, and is a memorial of, and represents, the Sacrifice on the Cross;² but they are quite right, we think, on the one hand, in regarding it [*sc.*, the sacrifice] as involved in the Rite of their Eucharist, and, on the other hand, in not making the *character* and the power of

¹ Professor Comnenos appends a long note, in which after saying: "There is in fact a section of Anglicans that denies the character of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist, but the great theologians of this Church always profess this doctrine—for example, the English Archbishops affirm it officially and solemnly in their answer to the Papal Bull in 1897. We judge, therefore, that it will be no less to the point to quote here, leaving them to the individual judgment of the reader, the following extracts from the Office of the Holy Communion, as publicly expressing through the official Book of Common Prayer the Faith of the Anglican Church concerning the Divine Eucharist, both as to the Body and Blood of Christ itself and as to the memorial [celebration] of the Sacrifice of the Cross, that memorial 'being connected with and in a sense being united with it,' and in consequence conferring upon those who partake of it [*sc.*, the Eucharist] the benefits which are its own [*sc.*, of the Sacrifice of the Cross]," he then translates from the *Long Exhortation*: "Dearly Beloved . . . consider," "For as the benefit . . . Christ with us," and, "He hath instituted . . . comfort"; the whole *Consecration Prayer*; the whole *Words of Administration*; the whole *Prayer of Oblation*; and from the alternative *Thanksgiving*, "Almighty . . . members of Thy dear Son."

² In reference to the particular contents of the thirty-first of the Thirty-nine Articles, we think it well in preference to any other to quote here verbatim the following extract from "Les ordinations anglicanes," the work of the Roman Catholic, F. Dalbus, who gives the Anglican point of view impartially and does not represent it as untrue: "C'est nécessaire, avant tout, pour comprendre ce que répudie l'église anglicane, et juger sa manière d'agir avec impartialité, de se rappeler quelles étaient les opinions des théologiens et des docteurs touchant le sacrifice de la messe à l'époque où cet article (n° 31) a été rédigé, c'est-à-dire, au XVI^e siècle. A ce moment des opinions bien extraordinaires, insoutenables aujourd'hui aux yeux de tout le monde catholique, étaient défendues par certains théologiens non dépourvus d'autorité. On supposait, par exemple, que le sacrifice eucharistique était un sacrifice absolu, complet en lui-même, fournissant une expiation indépendante de l'expiation accomplie par notre Seigneur sur la Croix. On osait dire que Notre Seigneur, par le sacrifice de la Croix, avait expié le péché original, ainsi que les péchés commis sous l'ancienne loi et ceux commis par les individus avant le baptême; tandis que la messe expie les péchés commis après le baptême. On disait aussi que par le sacrifice de la messe les péchés mortels étaient effacés, *ex opere operato*. 'Επὶ τοῦτοις ὡς ἐν κατακλιθεῖς. Le lecteur a déjà connu avant nous ce que l'église anglicane réprouve et condamne: ce sont ces doctrines qui aujourd'hui nous paraissent extraordinaires, mais qui, alors, étaient admises par quelques théologiens, et parfois même prêchées au peuple chrétien. L'article XXXI^e, par conséquent, au lieu d'aller contre la vraie doctrine catholique, a pour but de la défendre."

the priest to depend almost alone upon it [sc., the offering the Sacrifice], for they are of wider scope, as is established plainly from our own Ordinal, and even more explicitly from such words, for example, as these of St. John Chrysostom:¹ "For if any one consider . . . he will see how great is the dignity with which the Grace of the Spirit endows priests. For through them are accomplished these things [the Sacrifice of the Eucharist] and other things no less than they, both in reference to their office and to our salvation. For dwellers on the earth . . . received an authority which God has not given even to the Archangels. For it was never said to them, 'Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven. And whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed . . .'. Then what has He given them other than an heavenly authority? For whose sins ye remit, He says, they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained. . . . For if none can enter the Kingdom of Heaven except he be born again by water and the Spirit, and he who does not eat the flesh of the Lord and drink His blood is placed outside everlasting life; all these things are accomplished through no one else but only by those holy hands—I mean by those of the priest. . . . They often save the soul that is sick or at the point of death, not only by teaching and advice, but by the help of prayer. For they not only have authority to forgive sins at the time of regeneration, but sins committed after it. For, is anyone sick, He says, among you? Let him call the elders, etc. For if simply to be called a shepherd and to handle the business of one as might be were sufficient and there were no danger, then he who chose might accuse us of vainglory. But if it be necessary that he who receives it should have much understanding, and before his understanding much Grace from God and a rightness of manners and purity of life that is more than that of man, . . ."²

As to the deletion of the words quoted above, to which deletion such great significance is attached, but which were added even to the Latin Ordinal only in the Middle Ages, we are of the opinion that it was sufficiently justified by certain undisputed contemporary and incorrect notions about the power and significance of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist (see above note, p. 111) and by the attempt to return even in the Ordinal to the more ancient and simpler forms. For, after all, that, of the compilers of the Ordinal, Cranmer himself, at the time indeed of the compilation of the Ordinal, believed in the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, is attested on indisputable grounds. The only important point on which Cranmer (and in the same way many Anglicans also

¹ It is inexplicable that, of the many who have written about the question under discussion, none, so far at least as we know, has availed himself of this passage of Chrysostom, which throws much light for us upon the subject.

² Περὶ τῆς. Βυζαν. Γ., κεφ. V, VI, VII.

to-day) was reserved, was as to the use of the terms *Propitiatory*, *Propitiatory Sacrifice*, through fear of depriving the sacrifice of the Cross of the unique propitiatory power which exclusively belongs to it. But there exist no reasons for us to believe that Cranmer would have rejected in its true significance such a characterization of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist.

Thus, then, from the above condensed observations, and from those that follow below, we are persuaded, that any impartial person would be convinced that the Anglican Church justly claims, and with full warranty that she also is possessed of, a true priesthood, and that accordingly it is only right that the other Churches, and first of all our own, towards which she manifests great affection and consideration, should recognize this fact. If our Church has not already taken this step, the fact is plainly due to an imperfect knowledge of the Anglican position and in particular to an imperfect study of the question which we are discussing. But the affairs of this Church are continually becoming better known and more correctly estimated among us, and the matters bearing upon the validity and canonicity of its ordinations may be regarded from an impartial point of view as having been exhaustively dealt with, so that there appears no longer to be any reason justifying further reserve on the part of our Church—a reserve which, in addition to its other effects, affords a fresh weapon of attack upon the validity of its ordinations to those who are of a hostile mind to it.

Someone may ask, however, "Apart from what is due to a Church that is unjustly used, how would the recognition of Anglican Orders and of the Anglican Priesthood help forward the union of the Churches and, as is reasonable, in particular our union with the Anglican Church?"

1. In itself this justly conceived action of our Church would produce an increasingly favourable disposition towards us and ours among the adherents of this Church. The extent is recognized to which the most sympathetic and friendly disposition possible is of importance for obtaining mutual understanding, and agreement even on questions that are most difficult of solution. It is plain, therefore, that under these more favourable conditions a mutual understanding on the points of difference [between the two Churches] would be effected more smoothly and that each would receive the explanations of the other gladly until a complete canonical settlement of the question of union was reached.

2. Very many of the lay and clerical members of the Anglican Church are inclined to be Orthodox in mind and would gladly enter into union with our Church, or otherwise fully communicate with her, if the non-recognition of their Priesthood did not stand before them as an insurmountable obstacle. The idea that on account of the non-recognition of their Priesthood they would be regarded as strangers

and outside the defining limit of our church life, as well as that, on attempting to officiate in our Church or to enter into full communion with it, their clergy would be called to submit to reordination, a very serious matter for anyone possessing a deep sense of his rank and office, keeps them at a distance from us. For this reason, then, we are of opinion that before everything it is necessary that our Church should proceed explicitly to the recognition of Anglican ordinations and should thus open wide the door to a quicker and more complete understanding and union.

But before we proceed farther in our present discussion, we must specify the necessary consequences which would ensue from the recognition of Anglican ordinations.

The recognition of the Anglican Priesthood as valid and canonical would involve as a consequence the recognition of all their Sacramental actions—*i.e.*, not only of their Baptism, but also of their Chrism or Laying on of Hands by the Bishop, of their Eucharist, of their Sacrament of Marriage, etc. It does not follow, of course, that the Orthodox would be justified in resorting to the Anglican clergy in order to be baptized, to be chrismated, to receive Divine Communion, to be married, etc., in the same way that they do not do so in regard to Roman Catholics and Armenians, whose Priesthood and by consequence whose other sacramental administrations the Orthodox Church recognizes, but to whom the Orthodox do not resort for any sacramental ministration, from whom they do not receive the Holy Communion, and to whom they do not give it according to Canonical Rule.

Each side understands that until union, which postulates agreement on whatever points may be judged indispensable for it, is effected the members of either Church are not justified legally and canonically in leaving the defining limit of their own church life.

None the less union can be effected with the particular [Anglican] Churches—as, for example, with the Episcopal Churches of America and Africa, etc.—in as far as dogmatic mutual agreement comes about with them. In that case, indeed, the hindrance would to a great extent be removed and a problem would be solved which weighs heavily upon the conscience of those whose feelings are Christian—that is to say, provision would be made for the religious needs of our people where our clergy are altogether absent and for those of Anglicans where our clergy are to be found.

Despite what has been said above, and considering the validity of the sacramental ministrations rendered by Anglican priests as in no degree less than that of those rendered, for example, by Roman Catholic priests, I am of opinion that, since full dogmatic agreement and union will of necessity require time, our Church might well, on

account of the altogether exceptional and absolutely necessary circumstances,¹ decide at the present time to take into consideration and to conform in the matter of Baptism, the Divine Eucharist, and Marriage, to the relevant suggestion of Demetrius Chomatenos, Archbishop of Bulgaria (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), who answered to a relevant question: "We remember that there were some questions asked a good many years ago by Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria, of blessed memory, and answers written by Theodore Balsamon, late Patriarch of Alexandria. . . . One answer altogether forbade that the aforesaid (captive) Latins should be admitted to receive the Divine Communion at the hands of our priests. This answer, however, was disapproved by many of the most eminent men living at that time as showing too great harshness and bitterness. They appealed also to the judgment on this same subject of Theophylact, the most wise Archbishop of Bulgaria, which we have given in an abridged form above in another of our answers and which discourses of condescension and economy in a manner worthy both of admiration and of praise. And so they who argued against the opinion of Balsamon, as has been related, were judged to have insisted piously and reasonably for giving the preference over inflexible harshness to economy in order that so, instead of casting down, we may gently and gradually win our brethren for whom our common Saviour and Lord shed His own most precious blood."² It is plain from the words used that the question dealt with by the Archbishop referred to deals only with the administration by us of Sacramental Grace and Blessing to the heterodox, and not even, though in exceptional circumstances, of their reception by us from them. But taking into consideration, as above, the validity of their ordinations and of their sacramental ministrations, it is plain that the second of the two states of affairs may be sanctioned in exceptional circumstances. But someone will ask: "Can or ought our Church to proceed to the above without the agreement and knowledge of the other autocephalous Orthodox Churches?"

In regard to the formulation or reception of the least definition of the truths fundamental to belief, which are indispensable for the unity and communion of the Churches, I am of opinion that agreement among the doctrinally consentient³ Churches is indispensable. In regard, however, to the question of the recognition of ordinations, although I hold it to be well that agreement should first be reached, I

¹ As when children are in danger of dying or of reaching maturity without Baptism, when a man and woman live together irregularly and have children through the lack of a minister to perform their marriage.

² Demetrius Chomatenos wrote in 1203 to Constantine Cabasilas, Archbishop of Dyrrachium. A lengthy extract from his answers—including the above—is given by Palmer, "Dissertations," London, 1853, pp. 25-31.—J. A. D.

³ ὁμολογῶν.

think that motion and action of our own initiative and responsibility is not precluded—in the same way that different practice has obtained formerly in the case of the reception of the Baptism of the heterodox between ourselves and the doctrinally consentient Russian Church, we not receiving but repeating it (from 1756) and she receiving it as valid and not repeating it (from 1667).¹ In similar fashion, unless I am mistaken, the particular Orthodox Churches have been used to regulate their procedure in reference to the Ordination of the heterodox.

KING PETER

By CHEDDO MIYATOVIĆ

THE Parliament of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, has just decided that henceforth the deceased King should be called "Peter the Great."

Undoubtedly during his reign (July, 1903, to August, 1921) great things have been done in the history of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The longings, animating them through centuries—their striving to be independent, free, and united—have been realized. They became independent, free, and united under their first entirely constitutional King, Peter the Great.

That King Peter was personally a brave man, a liberal-minded politician, absolutely true and faithful to his oath that he would reign as a constitutional King, is now generally well known. That he was very tolerant, broad-minded, generous, and not vindictive, is also well known. His people and the public opinion of Europe were satisfied with that knowledge of his noble qualities and did not care for a deeper psychological analysis of his exalted personality.

The result of such a psychological study of King Peter's character would have been: that deep in his soul and heart, as the foundation of his character, was the religious sentiment, the faith in the existence of a personal God, and the love of God. His own personal courage and bravery, his faithfulness to his friends, and chivalry towards the enemies, generosity to his opponents, and, I believe, even his love of liberty, true and unshakable attachment to constitutionalism, were

¹ [Before 1629 all the Eastern-Orthodox Churches accepted Western Baptism. In 1629 the Russian Church decided to reject it *in toto*. In 1667 this decision was revised for Roman Catholic Baptism. In 1718 the whole Communion accepted Lutheran and Calvinist Baptism. But in 1756 the four Greek Patriarchates concurred in an Oros requiring all Westerns to be rebaptized. This was not received by the Russians, but has never formally been superseded. The matter, however, is held to be of economy, and in practice the Greeks appear now to accept all Western Baptism.—J. A. D.]

beautiful and consistent products of the religious character.

For many people it would be sufficient to point out the beautiful Byzantine church on the hill of Oplenatz at Topola (the native village of the Kara-Georgevitch family), which he built at his own expense. Nor could a more conclusive proof of his attachment to the Serbian Orthodox Church and of his solicitude for her dignity be given, than to mention the glorious fact that, under his reign and active interest, the Serbian Church regained her former Patriarchal dignity.

But, I think, nothing could prove better what was the fundament of King Peter's personality, than a conversation which I had with him just on the question of religion.

After the victorious war against Turkey in 1912 King Peter opened in 1913 the Serbian Parliament by a speech from the Throne—most beautifully composed, from the political and literary point of view. I took the liberty to express in the Serbian papers my disappointment that our King, expressing his thanks to the nation, to the army, to the sanitary service, and to the foreign doctors and nurses, never mentioned his and his people's thanks to God, the true giver of victories.

I am glad even now to say that my remonstrance made some impression in our country. When in 1914 I went to Belgrade and obtained an audience with the King, His Majesty received me with the words: "I am glad to see you—doubly glad, as I have to settle a small account with you. You attacked me in the Press for my forgetting to thank God for His help to us during the war. I never forgot God for a moment. But you, my dear Sir, forgot that I am a constitutional King. The speech from the Throne was written not by me, but by my Minister, and my duty was to read it just as it was placed in my hands." I said to him: "In my opinion your duty was to draw the attention of your Ministers that they had forgotten God's help, and therefore you would wish that they should add in the first place in the speech: 'My people, let us thank God for our victories,' and if they should refuse, then your duty would be either to submit or ask them to resign." "I wish to tell you," the King continued, "that I am not indifferent to religion, that I have faith in God, and that faith has sustained me and helped me in many trials of my life. Come with me to my bedroom. I will show you my 'prie-dieu' (the praying stool) on which I kneel every morning and evening praying to God from the bottom of my heart. It was my mother who, when I was a little boy, taught me to fear and love God, and to pray to Him."

Perhaps just because I criticized the omission of thanks to God in the speech from the Throne in 1913, he in 1914 offered to make me Archbishop of Skoplje (Uskub). It shows what a good Christian he was when so generously forgetting my criticisms.

SERBIAN CHURCH NOTES

By D. S. MARITCH

THE most important event which recently occurred in the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, is the adoption of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly. That same event has brought some very important results for the future life of the Serbian Church, as well as for other Churches outside the new Yugo-Slav State. In Article 13 of the Constitution which bears on the subject of religions in the new State, except the clauses of general interest, such as freedom of belief and conscience, there is a point which has produced a great change in relations between the State and the Serbian Orthodox Church. The Serbian Orthodox Church, which was officially the Church of the Serb State in Serbia as well as in the rest of Yugo-Slavia, is thereby set on the same basis as other religions. Still, owing to the patriotism of the Serbs, that change has been accepted with less ill-will than we could rightly expect. Thus, for instance, the official organ of the Priests' Association says only that "This is a not incurable wound" (*cf. Venzik Srpske*, No. March to April, p. 98), which clearly shows the consciousness of the necessity of sacrifice for the sake of unity in the State.

Similarly, in the same article of the Constitution, there is a clause which agitated our Roman Catholic brothers—viz., the so-called "Kanzelparagraph." According to that "paragraph," the use of the pulpit is limited only to religious matters, its use for political purposes being expressly forbidden.

As every other country has Russian refugees, so in our kingdom we have a great, if not the greatest, number of exiled Russians, both laity and clergy. The latter are employed in all our Church offices and as parish priests, filling up the awful gaps made in the ranks of our clergy by Bulgarian and Austrian savagery. The fine service of the Russians is as useful to us as their employment is beneficial to them. In truth, their influence is felt everywhere, beginning from the highest posts, such as professorships in our Theological Faculty in Belgrade and Seminaries, to the remotest villages in Eastern Serbia, the parishes of many of which are served by them. This happy settlement and use of the Russians has been greatly facilitated by our mutual unity of race and similarity of language, and makes our common religion, through the Russian love of solemnity, more understandable to the Serbian realistic mind.

To complete the series of acts and forms in the re-establishment of

the ancient Serbian Patriarchate, only one now remains to be accomplished—viz., the solemn enthronement of the elected Patriarch. His enthronement marks the official beginning of his exercise of Patriarchal authority. The ceremony was to have taken place in Pach (Ipek), the ancient Patriarchal seat, on the day of "All Serbian Saints," September 13, but has been postponed on account of the death of King Peter. The enthronement will be made in the presence of the new King, together with all the members of the Government and Parliament. This will be one of the greatest symbolic moments in the return of ancient Serbian glory and might; so the participation in it, if we judge according to the preparations, will be enormous, both in number and solemnity. The Serbian Ministry of Finance has already allocated the necessary money. The State will also give all railway and transport facilities for those who take part in it. Serbs will rejoice to welcome any of our English brothers who, either officially or unofficially, consent to come and assist in its solemnities.

[N.B.—The Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton had proceeded to Serbia to be present at the Enthronization before its postponement was announced.—Ed.]

The question of the second marriage of our priests is still to the fore. Thus in the agenda for the regular annual meeting of the Orthodox Priests' Association—which was held between August 31 and September 1 in Belgrade—it was one of the chief points. As far as our information goes, the meeting decided to repeat its former appeal to the Episcopal Council for a favourable settlement. The chief cause this time for bringing up the question was the letter of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to the Serbian Church, by which it seems that the Patriarch recommends an exercise of "economia" in each individual case. At the above-mentioned meeting, our friend Dr. Yanitch, who was one of the delegates sent by the Serbian Church in 1920 to all Orthodox Churches to consult them as to the course to be pursued, was the principal advocate of pressing for action being taken.

THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCH ASSOCIATION

THE arrangements for the anniversary on October 25 are near completion. The authorities of the Russian Church in London have kindly offered to celebrate the Russian Liturgy for our Intention either at St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, or St. Mary-le-Bow. In the evening the Russian choir will render a service of special music at St. Matthew's Church, Westminster, and the general meeting will follow in the Trevelyan Hall. We hope that the Holy Sacrifice will be offered for our Intention in many churches.

The Secretary has addressed a series of meetings in September under the auspices of the E.C.U. at St. Michael's, Brighton, on 13th, Lewes on 14th, Eastbourne on 16th, at Hove and St. Bartholomew's, Brighton, on 19th.

The report of the Association is at last published, and is being sent round to members. It covers the years 1914 to 1921, and that part which is of general interest has been issued separately by the S.P.C.K. and is on sale to the public at 1s. 6d.

THE POSITION IN ARMENIA

By EMILY J. ROBINSON

THE present plight of Armenia and the members of our oldest sister Church strikes shame into the hearts of Englishmen. Instead of the fulfilment of the promises repeatedly made by members of the British Government since the fall of Baghdad that the Armenian people should not be allowed to remain "under the blasting tyranny of the Turk," in the peace scheme all provision for Armenia has been set aside. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia—Turkey's richest lands—have been taken from her by the victorious Powers, who have left their smallest Ally to bear alone the full force of Turkish resentment. The Treaty of Sèvres raised hopes that were never realized.

Armenians staked their all in the war when they threw in their lot with the Allies. Two hundred and seventy thousand Armenian troops fought on the various fronts; of these, 60,000 have been killed or maimed for life. Several thousand prisoners of war were killed by the Turks. Over a million helpless Armenians were killed by order of their Turkish rulers, while 500,000 were deported to desert regions, also by order. Every war-stricken country in Europe is enabled to work at the reconstruction of its homes and economic life. Armenia alone remains in the throes of starvation, distress, and epidemics, and still suffers the horrors of war *because of her loyalty to the cause of the Entente*.

In less than five months the Government of Erivan has fallen five times, and there is nothing to prevent this from going on indefinitely or so long as Soviet Russia persists in thrusting a form of government on the Armenian Republic which is distasteful to her people. The economic state of the country could hardly be worse. Owing to the lack of oil and other fuel there are no means of transport. Industry of every kind is at a standstill, as there are no materials, no machinery, no credit to purchase any. There is no postal communication with the world outside. Food is at famine prices—only the comparatively rich ever get enough; deaths from starvation and exposure have occurred by the thousand; clothing is unprocureable, save the small quantity which has been sent by foreign relief agencies.

A relief worker recently went to change a cheque at the Government office in Erivan. He was asked to wait a few days, as the machine (which printed the rouble notes) was out of order! This shows that the only way to bring about a stable condition is either the taking of Armenia under the protection of a State which shall arrange to manage her financial system, or else a loan of sufficient size to enable her to reorganize her internal affairs. This her sons are quite

capable of doing, given peace and security. There are no better financiers in the world than certain Armenians, who would naturally prefer that their own country rather than others should benefit by their labours.

More than two and a half years after the Armistice over a quarter of a million Armenians, who fled from their homes in Turkish Armenia in 1914-15 to save their lives, who have been forced ever since to dwell on overcrowded, insanitary areas, wanting every necessary of life, harried from one spot to another by the terrors of Turkish invasions, are still unable to return to their homes, these being in the possession of Turks.

For two years many hundreds of Armenians have been wishing to leave certain districts in Asia Minor to join their friends in America. They have not been allowed to travel, and this has naturally given cause for alarm. America has now closed her doors against Armenian immigrants. Difficulties are also put in the way of removing the children from Armenian orphanages in Cilicia.

There can be no peace till Armenia's boundaries are fixed. After referring the matter of an Armenian mandate to the League of Nations and then setting the League's authority at naught, the Supreme Council asked Mr. Wilson, ex-President of the United States, to delineate the boundaries of Armenia. Provision was made in the Peace Treaty by which all contracting parties agreed to accept President Wilson's decision as binding. When, after careful study of the problem, Mr. Wilson traced the boundaries of Armenia in accordance with the ethnographic, national, and economic requirements of the new Armenian State, the Supreme Council threw his decision to the winds as "unpractical," and referred the matter back to the League of Nations, which is evidently under the control of the Supreme Council and has no authority of its own! How much longer will the victorious Powers continue to voice the reply of Cain as regards Armenia: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

We are often reminded that England is a great Mohammedan Power, but England was a great *Christian* Power long before she had any Mohammedan subjects. The latter have no cause for complaint, nor would any self-respecting Moslem in India or elsewhere dream of protesting against the redemption of Armenians from their age-long persecutors. It is not by deserting the cause of her Christian Allies, whom she is pledged to protect, that England will gain the confidence of anyone in the East or West either.

HYMNS OF THE GREEK CHURCH

I. OCTOBER TO DECEMBER

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. G. R. WOODWARD, M.A.

EDITORS' NOTE.—These specimens of hymns from the *Μηναίων*, or Book of the Hymns for the Saint Days of the Months, will be of special value to our readers, as illustrating not only Orthodox hymnology, but also Orthodox theology. It was thought that, though the Eastern Church year begins on September 1, the reader would prefer to have the selections by our quarters, and by Mr. Woodward's kindness we hope to publish selections for January to March and so forth in our three next numbers. A glossary of terms has been included, and notes on the particular Saint Days have been added by Mr. Woodward. The Greek Text here given comes from a folio edition of the *Menaia* for October, November, and December, printed in Athens, 1905; but Nos. V., VIII., and XVI. are taken from a quarto vol. of the Great Horologion, published in Venice, 1892.

ΜΗΝ ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ.

I.

Μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ.

'Οκτ. α'.

'Εξαποστειλᾶριον τοῦ Ὁσίου, καὶ Θεοτοκίου ὁμοῦ. Τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

Ἐν θεοπνεύστοις ῥήμασι
κατεγράμματος, μίκαρ,
τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸρρήτην
θείαν οἰκονομίαν,
καὶ ὕμνοις ἑστέφας πάντας,
Ῥωμανέ, τοῖς Ἁγίοις·
μεθ' ὧν φαιδρῶς ἀνύμνησας
τὴν ἀγνήν καὶ Παρθένον
καὶ ἀληθῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ μη-
τέρα, πάνσοφε πάτερ·
μεθ' ἧς ἡμῶν μνημόνευε,
παρεστὼς τῇ Τριάδι.

Σ. 9.

II.

Τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἱεροθέου,
ἐπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν.

'Οκτ. δ'.

'Εξαποστειλᾶριον. Ὁ οὐρανὸν τοῖς ἄστροις.

Ὅτε ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Λόγου
πῶς τὰς ἐκεῖ καταπαύσεις

MONTH OF OCTOBER.

I.

COMMEMORATION OF ST. ROMANUS
THE MELODIST.Oct. 1 (*Menaion*, p. 9).*Exapostelarion of the Saint and Theotokion in one.*

In songs inspired of God, sweet soul,
Thou madest declaration
Of Christ, and his ineffable,
Most holy Incarnation.

And, blest Romanus, all the Saints
In verse by thee were crownèd;
Mid whom melodiously thou
Didst hymn the most renownèd,
True, Maiden-Mother of our God:
With her, good sire all-learnèd,
Now standing nigh the Trinity,
To us thy mind be turnèd!

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 58 or 128.

II.

OUR HOLY FATHER ST. HIEROTHEOS,
BISHOP OF ATHENS.Oct. 4 (*Menaion*, p. 23).*Exapostelarion.*

When the Mother of the Word
Was beheld to flee as bird

HYMNS OF THE GREEK CHURCH

μεταναστεύονσα ὄφθῃ,
σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις
σὺ, Ἱερόθεε, ὕμνοις
ἐπέστῃς ταύτην προπέμπων.
Σ. 23.

III.

Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κοσμᾶ, τοῦ
Ποιητοῦ.

'Οκτ. ιδ'.

'Εξαποστειλᾶριον. Τοῖς μαθηταῖς συνελθόντων.

Ὑμνοῦδ' ἐν κάλλεσι
τῆς ἡδίστης σου γλώττης,
καὶ θεοφθόγοις ῥήμασι
τὴν ἀγνήν καὶ παρθένον
ἀνύμνησας Θεοτόκον
ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίας·
μεθ' ἧς, Κοσμᾶ θεόληπτε,
παρεστὼς τῇ Τριάδι,
σοῦ μνητὴν κατὰ νοῦν καὶ
πρᾶξιν καὶ θεωρίαν
κάμει γενέσθαι πρόσβενε,
ιερῶτατε πάτερ.
Σ. 84.

IV.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Μάρτυρος Λογγίνου τοῦ
Ἐκατοντάρχου, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ.

'Οκτ. ις'.

'Εξαποστειλᾶριον. Τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

Ὅρων τὸν πάντων Κύριον
καὶ Θεὸν ἀφ' ἡμῶν
ἐπὶ Σταυροῦ θελήματι,
κλονουμένην τε πάσαν
καὶ τοῦ πάθους τὴν κτίσιν,
ἀθλοφόρε Λογγίνε,
Ἀριστὴ σὺν τῷ εὐγνώμονι
ὁμολόγησας τοῦτον
Υἱὸν Θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ
χαίρων ἐσφαγίσθης·
καὶ νῦν ὡς Μάρτυς ἀριστος
ὑπὲρ πάντων πρεσβεύεις.
Σ. 93.

Upward to her place of rest,
With the Apostles round her prest,
Thou, Hierotheos, mid the throng,
Sent'st her off with hymn and song.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 112, 239, or 298.

III.

OUR HOLY FATHER COSMAS, THE
POET.Oct. 14 (*Menaion*, p. 84).*Exapostelarion.*

With all the charms of hymnody,
And tongue, with honey laden,
And in celestial canticles
Thou sang'st the spotless Maiden,
True Mother she of God indeed:
With her, thy friend and fellow,
Now standing near the Three in One,
In tones inspired and mellow,
Pray, Cosmas, that I too may prove,
In conversation lowly,
Thy follower in word and deed,
Good father, blest and holy.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 58 or 128.

IV.

THE HOLY MARTYR LONGINUS, THE
CENTURION, AT THE CROSS.Oct. 16 (*Menaion*, p. 93).*Exapostelarion.*

Beholding God, the Lord of all
Upon the Cross, in slumber
Of his free-will (all Nature's works
Thrown out of gear and number)
At Passion-tide, together with
The thief by Jesu shriven,
Longinus, thou confessedst Him
The Son of God from heaven,
For whose dear sake to bitter death
Thyself full fain agreedst,
And now, as Martyr with the best,
For all of us thou pleadest.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 58 or 128.

V.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ
Λουκᾶ.
Ὁκτ. ιη'.

Κοντάκιον, Ὕχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

Μαθητὴς γενόμενος
τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου
σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ ἅπασαν
ἐφωταγώγησας τὴν γῆν,
καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀπεδιώξας
τὸ θεῖον γράψας
Χριστοῦ Εὐαγγέλιον.

Ἦρολόγιον, Σ. 211.

VI.

Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Μεγαλομάρτυρος
Ἀρτεμίου.

Ὁκτ. κ'.

Ἰδιόμελον, Ὕχος β'. Τοῦ Στουδίτου.
Τὸν νοερὸν φωστῆρα τῆς πίστεως
Ἀρτέμιον τιμῶμεν
ὅτι ἤλεγξε Βασιλέα τὸν ἐχθιστον·
καὶ τῷ αἵματι τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ
τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θεὸς ἐπορφύρωσεν·
ὅθεν καὶ ἀπέλαβε
τῶν ἱαμάτων τὴν χάριν τὴν ἄφθονον
τοῦ ἰᾶσθαι τὰς νόσους
τῶν πιστῶς προστρέχόντων
ἐν τῇ σορίῳ τῶν λειψάνων αὐτοῦ.

Σ. 110.

VII.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου
τοῦ Μυροβλήτου.

Ὁκτ. κς'.

Ἰδιόμελον, Ὕχος β'.

Εἰς τὰ ὑπερκόσμια σκηνώματα
τὸ πνεῦμά σου, Δημήτριε Μάρτυς
σοφῇ,

V.

THE HOLY APOSTLE AND EVAN-
GELIST LUKE.

Oct. 18 (Horologion, p. 211).

Kontakion.

Becoming leal disciple
Of Christ, the Word divine,
With Paul thou mad'st the true Light
Throughout the world to shine;

And thou didst banish darkness
By writing of a book,
To wit, the Holy Gospel
According to Saint Luke.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 11, 29,
187, or 327.

VI.

THE HOLY MEGALOMARTYR
ARTEMIUS.

Oct. 20 (Menaion, p. 110).

Idiomelon. By him of the Studium.

Artemius, that living light
Of faith, let us revere aright:
Because that he rebuked the curst
Apostate King, of Emperors worst: *
Because with blood of witness true
God deck'd his Church in purple hue.
Hence earn'd the Saint th' abundant
grace
Of healing folk in sickly case,
Who run in faith, and seek the Chest
Wherein the Martyr's relics rest.

* Julian the Apostate.

VII.

THE HOLY MEGALOMARTYR DEME-
TRIUS, FLOWING WITH UNGUENT.

Oct. 26 (Menaion, p. 144).

Idiomelon.

Into soldiers' tents, that are
Higher than this world by far,
O Demetrius, the Martyr,
Who for Christ thy life didst barter,

Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς προσήκατο ἀμώμητον·
σὺ γὰρ τῆς Τριάδος γέγονας ὑπέρ-
μαχος
ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνδρείως ἐναθλήσας
ὡς ἀδάμας στερεὸς·
λογχευθεὶς δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν
τὴν ἀκήρατον σου, πανσεβάσμιε,
μιμούμενος τὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου τανυσθέντα
εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου,
τῶν θαυμάτων ἐλλήφας τὴν ἐνέργειαν,
ἀνθρώποις παρέχων τὰς ἰάσεις ἀφθό-
νως.
Διό σου σήμερον τὴν κοίμησιν ἐορτά-
ζοντες
ἐπαξίως δοξάζομεν
τὸν σὲ δοξάσαντα Κύριον.

Σ. 144.

MHN NOEMBRIOS.

VIII.

Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωαννικίου τοῦ
Μεγάλου.

Νο. δ'.

Κοντάκιον, Ὕχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

Ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ σήμερον τῇ ἱερᾷ σου
συνελθόντες ἅπαντες
ἐκδοσσωποῦμεν οἱ πιστοὶ,
Ἰωαννικίε ὁσίε,
παρὰ Κυρίου εἰρεῖν ἡμᾶς ἔλεος.

Ἦρολόγιον, Σ. 221.

IX.

Τῶν ἁγίων Ἱερομαρτύρων, Νικάνδρου
Ἐπισκόπου Μύρων, καὶ Ἑρμαίου
Πρεσβυτέρου,

Νο. δ'.

Τροπάριον. Εἶδα μὲν τῷ τῆς παρακοῆς.

Σήμερον τῶν Μύρων ἱερὰ μητρόπολις
ἐορτάζει,
πόλιν ἅπασαν
πρὸς εὐωχίαν συγκαλοῦσα
ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ ἡμῶν ταύτῃ, πανεύφημοι,
ἐν ᾗ τὴν ἱερὰν ἡμῶν ἀθλήσιν
μεγαλοφρόνως ἐτελέτατε.

Σ. 31.

Christ thy God did let thee in,
Pure in spirit, free from sin:
For thou proved'st the champion
Of the Holy Three in One;
In th' arena harder than
Adamant, thou play'd'st the man,
Wounded in thy wemless side,
Herein like the Crucified,
Saviour of him and her,
Thou, most venerable sir,
Didst receive the power to work
Miracles for Holy Kirk,
Making oft a sickly soul,
Or an ailing body, whole.
Wherefore we to-day who keep
Much in mind thy fall on sleep,
Glorify that Lord all duly,
Who did glorify thee truly.

MONTH OF NOVEMBER.

VIII.

OUR HOLY FATHER JOANNIKIOS
THE GREAT.

Nov. 4 (Horologion, p. 221).

Kontakion.

On thy Feast, this Holy Day,
Here assembled, for us pray
Bless'd Joännikius,
Us the Faithful, all of us,
To the end that, of the kind
Saviour, mercy we may find.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 112,
239, or 298.

IX.

THE HOLY HIEROMARTYRS,
NIKANDROS, BISHOP OF MYRA, AND
HERMAIOS, PRIEST.

Nov. 4 (Menaion, p. 31).

Troparion.

To-day is our metropolis
Of holy Myra full of bliss,
Assembling all the City, least
And most, to celebrate your Feast,
Praise-worthy Saints, who did contend
For Christ full nobly till the end.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 8, 48,
or 289.

X.

Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ Ὁμολογ-
τοῦ, Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου.

Νο. 1α'.

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Ὁ οὐρανὸν τοῖς ἀστροῖς.

Ἐπεὶ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων
ὑπέμεινας πᾶσαν θλίψιν,
βασάνους, καὶ ἐξορίας·
διὸ διπλοῦν καὶ τὸ στέφος
ἐκ δεξιᾶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου
ἰδέξω, ὅσκιε πάτερ.

Σ. 78.

XI.

Τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου
Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, τοῦ
Ἐλεήμονος.

Νο. 1β'.

Κοντάκιον. Ἦχος β'. Τὰ ἄνω ἱερῶν.

Τὸν πλοῦτον τὸν σὺν
ἐσκόρπισας τοῖς πένησι,
καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸν πλοῦτον
νῦν ἀπέληφας,
Ἰωάννη πάνσοφε·
διὰ τοῦτο πάντες σε γεραίρομεν,
εκτελοῦντες τὴν μνήμην σου
τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης, ὃ ἐπώνυμε.

Σ. 83.

XII.

Τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου
Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,
τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

Νο. 1γ'.

Ἰδιόμελον. Ἦχος β'. Τοῦ Στουδίτου.

Σὲ τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ποιμένα
τὸν ἀκακὸν καὶ ὁσίον
τῆς μετανοίας τὸν κήρυκα
τὸ χρυσάτινον στόμα τῆς χάριτος
ἀνευφημοῦντες πόθῳ δέομεθα·
μετάδος ἡμῖν τῶν πρεσβείων σου,
πάτερ,
εἰς ἀντάμειψιν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Σ. 89.

X.

OUR HOLY FATHER AND CONFESSOR
THEODORE OF THE STUDIUM.

Nov. 11 (*Menaion*, p. 78).

Exaposteliarion.

In defence of Holy Eikons,
Thou endured'st all manner pain,
Torment, exile: therefore two-fold
Holy Father, was thy gain:
From the right hand of the Highest
Double wreath didst thou obtain.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 40, 235,
271, or 272.

XI.

OUR SAINTED FATHER JOHN,
ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, THE
ALMONER.

Nov. 12 (*Menaion*, p. 83).

Kontakion.

Among the poor thou didst disperse
Thy riches once, to re-imburse
Thyself with wealth now in the skies:
And herein, John, thou wast all-wise.
So all we, on thy Feast, reverse
And style thee "John the Aumoner."

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 8, 48,
or 289.

XII.

OUR SAINTED FATHER JOHN
CHRYSOSTOM, ARCHBISHOP OF
CONSTANTINOPLE.

Nov. 13 (*Menaion*, p. 89).

Idiomelon. By him of the Studium.

Thee, the great high-priest and
shepherd,
Holy, harmless, known to be,
Erst the preacher of repentance,
GOLDEN-MOUTH of Grace full free,
(ii)

We, who chant aloud thy praises
With affection, father, pray
For a share in thy petitions,
On our souls' account, to-day. (iii)

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 425.

XIII.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

Νο. 1γ'.

Στιχηρὸν προσόμιον. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.
Ἀνατολίου.

Χρυστοῖς ἔπεισε
καὶ θεοφθόγοις διδάγμασι
κατακοσμήσας τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν,
πλοῦτον πνευματικῶν ἐθσαύρισας ἐν
αὐτῇ
τὰ σὰ θεσπαρίδοτα λόγια·
διὸ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτων ἀνθρώπων
πλεξαμένη τοῖς ῥήμασι
τῇ ἱερᾷ σου προσφέρει μνήμῃ,
πάγχρυσε τῇ ψυχῇ σὺν τῇ γλώττῃ,
Ἰωάννη θεόσοφε.
Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔχων παρρησίαν, Ὅσιε,
πρέσβευε ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Σ. 97.

XIV.

Τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου,
Ἐπισκόπου Νεοκαισαρείας, τοῦ
Θαυματουργοῦ.

Νο. 1δ'.

Κοντάκιον. Ἦχος β'. Τὰ ἄνω ἱερῶν.

Θαυμάτων πολλῶν
δεξάμενος ἐνέργειαν
σημείοις φρικτοῖς
τοῖς δαίμονας ἐπτόησας
καὶ τὰς νόσους ἡλσας
τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
πάνσοφε Γρηγόριε·
διὸ καλῇ Θαυματουργῷ,
τὴν κλῆσιν ἐξ ἔργων κομισάμενος.

Σ. 116.

XIII.

OUR SAINTED FATHER JOHN
CHRYSOSTOM, ARCHBISHOP OF
CONSTANTINOPLE.

Nov. 13 (*Menaion*, p. 97).

Stichéron prosomoion.

With golden speech, and doctrine
borne
From heav'n above, thou didst adorn
The Church of God, and didst in-store
The same with wealth of ghostly lore:
God taught thee what to say.
So, mindful of thy Feast to-day,
We intertwine these songs of ours
With wreath of Everlasting Flow'rs,
John, learn'd in godliness, high-soul'd,
In lip and life refined as gold.
Then, as thou may'st, with boldness
plead
For our poor souls in time of need.

XIV.

OUR SAINTED FATHER GREGORY,
BISHOP OF NEOCÆSAREA, THE
WONDER-WORKER.

Nov. 17 (*Menaion*, p. 116).

Kontakion.

Many a wonder, passing thought,
By thee, God em-pow'r'd, was
wrought.
By thy miracles, in fright,
Thou didst put the fiends to flight,
Skill'd to banish sickness sore
Out of mortals. And therefore,
Gregory, for thy works of fame,
Wonder-worker is thy name.
For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 25.

XV.

Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νίκωνος τοῦ
Μετανοείτε.

Νο. κς'.

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Ὁ οὐρανὸν τοῖς ἀστροῖς.

Ἡ θήκη, ἐνθα σου κέται
τὸ εὐκλεστάτον σῶμα,
χάριτας βλάψει τοῖς πᾶσι
τῶν ἱαμάτων δαυιλῶς
τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἐν πίστει,
Νίκων ἀεὶ θεοφόρε.

Σ. 189.

ΜΗΝ ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ.

XVI.

Τῆς ὁσίας Μεγαλομάρτυρος Βαρβάρας.

Δεκ. δ'.

Ἀπολυτίκιον. Ὕχος β'.

Βαρβάραν τὴν ἁγίαν τιμῆσωμεν·
ἐχθροῦ γὰρ τὰς παγίδας συνέτριψε,
καὶ ὡς στρουθίου ἐρήνισθη ἐξ αὐτῶν
βοηθεῖα καὶ ὄπλη τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἡ
πάνσπεμος.

Ἐποδύκιον, Σ. 237.

XVII.

Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου
Δαμασκηνοῦ.

Δεκ. δ'.

Ἀπολυτίκιον. Ὕχος πλ. δ'.

Ὁρθοδοξίας ὁδηγέ,
εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλε καὶ σεμνότητος,
τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁ φωστὴρ,
τῶν μοναζόντων θεόπνευστον ἐγκαλ-
λώσιμα
Ἰωάννη σοφὲ,
ταῖς διδασκαίς σου πάντας ἐφώτισας,
λύρα τοῦ Πνεύματος·
πρέσβευε Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ
σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Σ. 15.

XV.

OUR HOLY FATHER NIKON, THE
"REPENT YE,"

Nov. 26 (*Menaion*, p. 189).

Exapostellarion.

The sacred Chest, wherein at rest
Thy famous relicks lie,
With healing streams of grace it
teems
For all men, low or high;
In faith and awe if we but draw,
Ay blissful Nikon, nigh.

MONTH OF DECEMBER.

XVI.

THE HOLY MEGALOMARTYR
BARBARA.

Dec. 4 (*Horologion*, p. 237).

Apolytikion.

Barbara, the godly Maid,
Honour due to her be paid!
For she did destroy the net,
By the foe-man for her set,
And, as birdie of the air,
Did escape the fowler's snare.
In the Cross th' all-holy maid
Found her weapon, and her aid.
For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 353.

XVII.

OUR HOLY FATHER JOHN
DAMASCENE.

Dec. 4 (*Menaion*, p. 15).

Apolytikion.

Guide of Orthodoxy; Teacher
Of whatever thing is good,
Grave and godly; Lamp of all lands;
Holy Pride of Cowl and Hood,

John, thy lore hath light'ned all men:
For the Spirit struck thy lute.
O that Christ, thy God, may save us,
Soul and body, at thy suit!
For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 387.

XVIII.

Τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Σάββα, τοῦ Ἁγιασμένου.

Δεκ. ε'.

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Ἐν πνεύματι τῷ ἱερῷ.

Τὴν ἔρημον ἐπολησας
τρόποις ἐν φιλοσόφοις,
πατέρων τὸ ἀγλαῦμα,
Σάββα πάτερ θεόφρον,
καὶ ταύτην ἀπετέλεσας
νοητὴν Παράδεισον
κομῶσαν ἄνθεσι θείοις
μονοτρόπων τῷ πλήθει
τῶν ἀξίως τελούντων τὴν
σὴν σεβάσμιον μνήμην.

Σ. 28.

XIX.

Τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου,
Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μυρῶν τῆς Λυκίας,
τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ.

Δεκ. σ'.

Ἀπολυτίκιον. Ὕχος δ'.

Κανόνα πίστews,
καὶ εἰκόνα πρῶότητος,
ἐγκρατείας διδάσκαλον
ἀνέδειξέ σε τῇ ποίμνῃ σου
ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθεια·
διὰ τοῦτο ἐκτίσω
τῇ ταπεινώσει τὰ ὑψηλὰ,
τῇ πτωχείᾳ τὰ πλούσια.
Πάτερ ἱεράρχα Νικόλαε,
πρέσβευε Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ
σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Σ. 32.

XVIII.

OUR HOLY AND GOD-BEARING
FATHER SABBAS, THE SANCTIFIED.

Dec. 5 (*Menaion*, p. 28).

Exapostellarion.

Thou ledd'st a desert hermit-life,
Thou godly-minded Sabbas,
Ascetic sire, the pride of monk,
And frere, and mitred Abbas.

Thou mad'st the wilderness become
As Eden's garden bowers,
A-bloom with troops of Anchorets,
Unearthly, heavenly flowers;
Who reverence thy Feast by due
Recital of their "Hours."

XIX.

OUR SAINTED FATHER NICOLAS,
ARCHBISHOP OF MYRA IN LYCIA,
THE WONDER-WORKER.

Dec. 6 (*Menaion*, p. 32).

Apolytikion.

As Rule of Faith in part and whole,
As Picture of a gentle soul,
As Teacher strong in self-restraint,
Thou wert reveal'd, O blessed Saint,
To those committed to thy trust
By all thy dealings true and just.

And therefore hast thou won, by this
Thy lowliness, the highest bliss,
And, by thine empty purse, true
wealth.

So pray to Christ, the God of health,
To save our souls, when hence we
pass,
Good father, Bishop Nicolas.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 8, 48,
or 289.

XX.

Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυμα-
τουργοῦ Σπυρίδινος.

Δεκ. ιβ'.

Ἀπολυτίκιον. Ὕχος α'. Τοῦ λίθου σφρα-
γισθέντος.

Τῆς συνόδου τῆς πρώτης
ἀνδείχθης ὑπέρμαχος,
καὶ θαυματουργῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ
ποταμοὺς ἀνεχαίτισας,
Σπυρίδιον μακάριε σοφέ·
ὄθεν νεκρῷ σὺ ἐκ τάφου προσφυνείς,
καὶ ὄφιν εἰς χρυσοῦν μετέβαλες·
καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλπειν τὰς ἀγίας σου εὐχὰς
ἀγγέλους ἔσχες συλλειτουργοῦντάς σοι,
Ἱερώτατε,
δόξα τῷ δέδοκῳ σοι ἰσχύϊν·
δόξα τῷ σε στεφανώσαντι·
δόξα τῷ ἐνεργοῦντι
διὰ σοῦ τοιαῦτα τέρατα.

Σ. 89.

XXI.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Προφήτου Δανιὴλ, καὶ τῶν
ἁγίων Τριῶν Παίδων.

Δεκ. ιγ'.

Ἀπολυτίκιον. Ὕχος β'.

Μεγάλα τὰ τῆς πίστεως κατορθώματα·
ἐν τῇ πηγῇ τῆς φλογὸς
ὡς ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως
οἱ ἅγιοι Τρεῖς Παῖδες ἡγάλλοντο·
καὶ ὁ προφήτης Δανιὴλ
λεόντων ποιμὴν
ὡς προβάτων ἐδείκνυτο.
Ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱκεσίαις, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός,
σῶσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Σ. 126.

XX.

OUR HOLY FATHER AND WONDER-
WORKER SPIRIDION.

Dec. 12 (*Menaion*, p. 89).

Apolytikion.

At the first and great Nicene
Synod thou didst prove a keen
Champion of the Orthodox,
Rivers stood as still as stocks,
When alone the sound was heard
Of thy wonder-working word,
Wise and blest Spiridion.
With a daughter, dead and gone,
Thou didst parley. Thou didst make
Golden purse of spotted snake.
When thou sang'st thy holy songs,
Angels join'd thy prayers in throngs.
Praise to Him, who gave thee power!
Praise to Him, who, to thy dower,
Crown'd thee! Praise to Him, whose
will
Worketh marvels by thee still!

XXI.

THE HOLY PROPHET DANIEL AND
THE HOLY THREE CHILDREN.

Dec. 17 (*Menaion*, p. 126).

Apolytikion.

What mighty triumphs Faith can
claim!
Within the fountain of the flame,
As though by cooling water-brim,
The Children Three fain sang an
hymn.

And Daniël the Seer did keep
Control o'er lions, as o'er sheep.
O Christ, our God, we pray thee,
Rest
Our souls, at these thy Saints' re-
quest!

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 35.

XXII.

Ἡ κατὰ σάρκα Γέννησις τοῦ Κυρίου
καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ.

Δεκ. κε'.

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Αὐτόμελον. Ὑχος γ'.

Ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς
ἐξ ὕψους ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν,
ἀνατολὴ ἀνατολῶν,
καὶ οἱ ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ
εὗρομεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν·
καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου
ἐτέχθη ὁ Κύριος.

Σ. 212.

XXIII.

Τῶν ἁγίων Νηπίων.

Δεκ. κθ'.

Κοντάκιον. Ὕχος δ'.

Ἀστὴρ Μάγους ἔπεμψε
πρὸς τὸν τεχθέντα·
καὶ Ἡρώδης ἄδικον
στρατὸν ἀπέστειλε κενῶς
φονοκτονῆσαι οἰόμενος
τὸν ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ, ὡς νήπιον κείμενον.

Σ. 242.

XXII.

THE BIRTH, ACCORDING TO THE
FLESH, OF OUR LORD AND GOD AND
SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

Dec. 25 (*Menaion*, p. 212).

Exaposteláriton autómelon (thrice).

Our Saviour from the highest
Doth visit us to-day,
The Day-star of the day-star;
And we on earth, who lay
In death-shade, and in darkness
Have found the Very Light:
For, soothly, of the Virgin
Is born the Lord of might.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 88.

XXIII.

THE HOLY INNOCENTS.

Dec. 29 (*Menaion*, p. 242).

Kontakion.

A Star forth-sent the Easterlings
To seek the new-born King of kings:
And Herod sent a godless band,
But all in vain, to search the land
Of Bethlem, thinking so to slay
The Babe, that in the manger lay.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 8, 48,
or 289.

NAMES OF SAINTS

WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THEIR LIVES

ANATOLIUS, ST., Archbishop of Constantinople. He died in A.D. 458. Believed to be the writer of the hymns *Τὴν ἡμέραν διελθὼν*, *Τῷ Βασιλεῖ καὶ θεοπότην*, and *Ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾷται*, besides No. XIII. in this collection.

ARTEMIOS, *Megalomartyr*. See No. VI. St. Artemios, in the time of Constantine the Great, was appointed Governor of Alexandria, in rank Patrician. In A.D. 361, when Julian the Apostate began persecuting the Church, St. Artemios rebuked him, and in consequence was severely tortured and finally beheaded.

BARBARA, *Megalomartyr*. See No. XVI. St. Barbara, of Nicomedia, in the time of Maximian, was the daughter of an idolater, Dioscorus by name, who, after tormenting her most cruelly because of her belief in Christ, at length beheaded her with his own hands in the year of our Lord 290.

COSMAS, surnamed *the Melodist*. See No. III. St. Cosmas was a native of Jerusalem; at an early age was left an orphan; was adopted by Sergius, father of St. John Damascene, and with the latter he became a monk of St. Sabbas; about the year 743 was made Bishop of Maiuma, near Gaza, and departed this life in or about 760. After his friend and foster-

brother, St. John Damascene, St. Cosmas the Melodist is reckoned the second best of all the Greek ecclesiastical poets. The *Stichos* says of him:

Ἀπῆλθε Κόσμος ἐνθα πάσα τερπνότης,
Μόλη λαπὼν τέροντα τῆν Ἐκκλησίαν.

"When Cosmas went (in perfect bliss ye'll find him),
To cheer the Church, he left his songs behind him."

DEMETRIUS, *Megalomartyr*. See No. VII. St. Demetrius was born of Christian parents at Thessalonica, whereof he, and not St. Paul, is now the patron Saint. In the time of Maximian, about the year 300, he was arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and put to death.

GREGORY, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or *Wonder-worker*. See No. XIV. This Gregory was born at Neo-Cæsarea of Cappadocia of heathen parents. He studied in Athens, Alexandria, and Berytus, and lastly at Cæsarea five years under Origen, from whom he learned the Christian faith. In A.D. 240 he became Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, where he found only seventeen Christians. When he died, about A.D. 265, he left only about seventeen that were not Christians. The whole time of his episcopate was one continuous series of wonders, whence he was called Wonder-worker, and, moreover, spoken of by his very enemies as a second Moses (St. Basil the Great, chapter xxix. of his treatise *Concerning the Holy Spirit*). For two characteristic stories of St. Gregory the Wonder-worker, see Neale's *Victories of the Saints*, pp. 2 and 36, taken from St. Gregory of Nyssa, his *Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*.

HIEROTHEOS, Bishop of Athens. Believed to have been an Areopagite, converted by St. Paul, and to have been present at the falling on sleep of the Holy Mother of God. See No. II.

IOANNIKIOS, surnamed *the Great* (see No. VIII.), was born in Bithynia about the year 740. He began life as a soldier, and received for his faithful service high military honours, but later on he withdrew to Mount Olympus, where he lived the life of a hermit and died about 834, nearly a hundred years old. This saint is the author of the short but most devout prayer, Ἡ ἑλπίς μου ὁ Πατήρ, κ.τ.λ. (*Horologion*, p. 21).

JOHN, surnamed *the Almoner*. See No. XI. A Cyprian by race, of the city of Amathus, son of Epiphanius, the Governor of Cyprus, John the Almoner was born A.D. 555, and consecrated Archbishop of Alexandria in 608. He died in 619. The *Dream of Troilus*, related by Leontius in his *Life of St. John the Almoner*, is repeated in English by Neale in *The Followers of the Lord*, p. 163.

JOHN DAMASCENE. See No. XVII. "St. John Damascene has the double honour of being the last but one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church and the greatest of her poets. It is surprising, however, how little is known of his life. That he was born of a good family at Damascus, that he made great progress in philosophy, that he administered some charge under the Caliph, that he retired to the monastery of St. Sabbas in Palestine, that he was the most learned and eloquent with whom the Iconoclasts had to contend, that at a comparatively late period of life he was ordained Priest of the Church of Jerusalem, and that he died after 754 and before 787, seems to comprise all that has reached us of his biography. . . . His eloquent defence of Icons has deservedly procured him the title of *The Doctor of Christian Art* (Neale's *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, p. 37).

JOHN, surnamed *Chrysostom*, or *Goldenmouth*. See Nos. XII., XIII. Son of Secundus and Anthusa, was born at Antioch the Great in A.D. 344; was a pupil of Libanius the heathen sophist; was ordained Priest of the Church of Antioch in 383, and consecrated Archbishop of Constantinople in 398; was banished thence by Arcadius and Eudoxia in 403, and again in 404. He died on September 14, 407.

LONGINUS. See No. IV. The Centurion at the Cross, who, after the Resurrection, is believed to have gone to his native land of Cappadocia, where he preached Christ and suffered martyrdom.

NIKANDROS (Hieromartyr and Bishop of Myra) and HERMAIOS (Priest). See No. IX. They are believed to have been ordained by St. Titus, first Bishop of Crete. For their Christian zeal they were brought before a heathen magistrate named Libanius, and after undergoing all sorts of nameless torture, were finally buried alive.

NIKON, surnamed *Repent ye*. See No. XV. This Nikon came from Armenia, the son of a certain magnate there. Leaving kindred and country he wandered about the East, crying

aloud to all men *Repent ye!* whence his surname. At last he arrived at Lacedæmon, in the Peloponnesus, where, after building a Christian temple and living an ascetic life, at last he departed to the Lord toward the ending of the ninth century.

ROMANUS THE MELODIST. Like St. Cosmas, surnamed the *Melodist*, because of his being not only a poet but a musician also. St. Romanus, who lived towards the end of the fifth century and in the beginning of the sixth, was a native of Emesa, in Syria, and Deacon of the Church in Berytus. The inventor of *kontakia*, the first of which is that for Christmas Day, Ἡ Παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ἐπερόσων ῥίκτης. For which, see the *Horologion*, p. 252, or the *Menaion* (December 25), p. 210.

SABBAS. His great sanctity has procured him the commemoration, among the Greeks, of *Our Holy and God-bearing Father, Sabbas the Sanctified*. St. Sabbas was born in a small village of Cappadocia in 439. From his boyhood he lived the life of a monk, under Euthymius the Great. He became the Superior of many monks in the celebrated monastery in Palestine, called after his name, St. Sabbas. He died in 533, aged 94.

SPYRIDON, or SPIRIDION (see No. XX.), was a native of Cyprus. Originally a shepherd, became Bishop of Trimythus; was present at the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325; was famous for his humility, wisdom, and piety, and with the grace of God worked many great miracles, and hence earned the name of *Wonder-worker*. He fell asleep in the Lord about the year 350. In the seventh century his sacred relics were translated to Constantinople, and there they rested until May 29, 1453, when a good priest named George Kalochairetes privily conveyed them to Corcyra. Two of his miracles are referred to in our No. XX., and the *Horologion* ends its encomium of the Saint very aptly by quoting the concluding words of Ps. lxxviii. 35 according to the Septuagint version, θαυμαστός ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, "O God, wonderful art thou in thy Saints." Sozomen and others relate many interesting things concerning St. Spiridon, one of which is repeated by Neale in his *Lent Legends*, p. 189 (No. XL).

THEODORE, of the *Studium*. See No. X. For a short account of St. Theodore's sufferings and influence in the cause of Icons, see Neale's *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, p. 101, and especially Neale's spirited translation of some of the stanzas of St. Theodore's Canon, which is sung on Orthodox Sunday—viz., the First Sunday in Lent—yearly. St. Theodore departed this life on November 11, A.D. 826.

GLOSSARY

Ἀπολυτίκιον (*Apolytikion*). A *troparion* sung towards the end of vespers, before dismissal of the people. See Nos. XVII.-XXI.

Ἀντίρρονον (*Antirronon*). A *troparion* sung to its own tone.
Ἐξαποστειλάριον (*Exapostelaron*). For examples see Nos. I.-IV., X., XV., XVIII., XXII. This scarcely but in name differs from any other *troparion*. . . . The best derivation is from the word ἔαββαλαον, because it very frequently occurs in these hymns, the aim of which seems originally to have been a kind of invocation of the grace of God. . . . *Exapostelaria* were the invention of Constantine, son of Leo the Philosopher" [A.D. 905-959] (J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 844). It will be observed that certain of the aforesaid *Exapostelaria* seem to be written in that which Neale considered an uneclesiastical metre. On pages xxii and xxiii of his *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, he writes as follows: "Popular poetry soon devised its own metre—*political verse*, as it was called, because used for everyday domestic matters. This was none other than a favourite metre of Aristophanes, *iambic, tetrameter, catalectic*—our own ballad rhythm:

'A captain bold of Halifax, who lived in country quarters.'

And this, sometimes with rhyme, and sometimes without, is the favourite Romanic metre to the present day. . . . The Church never attempted this sing-song stanza, and preferred falling back on an older form."

Δεκ. stands for Δεκάμβριος (December).

*Ηχος α' = First Tone. *Ηχος β' = Second Tone. *Ηχος γλ. δ' = Fourth Plagal Tone (πλάγιος).

Ἱερομόνυχ (Hieromartyr). See No. IX. This is a title given only to a Bishop or Priest.

"*Όσιος Πατήρ* (Holy Father). See Nos. III., VIII., X., XV., XVII., XVIII., XX., chiefly given to famous doctors and ascetes.

"*Ίδιόμελον* (*Idiomelon*). Having its own melody; *troparion* understood. See Nos. VI., XII. *Κοντάκιον* (*Kontáktion*). See Nos. V., VIII., XI., XIV., XXIII. "Said to have been the invention of Romanus, a deacon of Emesa, about A.D. 500. . . . The legend is this: That the Mother of God appeared to St. Romanus in the church of Blachernæ, and gave him a piece of a roll, which she commanded him to eat. He did so, and found himself endowed with the power of making *contacia*. Now a roll is, in mediæval Greek, *κοντάκιον*, from *κοντός*, the roller round which it is kept; nothing, therefore, is more probable than that, from the supposed origin of these hymns, their name also should be derived. Romanus is said to have written more than a thousand *contacia*. It almost always occurs between a *hirmos*—which, however, is not its *hirmos*—and an *otios*" (J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 843).

"*Μεγαλομάρτυρ* (*Megalomartyr*). See Nos. VI., VII., XVI. Given to martyrs of more than common celebrity—e.g., St. George, the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, St. Christina, and the like.

"*Μυροβλάντης* (*bubbling with perfumed oil*). See No. VII. This has to do with the relics of certain great saints.

No. stands for *Νοέμβριος* (November).

"Οκτ. stands for *Ὀκτώβριος* (October).

"*Στιχέρον προσόμιον* (*Stichéron prosoméion*). A *troparion* having the rhythm of an original *troparion*. The *troparia* of a canon are never called *stichéra*. The *stichéron* is a measure preceded by a verse from the Psalms. For an example, see No. XIII.

N.B.—After the words *Ἐκπαιστειλάντιον, κοντάκιον, ὁ τροπάριον*, as the case may be, there follow the words *Τῷ Μαθηταί: Ὁ οὐρανὸν τοῖς ἁγίοις, κ.τ.λ.* [See Nos. I., II., III., IV.] These are the titles of the *Heirmos*, or tune, to which the *troparia, kontakia, exaposteliaria*, etc., are to be sung, and on the model of which they are constructed. These headings are merely a guide to the singer. But when the *Heirmos* is printed in full, each line of it is dignified and preceded with inverted commas.

"*Σπουδαῖον, τοῦ*. By the man of the Studium—i.e., St. Theodore or St. Joseph. No. XII. *ΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ*, or WONDER-WORKER. See Nos. XIV., XIX., XX. A name given to Saints illustrious for miracles, such as St. Gregory and St. Charilampes (February 10), and more rarely to a woman, as St. Elizabeth (April 24).

"*ΘΕΟΦΩΡΟΣ*—i.e., GOD-BEARER—e.g., St. Ignatius of Antioch. See Nos. XV., XVIII. *ΘΕΟΤΟΚΙΟΝ*. A *sticheron* or *troparion* addressed to the Mother of God (see No I.), combined with an *Exapostellarian*.

"*TROPARION*. "The generic term for all the short hymns of which the services of the Greek Church almost entirely consist. As to its name, it is variously explained" (Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 832). For a specimen, see No. IX.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH

(Continued from p. 76.)

CHAPTER III.—THE FIRST SERBIAN APOSTLES, CYRIL AND METHODIUS, INVENT THE SERBO-SLAVONIC ALPHABET AND FOUND THE LITERATURE AND WORSHIP OF THE NATIONAL SERBIAN CHURCH.

THE two first Slav apostles of the Serbs, Cyril and Methodius, who were baptized under the names of Constantine and Michael, were brothers. They were the children of a Greek generalissimo named Leo, in Salonica, and of a Serbian Princess—Mary. Cyril (Constan-

tine) was brought up and educated at the Imperial Court with the young Emperor Michael, but Methodius (Michael) remained at home till he went to complete his education in the monastery of Olympus. Both thus received the highest education which that age could afford. Cyril, on account of his great learning and talents was called "Philosopher": a title of honour which was only given to exceptionally learned men in the Byzantine Empire. At the same time these two apostles had a deep love for their own people and did an immense deal towards the development of a Christian literature in Serbian and towards the strengthening of the Christian faith amongst the Serbs. Both in secret—on account of the jealousy of the Greek and Roman clergy—and in public, they laboured unwearily for the benefit of their people in order to educate them and prepare them for future greatness. To attain this end they despised the magnificence of the Imperial Court and an easy life, and exchanged both willingly for the solitude of the monastery. On entering the monastery Constantine took the name of Cyril, and Michael that of Methodius.

Their retiring natures, as well as the desire to rescue their oppressed people, were the motives which impelled them to the monastic life. From this time onwards they never rested until they had made it possible for their countrymen—so poor in spiritual and temporal advantages—to praise the wonderful works of God in their own tongue. For this purpose Cyril and Methodius resolved to invent at once a Serb alphabet and then to translate some of the Greek service-books into Serbian, so as to bring home the doctrines of the Christian faith to the people in their mother-tongue and make them more easily understood. Cyril, who was brought up at the Byzantine Court, was well known long before he entered the monastery from a victory which he had won in a disputation with John, the grammarian, the iconoclastic patriarch of Constantinople. In agreement with Methodius, he insisted that the foreign priests who were sent to the Serbs should speak the Serbian language. On account of their ability and their zeal in spreading the Christian faith, the Emperor Michael had twice sent the two brothers to the Saracens, Jews, and Turks: missions which they had fulfilled successfully, to the Emperor's satisfaction. On their return from their second missionary journey (A.D. 852), they brought with them from the Chazars a Serbian translation of the Holy Scriptures which they had found there, and also some relics of Pope Clement which they had discovered in the Chersonese. The Emperor rewarded the services of both men liberally by appointing Cyril Professor of Theology and State Librarian at Constantinople, and offering Methodius a bishopric. Both refused every distinction, however, and returned to the monastery, so as to continue the work which they had begun amongst their people.

About this time Charlemagne conquered Pannonia, which was largely inhabited by Serbs. He placed the newly conquered territory under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Salzburg. The latter founded two new bishoprics, one in Olmutz and the other in Neutra. These two bishops were warmly supported by Charlemagne and other German rulers in converting the inhabitants of Pannonia to Christianity. The Serbian people had much to suffer from the Roman Catholic Church. Cruel tortures and inquisitorial measures were to bring them back into her bosom. Taxes of all kinds were laid upon the poor people; property and lands were ruthlessly taken away and made over to the monasteries, while the people were compelled, into the bargain, to till the lands thus taken from them without payment. The sufferings which the Serbs endured from the Roman clergy at last drove the national princes, Ratislav of Moravia, Kozelja of Sirmia, and Swatopluk, Prince of the Slovaks, to revolt. Ratislav and several princes of Pannonia sent an embassy to the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, begging for Serbian-speaking missionaries who would instruct the Serb people in Christian faith and doctrine and would baptize them. In his letter Ratislav says: "Our people speak neither Greek nor Latin, so that they remain ignorant and uninstructed in the teachings of the Gospel." On receiving Ratislav's petition the Emperor Michael sent for the famous brothers, Cyril and Methodius, and despatched them with these words: "You come from Salonica, and in Salonica everyone speaks Serb; go therefore to Ratislav and enlighten your brethren." When Cyril observed that the people had no books, the Emperor replied: "Then you must provide them with such." The two brothers were delighted to hear this, for up to this time the Gospel had only been made known in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The apostles prepared for their journey joyfully, taking with them several useful books, which they had already translated into Serbian. They went to Moravia, where they were most heartily received (A.D. 861). From this time onward they preached, taught, and baptized continually. First of all, they baptized Prince Ratislav and his whole family, and then all others who had not yet been baptized. In the churches they held services and preached in the Serbian language, and the people were greatly delighted when they could hear the divine liturgy and sermons in their own mother-tongue. In Moravia the worthy apostles founded a national school for the education of the clergy. In this school some two hundred native young men received instruction at one time. Amongst the earliest and most famous were Gorasd, Clement, Naumus, Sava, Angelar, Lauretius, and several others, who later on became preachers and bishops in the Serbian parts of the Balkan peninsula. Cyril and Methodius knew perfectly well how important it is for teaching to have books written in the national

language, and how powerfully Christian doctrine appeals when preached to the people in their own mother-tongue. They therefore taught their pupils, in the schools which they founded, to translate and transcribe books. Special importance was attached to the translation of ecclesiastical books and Bibles for use in the services of the Church. These books were sent to the various dioceses and thus brought the Serbian language and liturgy into use in the Church. On account of their services to their people, Cyril and Methodius were accused as heretics by the Roman Catholic clergy to Pope Nicholas I. The Pope summoned them to Rome to answer the charge. They obeyed the Papal call and repaired to Rome, passing through the south-west districts of Serbia. On the way they preached the Christian faith, spread Serbian literature, and held services in the Serbian language. The Serbian people in Lower Pannonia, Moesia, Zachumlia (now Herzegovina), Neretwia, and Trabunia, received the preaching of the Christian faith in their own language with great joy and were baptized. Amongst them was the Prince Budimir of Zachumlia, who also accepted baptism. When Cyril and Methodius arrived in Rome the powerful Pope, Nicholas I., who had been so embittered against them, was no longer alive. Hadrian II., who now occupied the Papal See, welcomed the brothers warmly. They were received with special friendliness, because they brought with them the sacred relics of Pope Clement. After some days had passed, they explained their missionary labours to Pope Hadrian and showed him the writings which they had translated. The Pope praised them, took the books, and carried them to the Church of St. Mary in the so-called "Fatan," and laid them himself on the altar. In this way he recognized and publicly blessed the translation of the sacred books into the Serbo-Slavonic tongue. At the same time he issued a bull, in which the following passage occurs: "Let no one venture to injure the brothers Cyril and Methodius, for their labours and teaching are in perfect harmony with the teaching of the Gospel and with the dogmas of the apostolic and universal Church." Speaking of the books which had been translated, he also says that "they agree completely with Christian doctrine and with the decrees and dogmas of the Church." Finally, Pope Hadrian celebrated the divine liturgy in the Serbian language with Cyril and Methodius, and consecrated Cyril, with Bishop Formisius, to be Archbishop of Pannonia. Soon after Cyril fell ill, and died at Rome. There is a tradition that he was poisoned by the Roman clergy, because they saw in him an enthusiasm, power, and energy which seemed dangerous to them. After Cyril's death, Pope Hadrian consecrated Methodius and sent him in the place of his dead brother to be Archbishop of Moravia. On his return journey—at the request of the Sirmian Prince Kozelus—Methodius stopped in the region of Pannonia, which lay between the

Danube, Save, and Drave, but amidst thoroughly Serb surroundings. Here he restored the old Metropolitanate, which is said to have been founded by St. Paul in Sirmia and transferred by Justinian I. to Taurida. The Roman Catholic Bishops—Adalvin, Archbishop of Salzburg; Hanan, Bishop of Freising; and Emerlich, Bishop of Passau—opposed the restoration of the Metropolitanate of Sirmia and the missionary activity of Archbishop Methodius. They seized Methodius by stealth and threw him into prison, where he remained from 871 to 874. After the death of Adalvin, Archbishop of Salzburg, Pope John VIII. nominated Teatmarus as Archbishop, and compelled him to give up all claim to Pannonia and set Methodius at liberty. This was done. Archbishop Methodius returned to his Pannonian archbishopric, but he transferred his residence to the city of Welepad, in Moravia, where he baptized Boriwoja, Prince of Bohemia, and his consort Ljudmila. Here, however, the Roman bishops could not leave him in peace, but again brought accusations against him to the Pope. John VIII. summoned him again to Rome to answer these accusations. Methodius obeyed the summons and repaired to Rome, where, after hearing his defence, John declared Methodius innocent. The Pope praised him as a good and diligent labourer in God's vineyard, and approved his work and the holding of divine service in church in the Serb language, just as Pope Hadrian had done before him. In his bull on this subject Pope John said: "We commend and approve the Slavonic scriptures, books, and liturgy; therefore we declare that the Lord may be as rightfully praised and preached in this language as in any other, for the Lord Himself has said through the prophets: 'Praise the Lord, all ye heathen; praise Him, all ye nations,'¹ and 'Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.'² Therefore we direct by our Apostolic authority that you may bless and praise the Lord God in your own language, and not only in the three sacred tongues of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin." In order at the same time to content the Roman clergy, he consecrated their favourite, Wiking—a person of very scandalous character—and appointed him Bishop of Neutra. When these two men, Methodius and Wiking, had returned to their dioceses from Rome, Wiking again set on foot such reports and intrigues against Methodius that, after the death of Pope John, he was deposed by Pope Stephen VI. and declared a schismatic, without being given a chance to defend himself. This event so embittered Methodius that he died soon after, on April 6, 885. After his death the Roman bishops, in accordance with the wish of Wiking, Bishop of Neutra, expelled all the pupils of Cyril and Methodius from Moravia. So ended the earliest activity of the first Serbo-Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius. They departed from this world, but they

¹ Ps. cviii. 1.² Phil. ii. 11.

left behind them the Serbian scriptures and the ecclesiastical books and the liturgy in which, to this very day, all the Serb-speaking peoples worship God. Their work will never perish, but will always be remembered with gratitude by the Serbs. Cyril and Methodius are celebrated as saints in the churches of the Slavonic races, but they have also a place in the present calendar of the Roman Church.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE DISSENSIONS IN THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

1. **I**N view of the length which our report has necessarily assumed it will be convenient that we should state our conclusions in a summary form.

2. The dispute between the Patriarch and the majority of the Synod originates in the presentation of certain proposed new "Internal Regulations" prepared by a committee in Athens. These regulations were first put forward in connection with a proposed loan by the Greek National Bank, and their adoption was to be one of the conditions of that loan. The Greek loan was vetoed by the Local Government as involving the subjection of the Patriarchate to a foreign Government. The rules were thereupon pressed upon the Patriarch by the Bishops and those supporting them in connection with the proposed loan through British banks, which also came to nothing.

3. These proposed new regulations had certain controversial features. In the first place, though described as internal regulations, they made important changes in what may be called the Organic Law of the Patriarchate—namely, the Imperial Regulations of 1875. And, in the second place, they, in effect, supplemented those regulations, (a) by making provision for a matter which those regulations had deliberately omitted—namely, the deposition of the Patriarch, and (b) by subjecting both the Patriarch and the Synod to an external authority—*i.e.*, a special court composed, as regards the Patriarch in part, and as regards the Synod entirely, of representatives of a special group of the other Orthodox Churches—namely, the Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Cyprus, and the Kingdom of Greece. Further, by requiring that the adoption of these regulations should be notified not only to the Local Government, but also to the Government of the Kingdom of Greece, they impliedly subjected the Patriarchate to a foreign Government.

4. The Patriarch was strongly opposed to these new regulations as impairing the independence and autocephalous character of the Patriarchate. The majority of the Synod was in favour of the new regulations, partly because they sympathized with the political ideas which inspired them, and partly on the ground that any attempt to put the financial affairs of the Patriarchate on a sound basis should be accompanied by a thorough internal reorganization. They erroneously supposed that these regulations would effect such a reorganization. It appears that, in connection with these proposed regulations, the Patriarch put forward the contention that the powers of the Synod were advisory only, and that he was not bound to adopt the view of the majority. The regulations were never formally brought before the Synod. A condition of friction arose and the Patriarch suspended the meetings of the Synod from May 8, 1920 (O.S.), to July 27, 1920. At the meeting of July 27 the Bishops, who had lodged formal protests in the interval, presented a declaration of breaking off all further relations with the Patriarch and accusing him of arbitrary and despotic administration throughout his Patriarchate, and of seeking to sever the indissoluble bonds which united the Patriarchate with the Greek nation. The declaration further stated that the Bishops denounced the Patriarch to all the Greek Orthodox Churches.

5. The Churches to which the Bishops addressed their appeal were the same special group of Churches as that above referred to—namely, that of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Cyprus, and the Kingdom of Greece. Fifteen charges were formulated. They were all in substance of an administrative or political nature. The principal points in the charges were: that the Patriarch was arbitrary and despotic in his administration, that he refused to respect the decisions of the majority of his Synod, that he discouraged intellectual development, did not restrain slackness of life, squandered the resources of the Patriarchate, had accumulated an enormous debt, did not give a strenuous defence to the rights of the Orthodox Church in the Holy Shrines, tolerated the establishment of institutions of other Orthodox Churches in Palestine, did not make proper pastoral provision for the flock, oppressed the Brotherhood, did not provide for proper administration during his absence in Damascus, sought to estrange the Fraternity from the Greek nation, and strove to give it a local or Panorthodox character. The Bishops appear to have invited the Churches thus selected to try the Patriarch on these charges, and, if necessary, to depose him.

6. The first question submitted to us in our terms of reference was whether the constitution of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church provided an authority which was empowered to adjudicate on the dispute between the Patriarch and the majority of his Synod. We have

carefully investigated this question, and we have come definitely to the conclusion that the constitution of the Church provides no such authority. The only authority which has ever intervened in the internal affairs of the other Orthodox Churches has been the Œcumenical Patriarchate. But the interventions of the Œcumenical Patriarch have not been authoritative interventions; they have been based upon an immemorial privilege, belonging to him by virtue of his primacy, to succour other Churches in distress, and have all been based upon either the express or the implied invitation of those Churches. All the Churches to whom he has thus tendered his good offices have found it necessary, in modern times, to assert in unqualified terms their absolute independence of his authority. With regard to the selection of this special group of Churches there is neither ecclesiastical, historical, nor logical justification for such a proceeding. This group of Churches has no jurisdiction to entertain the appeal.

7. It is contended by the Bishops, however, that though the Churches appeared to have not an authoritative right, they may acquire a jurisdiction by virtue of the invitation of the Church at Jerusalem, and that the Bishops, as constituting the whole Episcopal Hierarchy of the Church, are entitled to speak in its name. We have carefully examined this contention. In ordinary circumstances it is undoubtedly the case that for certain purposes the whole of the Episcopal Hierarchy of a Church is entitled to speak in the name of the Church. But the Reverend Bishops of the Church of Jerusalem are in a special position. They are not Bishops in the active and responsible charge of dioceses. They are titular Bishops consecrated to assist the Patriarch, two of them in his pastoral duties, and the remainder in his ceremonial duties. They do not, in fact, constitute the governing body of the Church. The governing body of the Church is the Patriarch in Synod, and the Synod consists of seven Bishops and nine Archimandrites, who, as members of the Synod, are on an equal footing with the Bishops. Of this body, seven support the Patriarch and nine are opposed to him. The appeal to those other Churches was thus made by a party in the Church only. We are of opinion, therefore, that in these circumstances the claim of the Reverend Bishops to speak for the Church as a whole must be rejected, and that the Churches appealed to cannot acquire jurisdiction by such an invitation.

8. In view of this conclusion we have thought it necessary to inquire whether the Synod itself has authority to try and depose the Patriarch. The answer to this inquiry is in the negative. The Synod of the Church of Jerusalem is not the ancient canonical Synod composed of all the Metropolitans of a Patriarchate. It is a Synod of a special character, and in its present form is the creation of legislation. That legislation has deliberately omitted any provision for the deposition

of the Patriarch. The Synod has no inherent right to depose, for in the election of a Patriarch the Synod, though it makes the final selection, is not the only electoral element, the laity being represented through certain elected members of the parochial clergy. The Synod, therefore, has neither legislative, nor canonical, nor inherent power to depose a Patriarch.

We think, however, that, as in other Churches, this is a matter which should be regulated by legislation.

9. Having thus come to the conclusion that there is no ecclesiastical authority empowered to adjudicate upon the dispute, we have addressed ourselves to the next question—namely, what steps the Government should itself take for the immediate restoration of order in the affairs of the Patriarchate. For this purpose it is necessary that we should express an opinion on the merits of the dispute.

10. With regard to the general constitutional question which has been raised and discussed, we do not think there can be any doubt in matters within its competence, as declared by the Imperial Regulations of 1875; the Synod is not a merely advisory body. The Patriarch is bound to carry out the decisions of the Synod in these matters. In spite of certain expressions used in the discussions connected with the proposed new regulations, we do not think that the Patriarch has formally challenged the correctness of this contention. So far as the Bishops advanced this contention they are right. Whether throughout the course of his long Patriarchate the Patriarch has in fact governed in accordance with this principle, we are not in a position, and we are under no obligation, to express an opinion.

11. But with regard to the question which immediately occasioned the dispute—namely, the proposed new internal regulations—in ruling these regulations out of discussion the Patriarch was undoubtedly right. It is not competent for the Patriarch in Synod, by so-called internal regulations, to modify, or, in matters of principle, to supplement the Organic Law of the Patriarchate—*i.e.*, the Imperial Regulations of 1875. The proposed internal regulations modified and supplemented that Organic Law in most material particulars, and the action of the Patriarch in refusing to submit the question of these regulations to the vote of a majority was thus justified.

12. We are by no means clear, however, that this position was fully realized on either side. It does not appear that the Patriarch justified his action on the ground above explained, or that the members of the Synod had an opportunity of addressing their minds to this aspect of the question.

In view of the serious financial situation of the Church, we trust that, as on previous occasions—namely, 1909 and 1919—both parties will see the necessity for an immediate reconciliation, and we hope that the

principles thus explained will form a satisfactory basis for such a reconciliation.

13. Should these anticipations not be justified, what action must the Government take? Government action is necessary, partly on general reasons of State, the Patriarch being the head of his community and in a certain sense an officer of Government, and partly on the ground of the special moratorium with regard to the debts of the Patriarchate. That moratorium cannot be indefinitely prolonged. It cannot fairly be dissolved until the Patriarchate is put in a position to deal with the financial situation caused by the war. It cannot deal with that situation because the Synod, which with the Patriarch constitutes the governing body of the Church, cannot function.

14. The seat of the difficulty is that so long as the Bishops and their supporters abstain from attendance at the meetings of the Synod, a quorum cannot be constituted. By Article 38 of the internal regulations of 1902, to constitute a quorum, the attendance of two-thirds of the members plus one is necessary, or, in other words, an attendance of twelve. Those who support the Patriarch only number seven. We have considered whether the difficulty could be got over by the use of the Patriarch's power to increase the number of the Synod, but on examination this expedient proves not to be practicable.

15. Under the circumstances we think that unless a reconciliation takes place, the only effective means of restoring order in the affairs of the Patriarchate is a legislative enactment declaring that, pending such a reconciliation, those members of the Synod, who for the time being recognize the authority of the Patriarch, shall for all purposes be deemed to constitute the Synod.

16. There remains the final question, What steps should be taken to liquidate the debts of the Patriarchate? These debts are very considerable. They now amount to about £E.556,000. But this is not the only serious feature in the financial situation. As a result of the war the Patriarchate has lost 64 per cent. of the income which it enjoyed in the year before the war—*viz.*, the revenue derived from Russia. The minimum annual expenditure, on a more restricted basis, for which it must provide, is about £E.61,800. Its possible revenues under present management are about £E.22,000. There is thus an anticipated annual deficit of £E.39,800. If the revenues of the Bessarabian lands can be recovered, the deficit can be reduced to £E.13,400. These figures make no provision for the interest on the debt.

17. The Patriarchate can thus neither pay its debts nor the interest thereon, nor meet its current expenses. It is temporarily insolvent, and the special moratorium is equivalent to a declaration of insolvency.

18. To seek to remedy this state of affairs by obtaining a loan or

by inviting a general subscription is obviously futile. No other course is left but the realization of some of the very considerable assets of the Patriarchate. Such a proceeding, however, must take a considerable time, and must be accompanied by a general revision of the financial policy and methods of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate is thus faced with a financial problem of great magnitude, and it is universally admitted that it does not possess the financial capacity necessary to cope with it.

19. In our opinion, the Government ought to render to the Patriarchate the same assistance, for the purpose of the reorganization of its financial resources, as would have been rendered to it by the Greek National Bank in connection with the loan which on grounds of public policy it was found necessary to veto. We, therefore, recommend that for the purpose of assisting the Patriarchate to deal with its present embarrassments, there should be established a commission of liquidation and control.

20. The task of this commission would be to liquidate the debt of the Patriarchate, to introduce economies into its annual budget, to increase its revenues by the introduction of improved methods of administration, and secure that when the debt is liquidated and full powers of financial administration are restored to the Patriarchate, its affairs should be upon a sound footing.

21. In order that the work of such a commission may be effective, it would be necessary that it should be armed with the very fullest powers. We have explained in detail the powers which we think such a commission should possess, and we have made recommendations as to its personnel and its staff. We think that the establishment of such a commission and its acceptance by the Patriarch in Synod should be made a condition of the prolongation of the present special moratorium.

It will interest our readers to know that the election of an Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem is carried out as follows: The Armenian Council of Jerusalem sends seven names to the Armenian National Council (composed of forty clergy and eighty bishops) at Constantinople, which may charge three. The Jerusalem Council chooses two out of the three returned to it, and from these two the Constantinople Council makes the final election. There are, of course, two Armenian Patriarchs: one for Constantinople and the other for Jerusalem, the latter being subordinate to the former. A Catholicos, however, holds a higher ecclesiastical rank than a Patriarch, there being three Catholicos—viz., of Etchmiadzin, Sis, and Aghthamar, the first being supreme head of the whole Armenian Church and nation. A Catholicos alone can consecrate a Bishop, the Bishops of the Constantinople and Jerusalem Patriarchates being consecrated by the supreme Catholicos. Practically all Armenians are members of the National Church, the Protestants and Uniates forming barely 5 per cent. of the nation. (See p. 106).

AN IMPORTANT NOTICE

By THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN ASSOCIATION

THE CHRISTIAN EAST is, of course, the property and the official organ of the A. and E. A. Without undue compliment to our Editors, we venture to think that the encomium passed on our July number by the *Church Times* was deserved. Undoubtedly our issues this year bear the marks of having been produced by men who possess first-hand knowledge of their subject, and who are at the centre of the movements with which THE CHRISTIAN EAST is concerned.

We have therefore no doubt that all who are interested in those movements value THE CHRISTIAN EAST for their personal reading, and will agree that it is an organ of great importance for the cause which they have made their own.

The Committee, however, is now face to face with the serious problem of its future. The launching of a magazine, always a venture, required more financial staying power last year than ever before, and even though THE CHRISTIAN EAST obtained a good circulation at its start, the cash deficit each quarter was very alarming. Moreover, notices of discontinuance were alarming in the autumn of 1920, and at the New Year of 1921 there was a considerable slump—something like 25 per cent.—in the number of subscribers.

Indeed, it was only by Messrs. Douglas and Fynes-Clinton being almost dragged into taking up the editorship, and by their relieving us from

Printed Matter.

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The Rev. C. NORMAN SMITH,

24a, ST. CHARLES SQUARE,

NORTH KENSINGTON,

LONDON, W. 10.

having to pay either for editing or for contributions, that, even with a subvention, we could finance the magazine this year.

What is the present position? We have regained much of the lost circulation, and are hopeful of the future. It seems to us that the continuance of the magazine is a duty to the Church at large. It is certainly a vital need of our Movement. But there is a present loss of about £30 a number, and by our Christmas issue we shall exhaust the guarantees at our disposal. Further, having no belief in spoon-fed periodicals, we have decided that we are justified only in going on if our present subscribers are willing to continue to take it: (a) *the size of the magazine being increased to 64 pages*; (b) *the amount of the annual subscription being raised to 10s.*

Under those conditions the magazine will pay its way. But if the number of subscribers fall off, it will not—and must end. Am I to dismiss the voluntary editors, to tell our friends abroad that A. and E. A. has no organ, and, hammering the nails into the coffin of THE CHRISTIAN EAST, to bury it unostentatiously beside *Eirene*?

The decision rests with the members of the A. and E. A.

I write, therefore, to beg that every subscriber who is willing to lend a hand will send me a post-card which is dropped into this number. In making this request I should point out that for our purpose *we must know our fate now*. To order in December will be like sending food to a man who has died of hunger. Therefore, for the good of the cause, and because I believe in THE CHRISTIAN EAST, I beg all our subscribers to send me their promise to take the enlarged magazine at 10s. for the year 1922.

To the GENERAL SECRETARY of the Anglican and Eastern
Churches Association.

I promise to take in THE CHRISTIAN EAST for 1922 at the
increased price—viz., 10s.

Signed.....

Address.....

FROM BELGRADE

A FAIR city set upon a hill, washed on three sides by the waters of the Save and Danube. On the opposite bank is set the sister-town of Zemlin, whose people are Serb, but not long ago a sister under Austrian rule, an abiding menace, whence came a fearful hail of shell in the early days of the war, yet a town which suffered not in return, for Serbia's faith saw in her a sister to be redeemed. Amid terrible scars left by bombardment, the Royal Palace, the seminary, the University and its library, and many another home of culture smashed, the Cathedral pierced, museums and churches pillaged, a marvellous effort of reconstruction and building is proceeding. Already the population is more than half as great again as before the war. Twenty years, and Belgrade will be one of the finest cities of Europe. To-day the streets are in mourning, the all-pervading music almost silenced, for the funeral of King Peter, whom many would entitle "the Great," the embodiment of Serbia's age-long purpose of liberation and of its accomplishment.

The Church, as well as the State, is confronted with difficult problems. The fact that in one State are now united Orthodox, Catholic Croats, and Bosnian Moslems, these three confessions being now legally on equality, may show Europe an example of successful brotherly toleration or may end in disaster.

Their relations, mutual and with the State, occupy at this moment the attention of the Great Synod of all the Serbian hierarchy at Carlovitz, the old centre of the Hungaro-Serb Church, and seat of the exiled patriarchate. Other problems are being considered: the re-marriage of the clergy (let us hope that if liberty be granted in this direction, permission will be freely given also to be celibate, as many desire)—it is generally felt that this question can be settled rightly only by a General Council of all the Orthodox Churches; financial arrangements and central administration of the great monastic properties; the election of new bishops, six having been elected this week, and the episcopate having been greatly increased to the number of twenty-seven. The matter of founding and regulating the Czecho-Slovak Church is being pushed forward, and is dealt with below. Owing to the death by massacre and otherwise of so many priests, and the closing of the seminaries, there is a lamentable shortage of clergy, just when the work of reconstruction of village life needs their help and guidance.

THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

A movement has arisen of much interest and promise among the peasants, many thousands of whom have been gathered in. During

and immediately after the war the agony of innumerable losses of parents and children led to interest in spiritist propaganda aided by American and other popular literature.

The formation of circles and the arousing thus of fresh interest in spiritual questions has produced a strong religious movement, which has largely, though not yet completely, become loyal to the Church. A great opportunity of a sound religious revival is thus at hand, and needs kindly, but firm and wise, guidance. A committee has been formed to organize it, on which, among others, are Bishop Nicholas Vilimirovic, and one of our Cambridge students, the deacon of the Cathedral here, Fr. Lukovic. As the National Christian Association its constitution has obtained the approval of the Patriarch.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK CHURCH.

The latest news concerning the Church in Czecho-Slovakia and the secession of a part from Roman obedience to Orthodoxy is contained in an article in the *Politika*, of Belgrade, of September 13, of which the following is a summary:

"The Orthodox Church of Czecho-Slovakia is now completely organized, its membership being about one million, of which a hundred thousand are of Prague. The movement is growing. The Church is divided into three dioceses—the Eastern, the Western, and Morava-Silesia. The first Bishop, elected by the people, is for Morava-Silesia—viz., the Rev. M. Paulic, who is shortly coming to Belgrade with others with a formal request to the Holy Synod to consecrate him as Bishop. The Serbian Bishop Dorotheus has been there for a considerable period making investigations, and is satisfied about the genuine and religious nature of the movement. This Church accepts as foundation the complete dogmatic position of the Eastern-Orthodox Churches."

The article proceeds to point out the importance for international and racial unity of this Church *rapprochement*, as having truer basis and deeper roots than any diplomatic or financial union. It then goes on:

"This 'national democratic Church' is of spontaneous growth, not the result of external forces. It owes its origin to the work of SS. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, their non-success being due to German and Roman force. The idea was revived by Huss, and lives in the movement of to-day. The Holy Synod sent Mgr. Dorotheus at the invitation of the Czecho-Slovakian Church; first, to interpret to them Orthodoxy, and secondly, to help in the constitution of an Orthodox Church. At the time of the creation of the new State, we showed them sympathy, and a million members were gathered into the movement in six months. At the beginning there were few of

the Intellectuals, but now they are joining in great numbers. The result may be summarized: (1) The 'Church of Czecho-Slovakia' desires unity with the Orthodox Church; (2) it accepts the Nicæo-Constantinopolitan Creed; (3) it accepts all the dogmas of the Eastern-Orthodox Churches and of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, and all the 'essential ritual' and the Seven Sacraments. On this ground it asks for episcopal consecration."

The rite to be followed seems to be the Roman, with the necessary modifications. A decision has to be taken as to the recognition this week. If favourable, the consecration will follow.

At the beginning of September the Czecho-Slovak Government signed the statutes recognizing the civil equality of the Roman Catholic and the Czecho-Slovakian Orthodox Churches. The one thing that remains is the consecration of two more Bishops, in order that this Church may be recognized as one of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. Fr. Paulic, who is in Papalist Orders, is to be the first Bishop. He will not be reordained. The success of the movement is especially found in Moravia, where the memory of SS. Cyril and Methodius is still green among the people. It is especially noteworthy that in Silesia the movement has spread greatly among the workmen and Communists, and that workmen leave their clubs and prefer to go to the services, often performed in the fields for the lack of churches. The only demand now made is for the canonization of John Huss, and the ceremony of this canonization is expected to take place at the time of the consecration. These ceremonies, owing to the national mourning for King Peter, will be shorn of some magnificence; but the event will be of importance in history as marking an epoch in the unity of the Slav race.

H. J. FYNES-CLINTON.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

DEAR EDITORS,

Since my last quarterly letter there is little to record. No election will be made to the Œcumenical throne till the fighting in Asia Minor is over, and if that should end successfully rumour has it that a very worthy and desirable Metropolitan, who knows England and has many Anglican friends, may become Patriarch.

The Metropolitan of Viza, who had been charged with the task of studying the question of the Calendar, has now completed his report to the Holy Synod. He recommends the adoption of the New Style and also of a fixed Easter, about which it seems the Patriarch had already been consulted.

I have been holding conversations with the old Syrian Patriarch on the subject of Monophysitism, but I should be sorry to give any opinion as to the future until the Archbishop's Committee has submitted its questions to the Patriarch and they have been thoroughly digested with a perfect translation and carefully answered.

Enough to say that His Holiness repudiates the name Eutychian. He is proving himself a stickler for propriety, and has transformed the little Syrian church here. It used to be indistinguishable from an Armenian church, with an open bema approached by steps at the sides. Now, however, the altar curtain has been taken away, and instead a substantial wooden screen has been put up. It consists of two square pillars surmounted by a heavy curved arch of very low pitch, and by a cross without a figure. The space between the pillars and the walls on either side is treated in a similar way. The three openings thus formed are hung with curtains, and steps have been placed in the midst of each. So that now the whole presbytery is veiled during the Consecration, and all the attendant ministers, instead of the priest and table only.

The Syrians were formerly very much dominated by the Armenians, who seem to have tried to absorb them. This return to real Syrian tradition is to be welcomed.

It may interest some to know that His Holiness wears a cherry-coloured cassock covered by a black gown edged on the inside with purple. Indoors he wears a cherry-coloured "pork-pie" cap over his coif, all monks wearing a black one of the same shape. The married clergy, however, wear no coif, but an ordinary skull cap. It would have shocked one of our pedants to see one of the latter officiating at a funeral, and censing altar and coffin in a short coat over his cassock and a stole over that. Not having to go out of doors he simply did not take the trouble to change it for his gown, but put on his stole just as he was.

R. F. BOROUGH,
Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church, Constantinople.

September 2, 1921.

JERUSALEM LETTER

THE chief local topic of interest, so far as the Greek Church is concerned, is the quarrel between the Patriarchate and the Synod of Jerusalem. Personal and financial matters figure largely and complicate what is, in any case, a very unhappy state of affairs; but in essence the difference turns on the relative powers of Patriarch and Synod. The Jerusalem Synod consists of the Patriarch, two Metropolitans, six Archbishops, and eight Archimandrites. Of these the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and two of the Archimandrites had refused to recognize the Patriarch's authority, and demanded his deposition. Furthermore, the Patriarchate had fallen into heavy debt. The War itself naturally caused financial confusion; but that was, or need have been, only temporary. More serious, and what also threatens to be a permanent fact, is the stoppage of the immense stream of Russian pilgrims, and the fees and offerings which had previously been a regular and large source of income. To protect the Patriarchate from legal proceedings by its creditors, a special moratorium had to be enacted by the Government.

Then once again was repeated the lamentable scene—only too common in the history of Eastern Churches—of an appeal to the non-Christian ruler. Both the Patriarch and the Archbishops appealed to the High Commissioner of Palestine for a settlement of the dispute. He did the best thing that was possible in the circumstances, and appointed a Commission to inquire into the matter and make a report. The Commissioners were Sir Anton Bertram, Chief Justice of Ceylon, and Mr. H. C. Luke, Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, and formerly Deputy Commissioner in Cyprus. Both were equipped with some knowledge of the history and organization of the Orthodox Church; they made an exhaustive inquiry into the position and presented a full and learned report. This will shortly be published in book form, and is expected to be a valuable contribution to the study of the constitutional history of the Orthodox Eastern Church.

The terms of reference of the Commission were as follows:

1. Whether there is an authority provided by the constitution of the Orthodox Church which is empowered to adjudicate upon and decide the disputes.
2. If the answer to the first question is in the negative, what action should be taken by the Palestine Administration with a view to the immediate restoration of order in the affairs of the Patriarchate.
3. What measures are advisable for the liquidation of the debts of the Patriarchate.

A summary of the Report has been published, and these are the main conclusions:

1. That no ecclesiastical authority exists under the constitution of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem which can adjudicate between the Patriarch and the majority of the Synod.

That there were no grounds for deposing the Patriarch.

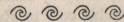
2. That it was necessary to restore order and authority in the Church, and this could only be done by modifying the composition of the Synod, unless those at present in opposition to the Patriarch became reconciled with him and resumed their places in the Synod.
3. That it was necessary to appoint a Government Commission to exercise financial control for a time, with a view to putting into order the finances of the Patriarchate and preserving it from bankruptcy.

These findings the High Commissioner accepted, but the Metropolitans of Acre and Nazareth have refused to accede to them. The High Commissioner invited the Metropolitans and Archbishops to become reconciled to the Patriarch in the interest of the peace and well-being of the Church. On their declining to do this, they were formally notified by the Patriarch that they should return to their dioceses in accordance with the terms of their original appointment, wherein they promised "to remain in their dioceses and livings, never leaving them except by regular invitation or written permission of the Patriarch, and never prolonging their absence beyond the delay fixed by him." The Government supported this order of the Patriarch; but the Metropolitans replied that they would prefer to leave Palestine. They were thereupon granted passports, and have left the country.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

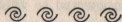
A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

THE Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, Secretary of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee and one of our editors, left London early in September for a long-planned visit to Belgrade. When last we heard from him he was at the Karlowic Patriarchate, where he was to confer with twenty-five bishops. Some notes which he sends will be of great interest and are printed in this number. He describes the patriarchal buildings at Karlowic as very fine.

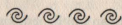


The abandonment of the Greek advance on Angora will have caused great disappointment to most of us. We had hoped that the end of the Turkish tyranny was in sight. As it is, Italy and France, the protector of the Latin Christians in the Near East, have willed that Mustapha Kemal shall have another winter in which to extirpate whatever Greeks and Armenians remain

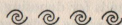
in his power. Sooner or later, however, the night will end and a new day come. We shall pray and hope on.



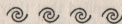
It is good news that Archimandrite Timotheos Themelis has been consecrated as Bishop of the Jordan. The new Bishop studied at Oxford, is a member of the A. and E. A., helped in producing *Eivene*, and has done fine work in the Jerusalem Patriarchate.



We are glad to learn that the Orthodox authorities at Jerusalem have recently given a categorical refusal to the request of an Anglican deacon, a Canadian, for reordination.



Not a few popular delusions about the Eastern-Orthodox are drawn from the mediæval armoury of prejudice and invention, and, but for their sedulous repetition by present-day Roman propagandists, would long ago have been forgotten in the scrap-heap. Thus, in the Jesuit *Month* for September we have a reviewer blandly repeating the time-worn and nonsensical statement that the Eastern-Orthodox Church is "in subjection to the State." There is no excuse to-day for the writer's ignorance that none of the States which are identified constitutionally with the Eastern-Orthodox Church claim or exercise any power in things spiritual, or that the Roman Church under the Habsburgs, the Bourbons, and the French *concordat* might well be described as in greater "subjection to the State" than is any particular Eastern-Orthodox Church. We suppose, however, that this old fable will still find ears to enter and be passed on.



The same writer considers that there are signs that some Eastern Churches may return to the "mistress and mother of all Churches." We wonder which Church he has in mind. Is it the Bulgar? There were expectations that, during the Great War, Ferdinand would bring his Tsardom into religious line with Papal Austria; but his people soon ended them. Is it the Ecumenical Patriarchate, or Serbia, or Greece, or Rumania? We are at a loss to imagine the mysterious hope, and have tried in vain to identify the signs of it. On the contrary, there seems to be a steady and growing *Los von Rom* in the East. Or should we interpret happenings conversely and find evidence of a Roman tendency in the revolt of Bohemia from Rome which has followed the disappearance of the State establishment of the Papal authority? At any rate, the Czecho-Slovaks have signalized the disappearance of Austrian tyranny by acceding to the Eastern-Orthodox Church. Is the little cloud, visible only to Roman eyes, to be seen in the appearance of the Czecho-Slovak Church with its episcopal succession derived from Serbia? Or in the return of some millions of Slavs to the tradition of SS. Cyril and Methodius, their spiritual fathers?

The Christian East

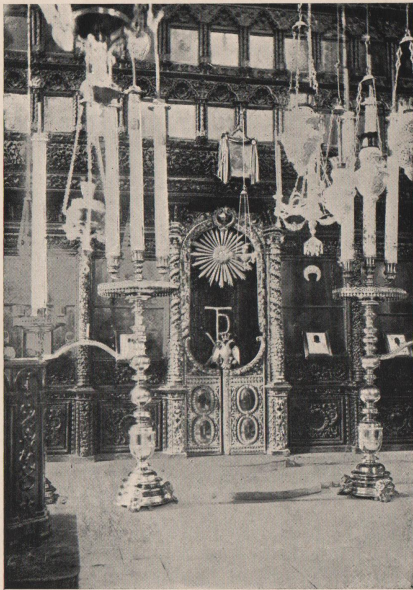
ST. GEORGE OF THE PHANAR

THE election of an Œcumenical Patriarch takes place inside the ikonostasis of this church, which, though world-famous, is not an ancient building—it was rebuilt a hundred years ago—and is remarkable chiefly for its associations. As is well known, with the exception of St. Mary of the Mongols, all churches in Constantinople which date from before 1453 have been turned into mosques, and it was to St. George outside Constantine's walls in the suburbs of the Phanar, or Lighthouse, that after migrations from St. Sophia, first to the Holy Apostles, demolished in 1457, and thence in succession to St. Mary Pammakaristos (the Rose Mosque), the Church of Vlach Serai and St. Demetrius, the famous throne of St. Chrysostom was brought in 1601. There it still stands waiting. Among the treasures of the church are the coffin and relics of St. Euphemia, the patron of Chalcedon (the story of whose intervention at the Council of Chalcedon is familiar), the ancient olive-wood ikonostasis, and pulpit inlaid with nacre, the taper stand, many eikons, lectionaries, etc., all of which are said to have been once in St. Sophia. It may be noticed that the Patriarchal residence is in the same enclosure with the church.

A VISIT TO SERBIA

BY THE REV. H. J. FYNES CLINTON

THE country of Serbia is a great palimpsest, on which over the ruins of her ancient imperial civilization are visible, with only too sad a clearness, the writings of two catastrophes. In many an unroofed church and ruined monastery, in the disfigured frescoes, and in the inburnt memories in the nation's heart of outrage and serfdom and theft of the bodies and souls of their boy children, lies the black trail of the Turk. To-day the streets and cafés are besmirched by the red fez, so hateful to the Englishman sickened with the massacres of Christians in these late years. And now over this, written in letters of Western *kultur*, the Austrian and Bulgar have left their trace in public buildings ruined, libraries and churches pillaged, scarce a factory or bridge or railway station not destroyed, in bodies abused and mutilated, children diseased, and in the graves of murdered priests.



IKONOSTASIS OF ST. GEORGE OF THE PHANAR

But everywhere there is hope and energy, faces confident, conscious of new-found liberty and duties to be fulfilled. In the reconstruction of social and political life, in the great problems and opportunities arising from the union of the Roman Catholic state of Croatia and of Bosnia, Slovenia, Serbian Macedonia and Montenegro with the old kingdom of Serbia, the Orthodox Church in its close union with the state necessarily has a great part to play. And we may well hope that the many students who have received a training in our Serbian Hostel of St. Sava at Oxford, and an insight into the practical social and pastoral methods of the English Church, may worthily play their part.

The Church of Jugo-Slavia now comprises the six Churches which were previously organized independently owing to the political separation of the now united states—*i.e.*, the Churches of Serbia, Montenegro, Czernović and Dalmatia (Austrian), Karlovci (Hungarian), Bosnia, and Macedonia.

The unification into one body, governed by the newly-restored Patriarchate and the Holy Synod, of the dismembered Southern Slav Church must make it a factor of growing importance in the spiritual life and progress of the Kingdom of God in Europe.

Of this Church His Holiness Dimitri, who as Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade visited England during the war and received an address from representatives of the English clergy in Sion College, has been elected and will soon be enthroned as Patriarch. The title of Ipek is revived, the seat of the mediæval patriarchate before the Patriarch accepted the invitation from the King of Hungary to find refuge with some of his people in Karlovci. At present he is Bishop of the united dioceses of Belgrade and Karlovci, which lies about forty miles north of the former in the vast plain of the Danube.

Soon after my arrival in Belgrade, Bishop Nikolai Velimirović and Bishop Joseph Zviević with the Archpriest Popović welcomed me, and gave the Patriarch's invitation to visit Karlovci. There I found the Holy Synod of all the Bishops, numbering about twenty-three, in full session, and thus had an unexpected and happy opportunity of making their acquaintance. Beside the two Bishops mentioned and the Patriarch, I met there three others whom we have had the pleasure of welcoming in England, Bishop Barnabas from Macedonia, and Bishop Zeremsky, who was here as Vicar-Bishop of Karlovci with his Archdeacon Irenæ, now Bishop of Timok. The patriarchal palace is extremely fine, wide marble staircases and galleries opening upon about thirty suites of three rooms, in which the Bishops and others were entertained. I had during part of the week, when we were more crowded by the arrival of twenty Czecho-Slovaks, the honour of sharing a suite with the Russian Archbishop Anthony of Kiev, a member of the Episcopal Commission for the Russian Church outside the Bolshevik area.

The full Synod is the supreme governing body of the Serbian Church, acting of course in concert with the other Orthodox Churches in all matters affecting doctrine and principles of discipline. There is a smaller permanent Commission of the Synod, consisting of the Patriarch and some Bishops, for regular administration. The Ministry of Worship, however, has a considerable influence and actual part in the administration. The Ministry is divided into Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Moslem departments, and from what I saw and heard during my short stay I have grave fear that in practical interference in ecclesiastical administration it may grow to be as great a menace to true episcopal authority and to the spiritual liberty of the Church as the Imperial procuratorship was in Russia. Amid the kindly courtesy shown by all, it was yet strange to find the head-dress of the unbeliever in so close a connection with the affairs of the Church. An Abbot humorously complained to me that he had to get permission from the Ministry to sell a pig, and by the time this came it was too old to eat!

Among the questions being debated at the Synod were many arising out of the new conditions created by the union of the states and those of the centralizing and administration of monastic property; the re-marriage of priests who have lost their wives during the war, about which notes have already appeared in *THE CHRISTIAN EAST*; the creation of new sees and the election of Bishops; and the very important question of the dogmatic and disciplinary conditions on which the new body in Czecho-Slovakia should be received into Orthodox Communion and constituted as an autonomous Church. Six new Bishops were elected at this time, but the Bishops of Old Serbia being in the minority largely owing to Bulgarian "executions," the choice did not prove universally acceptable, and has not been ratified owing to the opposition of the Radical Government.

I must take the opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks and appreciation of the courtesy, hospitality, and the great kindness shown to me by the Patriarch and all the Bishops with whom I spent a happy week of great interest and value to myself. One was sensible of a delightful atmosphere of geniality, of brotherliness and simplicity, though aware of grave differences of opinions, some of which arise from the great contrast of the conditions in which the Bishops lived previous to the union. Those in Hungary were comparatively wealthy and members of the House of Magnates, and the Patriarch kept up considerable state, whereas in Serbia the standard of life and outlook was much more simple.

The patriarchal palace is close to the Cathedral, a building of the style usual in these parts, sometimes approaching almost to rococo, a style which has unfortunately invaded many of the ancient churches with a great sameness in the eighteenth-century ikonostases. Next

door stands the Latin Church, and round about very fine buildings for the Elementary and Secondary Schools, excellently furnished in their scientific and historical departments; the Consistory Court, Priests' Library, Orphanage for Sons of Priests, etc. Under the present system, up to the age of sixteen or seventeen, when candidates for the priesthood enter the Greater Seminary, the boys are mostly at school together with others; and in many places, such as Karlovci, mixed education of boys and girls is the rule, and the headmaster there spoke of it enthusiastically. The children seem very intelligent, and the standard of education to be high, though, in common with most European systems and our own Government system, the curriculum is too crowded. The Patriarch replied very warmly to a message I brought from the Bishop of London, and sent one of greeting to the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the last day I was invited to a meeting of the Synod, at which the Patriarch informed me that a vote of the Bishops had accorded me the insignia of the highest rank of Archpriest. He expressed his happy recollections of his visit to England, and the gratitude felt by themselves for what the English Church and her leaders had done to help their cause and their students and exiled children. He then invested me with the blessed Cross and the Cincture, and I knelt to receive his benediction. In expressing my thanks, I replied that I could only receive it without embarrassment if I might regard it as an expression of friendship with the body of the English clergy, and the sisterly relations between the Churches; that we all had felt during the war that no effort or meed of admiration could be too great for our noble and suffering ally; that our one hope in giving the theological students some help by their training in England, at the request of the Patriarch, was that they might be good priests and intellectual upholders of the Orthodox Faith and Tradition. The Cross would be to me always the symbol of the love and sacrifice needful for unity, and the blood-red Cincture a reminder of the age-long martyrdom of the Serbs for faith and freedom.

Two of the great charms of the country are the music, the folk-songs accompanied with primitive stringed instruments, and the strange gipsy melodies that are heard on all sides in villages and cafés. Like all Slav people when together, they naturally turn to dancing and playing. Driving through the great plains, one sees the shepherd boys playing their pipes. The Church music is of great beauty and interest; for, though in theory conforming to the eight Greek modes, the melodies are taken from the ancient folk-songs. The choirs, however, do not approach those of Russia in execution. In the cathedral at Belgrade a choir of men and women sing in the west gallery.¹

¹ Some information on this, with some of the liturgical settings by Mokranjac, their great national composer, adapted to the English Service, can be found at the

The eyes and interest are also charmed by the peasant costumes, those of the women especially being brightly embroidered and coloured, and varying greatly according to the district, or even village. The peasantry are of a remarkably fine physical type, the men and boys being markedly the better and handsomer. The system of small holdings no doubt contributes to the independent, but at the same time courteous and simple, manner of the people. The driver of one's hired carriage will quite naturally come and sit at the table in the café with his fares, and discuss everything with an air of well-bred equality and deference. A little boy of twelve, when I was discussing Church matters with an Abbot, came up and leant on the table, remarking that he liked to listen to what we were saying.

The similarity of tongue and of buildings, etc., forces those who knew old Russia to comparison, and the contrast in Church worship and customs is very noticeable. In the first place, instead of the crowded congregations, the Serbian churches are sparsely attended. On great festivals crowds of thousands and tens of thousands will encamp round a famous monastery and receive the Sacraments and hear preaching. But the habit of regular Sunday worship, though of course enjoined by Canon, is largely in desuetude, owing no doubt at first to the terror of the Turk in old days, and secondly to the fact that in many country parts there is only one parish or monastic church to serve a district of several villages, the people having to travel miles to attend. Under the Turkish misrule no new parish churches, generally speaking, were allowed to be built, and many of the monastic ones had to fall into ruin. Though the sacred Ikons have the same position in worship as in Russia, they are seen but rarely in private rooms, or in the streets or markets. In church the more reserved national temperament makes them far less demonstrative than the Russians in outward devotion, and indeed less reverent. Nevertheless, the Orthodox faith is deeply enshrined in the hearts of the people: their national ballads and traditions bear witness to their age-long struggle for the Cross, and to their steadfast martyrdom for the faith of Christ. Religion takes a great part in their family life, intermingled with ancient Slav customs, especially at Christmas and in the Slava, the festival of the family patron saint, to observe which is the infallible mark of a true Serb. The ceremony of creating blood-brotherhood (*probatim*) between men and boys, corresponding to that in Greece by actual blood-shedding, is in Serbia performed by pouring wine in the form of a cross into a cake held by both and by friends, while a hymn is sung and prayers recited. This may take place in church, and the effect is to establish some inhibitions of blood-relationship even between the relations of the two who become closely united in sworn friendship.

As regards the Holy Sacraments, the custom of the majority is to communicate at Easter only, while many do so three or four times a year. More frequent Communion than this is much more rare than in Russia. But in the matter of confession there is need especially of a spiritual revival. The general custom seems to be that until the age of about sixteen children only make a general form of Confession together in the presence of the priest, who reads for them the Prayers of Preparation for Communion. In some parts the use of this Sacrament is much slacker than in others. While Seminary boys would be taught to make a good individual Confession four times a year, or oftener, it has fallen largely out of use among ordinary men of the more educated classes. Two experienced Archimandrites told me that they had never themselves heard the Confession of anyone under thirty-five.

The Church books in use are identical with the Russian, being procured from their presses, though there are some interesting local variations in ceremonies, especially the celebration of the Agapeia, which is unique in Serbia. This is the Love Feast partaken of on the eve of the consecration of a Bishop. I was fortunate enough to see this in the cathedral at Belgrade before the consecration of the Czecho-Slovak Bishop Paulik. The college of Bishops sat at a long table in the nave of the crowded church, with the Patriarch at the head and the ordinand at the foot, while, during the reading of Holy Scripture and singing by the choir, they partook of bread and wine and gave the kiss of peace.

A great hope lies in the spiritual movement among the peasantry, mentioned in *THE CHRISTIAN EAST* of September, 1921. Many thousands are turning with renewed interest for comfort and strength to the Church. And the committee of the National Christian Association, formed and sanctioned by the Holy Synod to deal with this movement, is endeavouring to guide it sympathetically and keep it loyal to the Church. Bishop Nicholai was asked to be president, but other duties unfortunately prevented his active leadership.

I met at Karlovci with one band of some seven peasant women preaching in the market-place with little printed Lives of Christ in their hands. Eager and sincere, they were proclaiming their need of instruction by exhorting the young seminarists to give up smoking as the greatest sin, on the ground that as you would not smoke in church you should also not bring smoke into the body, the temple of the Lord! Certainly after the sorrows and terrors of the war the people are ripe for such a renewal of faith and in need of greater pastoral zeal in the clergy.

Another great problem before the Church is the duty, laid upon it by the inclusion of Bosnia in the new state, to attempt the conversion of the Moslems. In this part of the country, owing to the greater length

of Turkish rule, they succeeded in leading to apostasy a large number of the landed classes, who were followed by some of the peasants; and the Mohammedan religion in Bosnia is so dominant that it had to be recognized as one of the three chief religions of Jugo-Slavia. Unhappily at present dangers of political friction render it undesirable in the eyes of the Government to attempt any conversion.

The history and the account of Church life in Serbia would be wholly incomplete without a prominent place given to the monasteries. These are not, as in the West, houses of great independent Orders, ramifying in all parts with a close discipline, nor, as in Russia, chiefly growing from the settlements of individual saints; but they were the munificent foundations of the great kings, each of whom vied in leaving as a monument of his reign a monastery endowed with great properties, into which not infrequently he retired in old age. Thus they are intimately bound up with the heroes, traditions, and national life of Serbia. During the Turkish oppression many fell into ruin, and were only used by monks, who, hiding in the recesses of the forest, would come by night to them and chant their Liturgy at peril. Heroically the religious life was never abandoned, but the trace of the scourge is still seen in the absence (excepting one convent in Macedonia) of women Religious and in the paucity of monks. The religious character of the people is seen in the fact that, though all private and monastic property was expropriated by the Turks, when they were expelled the peasants came forward and testified to the ancient boundaries of the monastic estates as they had been orally handed down to them by their fathers. To-day there are scores of monasteries, but there are not enough monks to send more than three or four to each of them. In Macedonia many of them had perforce to be left to ruin. The Archimandrite and two or three monks generally form the staff, with a few servants, and they have hard work in maintaining the cleanliness of the buildings (it was certainly noticeable in those that I saw), and in attending to the development of the miles of vineyards, agricultural and forest property. Indeed, the spiritual and community life must suffer considerably by the heavy demands on their time in labour and travelling and in their duties in far-flung parishes laid upon them by the shortage during the war of secular priests. The monasteries vary greatly in style, some of the churches being built entirely of carved marble, and some being entirely covered inside with frescoes contemporary with the buildings of the thirteenth century. But the general form is a courtyard of buildings, with a cloister in the upper storey, surrounding the church in the centre. The monks follow the rule of Morning Office at six or half-past, Office again in the evening, chanted by a few monks and servants, the Liturgy being celebrated only on Sundays and feasts as a rule. Many of the kings and queens are buried

in their monastery churches, and I had the joy of visiting the tomb of St. Lazar, the Czar-hero of the Battle of Kossovo. He lies in an open sarcophagus in front of the ikonostasis in the monastery of Rajanitzza in Sirmium, whither he was transferred from the old Rajanitzza after the Turkish conquest. His arms, crossed on his breast, lie exposed in perfect preservation. At the monastery of Lubostinye, founded by Militza, wife of King Lazar, I saw an unforgettable contrast: under the portico a great stone bear, on which had been flogged by the Austrians three thousand Serbs, and standing by it the old Archimandrite Sebastian, who had been imprisoned by them in a small, unfurnished hole under the tower, and almost killed with hard labour and rough treatment at the age of seventy-five. On one occasion he was crucified by the Austrians to force him to reveal hidden plate, and his life was only saved by a Czech officer. None the less, when I was there, there was still living in good rooms an old blind servant, of the race of their enemies, kindly cared for and pensioned, and singing snatches of the Roman Liturgy, of which Church he is still an adherent. On a visit to the monastery of Hopovo near Karlovci I was delighted to find a colony of refugee nuns established under the care of Mother Katharine and old Mother Nina, who spoke perfect English and discussed with the greatest interest English liturgical works. Here the familiar beauty and perfection of the Russian Service, sung by scores of the black-robed nuns in great dignity and reverence, brought most poignant remembrances of the glorious nunneries which now lie in the midst of the welter of anarchy and atheistic foulness from which these poor refugees had escaped. Would that Mother Elizabeth, the saintly Grand Duchess and Sister of Mercy, the sister of our own Marchioness of Milford Haven, had been one of them! But her mangled body, rescued from the well of Bolshevik torture, has now been laid to rest in Jerusalem. Here, too, I witnessed a gladdening augury for the future of Religious life for women in Serbia, when a widow of a Serbian soldier received the habit and benediction, and began her life and training with the Russian nuns. Let us pray that she may find her vocation and be instrumental under God in re-establishing what in this country is one of its great needs. Within the magnificent fortified walls of the fifteenth century, rising to towers of 100 feet in height, and built by St. Lazar, lies the monastery of Manassija, in which I found as Archimandrite our friend Father Sofronie, who was for some time with the community of the Resurrection at Mirfield.

These ancient monasteries are so bound up with the history, both of the nation and Church, that they are strongly entrenched in the sentiments and affections of the people. They thus still form the bases of spiritual life, from which one may confidently expect to issue forces of religious revival, and with nothing in Serbia was I more moved than

by the hope of such a revival that I felt to be promised in the monastic school at Rakavitzza. To this monastery after the war the school has been transferred from Karlovci and from Belgrade, where it was not so successful. Like all the monasteries, this was terribly impoverished, the forests being cut down by the enemy and nearly all the cattle stolen. To this work Archimandrite Mardarie was appointed, who had been for some years in Russia as a professor, and there being well known for his academical and spiritual attainments, and had been subsequently in Chicago. The Patriarch advised him to begin with about seven students, and in faith he started at once with forty! Boys enter the monasteries as servants at a tender age, and proceed to the central monastic school at about sixteen to be trained in ordinary seminary studies, with special attention to Liturgy and the ascetic life, and are then drafted out after four or five years to the monasteries as required. The buildings at Rakavitzza were ruined, but with great energy these students are setting to work to rebuild them in the intervals of their studies. They have suffered great privations, and during last winter were reduced to one potato each a day, with such roots and berries as they could find in the woods. The Father spoke to them of the hardness of the life, how he could promise no food the next week, and gave leave to any who wished to return home. Only two out of forty gave up, and he told me he was assured of the genuine response to vocation of nearly every boy who was there. I found them a picturesque group, digging the foundations of their wall, clad in familiar-looking grey habits, which I found were of Jaeger wool sent by the Serbian Relief Fund. I had the privilege of being allowed to address them, and told them something of the religious life in England, of the great missionary work which we believed the Serbian monks had before them, both in their own country and in the Near East, and said that I would ask for them the prayers of English Church-people, which I now most earnestly do. If the Father Abbot is allowed to spend some years at this noble work, I feel assured that the results will be of vital spiritual value.

On Sunday, September 25, I was present in Belgrade Cathedral at the consecration of the first Bishop, Father Paulik, of the new Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church, to the see of Morava, of which I have written elsewhere. The deputation to the Holy Synod had accepted as dogmatic bases of union the whole body of dogma and the essential ritual of the Orthodox Church. The question of the modification of the translated written services, into conformity with the Eastern in such matters especially as the formulæ of Baptism and Absolution, and the epiclesis, will be settled by a joint commission. The consecration was performed in a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm, the church ringing with repeated cheers and cries as the new Bishop issued from

time to time from the sanctuary to bless the people and to give them an address.

I must take this opportunity of expressing again my thanks to all who extended to me such courteous and kind reception. M. Pashić, the Prime Minister, in the name of the King, gave me the First Class of the Order of St. Sava, and through the kindness of the Minister of Worship I had a free pass on the railways, and also the invaluable assistance as travelling companion of M. Nakić, one of our Oxford students. With him I visited the exquisite white marble church of Topola, built by King Peter, being present at the official memorial service at his tomb in the crypt; and afterwards traversed Shumadia, the heart of Serbia, and saw some of its monasteries, the shrines of its heroes and its faith, the embodiment of its life and ideals.

On the last day I had the great privilege of being invited by the Patriarch to offer the Holy Sacrifice on the altar of his own patriarchal chapel. This I sang in our own rite, but using the Patriarch's antimins (corporal with relics) and chalice, and assisted by a choir of Father Janić and some of our Oxford students, in the presence of several Bishops and Archimandrites. We must all have felt how thin was growing the barrier between us, built by the quarrels of Pope and Patriarch one thousand years ago; and their prayers, they assured me, were mingled with the mystic oblation that we might soon see the fulfilment of our desire and of the Divine Will, and partake together of the one Bread.

THE GLEANING OF ASIA MINOR

WHEN we last wrote the outlook in the Near East was black enough for despair; but there was a glimmer of hope: the Sèvres Treaty, poor and unsatisfactory makeshift though it was, had not been dishonoured. Now it is being sent down the winds after those other scraps of paper which dishonour history, and the night has closed upon the pitiable Christian remnant of Asia Minor.

In a measure the fault is all their own. They trusted Great Britain and France, believed in their cause and their success, and, taking their stand by them in the crisis of the Great War, deliberately risked the extermination which, if their Turkish oppressors triumphed, they knew would be their portion. France and England have won the war, but diplomacy—save the word!—has, in fact, given the Turk the victory, and the Christian *rayah* must take the consequence.

What has happened? Politicians tell us that the gentlemen of the Quai d'Orsay have conceived the Napoleonic dream of resuscitating the empire of the Sultan, and through his usurped Khalifate securing

the hegemony of the Moslem world. Our Foreign Office is said to have "done its best," but since British and French diplomatists differ about reparations and so forth, the latter have felt free to take their own line in the Near East, and have established an *entente* with Mustapha Kemal, have seen to his equipment with munitions of war, and have placed Cilicia and its Christians at his disposal. Further, and in due course, they propose that the Greeks shall be ordered out of Smyrna and Ionia, and that Mustapha Kemal shall be invited in.

That is high diplomacy—the game of chancelleries, in which the lives of men, the honour of women, and the freedom of nations are pawns. Viewed as such it makes interesting history.

But what is it in reality? Since the Armistice the Kemalists—that is to say, the selfsame men who murdered over a million Greeks and Armenians behind the fog of war—have been gleaning the field they reaped in 1915-18. If the number of Armenians they have murdered since 1918 is not more than 50,000 and of Greeks not more than 30,000, the excuse is that you cannot gild gold. When a race is exterminated its massacre becomes impossible. But they *have* pursued their task with thorough system and unshrinking zest and zeal. Witness the ruins of Nicea and the bones of its butchered people, the battalions of starving, bludgeoned labour conscripts, the burnt-out villages of the Pontus, the wretched creatures shivering and starving in the forests and mountains, and—are they not unreasonable?—having to be chased instead of waiting to be killed quietly in their homes. Only last month a batch of Greek boys of from twelve to fifteen were sent up country from Trebizond and bludgeoned to death almost within sight of that town.

The Levantine and the diplomatist protest that the Greek and the Armenian have also committed atrocities. Are the Turks in Macedonia ill used? or is there an avowed intention of the Christians of the Balkans to wipe the Moslems off the face of their land?

The Englishman in his club shrugs his shoulders and says: "What can you do? We can't quarrel with France."

"Oh, for an hour of Gladstone!" cried Mr. T. P. O'Connor at the Mansion House; and the meeting cheered till the roof rang.

That is what we want—an hour of Gladstone! The feeling is in the country. From the Archbishop of Canterbury—God bless him for his courage!—to the local Free Church and parish council, religious opinion is waiting like a sea of oil. Will Heaven send a man to fire it while there is time?

Meanwhile Mustapha Kemal has possession of Cilicia, and is stretching out his hand to receive Ionia. He will be cautious in Cilicia. There will be no sodden sea of blood. He will occupy the waiting time with burning a village here and "deporting" the people

there. Every hour of every day and night a man will be murdered, a woman shamed, a child butchered.¹ Then when the time is ripe the final gleaning will be made, and at last Asia Minor will altogether belong to the Turk, and the Turk alone.

That there is not a ray of hope is plain from what Erdocath tells us below: The Armenians of Russian Armenia—for the Turk has not harvested there—would be wise to accept his advice—to forget Europe and England, and to make their peace, if they can, with Mustapha Kemal. But there's the rub—if they can! Did ever a butcher make peace with sheep?

MEDITATIONS ON CILICIA AND THE NEAR EAST

BY AN ARMENIAN ECCLESIASTIC, ERDOCATH

NOTWITHSTANDING the acceptance by the Allies as a general principle that none of them should enter into a separate treaty with the common enemy, to-day that principle is shaken through the latest agreement made by the French Government with Angora in regard to Cilicia.

Then again, despite the fact that after the Armistice Cilicia was placed under French occupation in the name of all the Allies, yet France, confronted to-day with her detached initiative in connection with the *unrecognized* enemy Government of Angora, is obliged to undertake the duty of withdrawing her troops and to pass over Cilicia to Kemal.

And France, who, after subduing Cilicia, invited the remnants of the deported Armenians to return and get resettled in their homelands, where in safety and in peace they were to be enabled to rebuild their ruined homes, to-day it is the same France who, without any qualms of conscience, hands over 150,000 defenceless Armenians to the executors of yesterday.

But what can be said of the Allies of France who continue up to the present in their attitude as spectators, or, at most, in labouring to convince the world that France will not abandon Cilicia without a guarantee from Angora that there will be security for the Christian minority of the country?

Those who know the East and the Turk who has devastated it can only be grieved that, after so many bitter experiences, Europe is still credulous enough to think that any guarantee promised by the Turk can have any value whatsoever, and that the Christian inhabitants of

¹ See the Appeal to the League of Nations, below, p. 196.

Cilicia can actually abide in security when Cilicia is once again handed over to the Turk. Even more credulous are those who believe that to-day there is any improvement whatsoever in the mentality of the Turk in regard to his Christian subjects. The truest standard by which any such conception may be measured is the intuitive feeling of the people of Cilicia which has prompted them to flee the country, because they know that occupation by the Turk would mean a continuation immediately or soon after of the customary massacres. Have the people of Europe any idea what an emigration of such magnitude means? It means nothing less than the ultimate extermination of the last remnants of the Armenians in Cilicia. But for all that the people prefer to emigrate, so that if there is any extermination it should at least not be by the hand of the Turk.

That which is happening now to Cilicia will also happen to all the Christians in Asia Minor should Italy and Greece in like manner withdraw their troops from there. But as to what may happen to Constantinople should similar conditions prevail there as well, let that be left to the principal Allies to contemplate upon.

This, then, is the position in which the Christian inhabitants in the Near East, and in particular the Armenian people in Cilicia, find themselves. We need not recall to mind the horrifying atrocities and massacres—the outcome of the Turkish policy of extirpating the Armenians—to which they were subjected from the commencement of the War, and to which they are subject even to-day. And all these have been committed, and are being committed, before the eyes of the victorious Allies, who have regarded the Armenians as their minor ally, and who, nevertheless, have remained indifferent in the cause of helping the Armenians after the Armistice as during the War.

Such being the position of their case, it is astonishing that the Armenians still continue to appeal to the European Governments in the hope of receiving help. Have not yet these people realized that Europe has nothing to give them, even if they sacrifice their very last soldier in fighting against the enemies of Europe? On the other hand, why do the Governments of Europe persevere with a smile in giving hopes to the Armenians with various sweet words and promises? Is it not time that the "bag and baggage" policy of the late Mr. Gladstone, as applied by him to Turkey, should be applied by the present statesmen of Europe to the Armenian statesmen, who still pray to receive some help from Europe, so that they should finally understand that there is nothing in common between them and Europe and, returning to their land, reconcile themselves to existing local conditions? This, in all probability, will be the ultimate outcome of all the sacrifices made by the Armenians in taking up arms on the side of the Allies. And the consequences of it all will be that Christianity in

the East will gradually perish if unable to endure in her own strength, whilst, on the other hand, history, standing above the statesmen of to-day, will record it as a stupendous blot on the victory achieved by the Christian Allies.

RELATIONS WITH MAR IGNATIUS

BY THE REV. J. A. DOUGLAS

IN his interesting letters in the June and September, 1921, numbers of *THE CHRISTIAN EAST*, the Rev. R. Borough mentions that Mar Ignatios, the head of the "Jacobite," or, as they style themselves, the "Orthodox," Syrians, had charged him to enquire of the Archbishop of Canterbury on what conditions his people in America and elsewhere could in emergency be admitted to Communion at Anglican altars and otherwise receive the ministrations of Anglican priests.

The request does not find the Archbishop unprepared to deal with it, the two last Lambeth Conferences having considered the possibility of an even more far-reaching enquiry being made by all or any of "the ancient separate Churches of the East"—*i.e.*, by the so-called "Nestorian" Church of Assyria, or by the three "Monophysite" Churches of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia.

Guided largely by Bishops Wordsworth and Collins, the latter of whom had considerable first-hand knowledge of the "Monophysite" Churches, the Conference of 1908 laid down a policy which seems to me to be exactly the right policy.

1. It premised that there must be unity of faith in essentials and especially in those of Christology before intercommunion of any kind, its sixty-third resolution running:

"The Conference would welcome any steps that might be taken to ascertain the precise doctrinal position of the ancient separate Churches of the East with a view to possible intercommunion, and would suggest to the Archbishop of Canterbury the appointment of Commissions to examine the doctrinal position of particular Churches, and (for example) to prepare some carefully framed statement of the faith as to our Lord's Person, in the simplest possible terms, which should be submitted to each of such Churches, where feasible, in order to ascertain whether it represents their belief with substantial accuracy. The conclusions of such Commissions should in our opinion be submitted to the Metropolitans or Presiding Bishops of all the Churches of the Anglican Communion."

2. The existence of such unity being demonstrated, it recommended in its sixty-fourth resolution what has recently been described as economic intercommunion:

"In the event of doctrinal agreement being reached with such separate Churches, the Conference is of opinion that it would be right (1) for any Church of the Anglican Communion to admit individual communicant members of those Churches to communicate with us when they are deprived of this means of grace through isolation, and, conversely, for our communicants to seek the same privilege in similar circumstances; (2) for the Churches of the Anglican Communion to permit our communicants to communicate on special occasions with these Churches, even when not deprived of this means of grace through isolation, and, conversely, that their communicants should be allowed the same privileges in similar circumstances."

3. But, manifestly with an eye to the Eastern Orthodox, it recommended (Resolution 65):

"We consider that any more formal and complete compact between us and any such Church, seeing that it might effect our relations with certain other Churches, should not take place without previous communication with any other Church which might be affected thereby."

With some modification, which I will notice next month, the Lambeth Conference of 1921 affirmed these resolutions.

The present enquiry of Mar Ignatios has, therefore, been foreseen, and—presuming that the Archbishop of Canterbury judges it opportune to follow them—the lines of procedure have been laid down.

A *questionnaire* or *exemplum fidei* will be prepared for submission to Mar Ignatios. The mind of the Phanar will be studied as to its contents and as to its presentation. Granted that Mar Ignatios and the Bishops of his Communion find themselves able and willing to answer in terms which establish their dogmatic agreement with the Eastern Orthodox and ourselves, economic communion will be established between us and them. But there will be no discussion as to a formal act of union. The *terrain* will be in preparation, but, as will appear below, anything further must be governed by the relations of the Jacobites with the Eastern Orthodox.

That such a reserve is altogether incumbent on us is apparent from a glance at the history of the three "Monophysite" Churches. To put the matter in a nutshell, it is impossible to decide how far the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth, perhaps also of the fourth, centuries were the cause or the excuse of the schisms which broke these Churches off from the main body of Eastern Christianity. From the time that the Roman Empire was identified with Christendom and Constantinople became the metropolis of the World-Church no less than that of the World-State, the Emperors adopted a centralizing policy which aimed at uniformity in the former as in the latter.

That policy was wrongheaded, but it was superficially attractive.

From every Imperial point of view it was essential to weld the various nationalities of the Empire into a single Christian "Roman" super-nationality.¹ For this process the Church was a very obvious and most efficient instrument. If religion and nationality are still in a degree interchangeable terms for the Near East, it is because they were altogether so in ancient civilization. To unify the Roman world the first thing necessary was to impregnate its people with the consciousness that their nationalities were merged in an Empire of Christ of which the Emperor was the centre and symbol. The new concept of Imperial Christendom was different in this from the old concept of Imperial Heathendom. It was in the nature of the new claim that Cæsar could not be vicegerent over many Churches each declaring the rest, if not to be no Church at all, at least to be very inferior types of Churches. To the eye of the statesman the unity and catholicity of which the whole Church was conscious were not apparent. In the greater and lesser areas of the Empire there were more or less defined systems of Church government but no co-ordinated and logical polity. Jurisdictions were at most in evolution. Even the rudiments of a central authority were not discernible.² Moreover, in the different lands of the Empire Christianity had been differentiated by racial cultures until it possessed very diverse and often hardly compatible characteristics. This differentiation had little to do with those deep things, of which the description bulks so fatally in our textbooks of early Church history, philosophies, and their fruit, theologies. It obtained rather in the expression of belief in worship, in habits and conventions and outlook, in that atmosphere and dress of religion which for the ordinary man *are* religion. This process of differentiation had been at work from the earliest times, and had been governed by the fact that, receiving an inheritance from the racial heathendoms, the Church had everywhere developed on "national" lines. Thus in the fourth century the maker of religious maps would have needed no fewer colours and grading tints to designate the various types of Churches in the Empire than the maker of ethnographical maps to designate its races. Only long residence or extraordinary adaptability could have made it possible for the native of any one part of the Empire to be at home in the Church of another part. The abundant diversity, coeval in origin with the Church herself, was exemplified in varying liturgies and rites, in differing versions and even canons of the Scriptures, in local credal forms, in customs and traditions, above all, in the use of no common language!³

¹ The principal element was necessarily Hellenic—not Hellenic as of the classical period, of course, but as of the cosmopolitan era of Hellenism.

² In this respect it cannot be too closely remembered that language is a great deal more than a vehicle of thought. It is a symbol, and also both a moulding and conserving force in religion. Greek and Latin belong, of course, to the same great families of speech, and not only is there a common stock in them, but both sum up

To realize the aspect of the Christian world at that time is a difficult task, comparable to the reconstruction of a bygone geological age, and for the most part awaits investigation.

In the West, the welter of the dark ages which followed the barbarian settlements and then the long period of the single and exclusive Papal monarchy have obliterated that old world and have left only the slightest traces of its living tradition. In the East, the surviving groups are depressed, isolated, and in terms of national value and numbers almost insignificant. Moreover, the great bulk of historical evidence at our disposal, and practically the whole of that which is generally familiar or accessible, represents the outlook either of Byzantine Christianity or of Latin. With ample material, both in the living Orthodox world and in Byzantine literature, the strenuous study and labours of a large band of scholars is only now beginning to make us envisage a different Byzantine Empire from that effete and degenerate nonentity as which unconsciously, under the influence of a tradition that in the West had always been accepted without question, Gibbon, Montesquieu, and their successors portray it. It is therefore not surprising that, with far less to draw upon to correct it, our conventional view of *e.g.* Egyptian and Semitic Christianity should be that taken by Greek writers, who, writing from the outside and mostly with hostility, are concerned only to tell us of its contact with and resistance to the Hellenic system.

A considerable Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian literature is extant, but is now practically a dead literature, and to reconstruct the Christianity of these nations otherwise than in outline needs something of palæontological genius. To reproduce their atmosphere is next to impossible.

None the less, we obtain a broad picture of the Christian world in the fourth century as consisting of many Christian nationalities not demarcated by defined delineations but merging into one another, and not hostile to or exclusive of one another, but, because aloof, foreign to one another, all being conscious of membership in one Catholic Church, and all sharing the same sacraments and essentials of polity and faith. It is a picture of unity in diversity.

The policy of the heathen Empire had been to compel the acceptance of Cæsar as the vicegerent of all the gods, but otherwise to leave the gods alone. In other words, it recognized the principle of many nationalities. The policy of the Christianized Empire was the reverse.

a largely common culture. It is very different with Egyptian and Syriac, which in structure and vocabulary—*i.e.*, in culture and genius—are foreign to them. Reference will be made to the confusion which was caused by transferring Greek concepts to Semitic speech, and though the records are scanty, doubtless to Egyptian. The trouble was one of mentalities, which were in different planes.

The days of Pilate and Gallio were past. As has been said, Cæsar had become the vicegerent of the one Christ. He could not exercise that function over many different Churches. The races must be welded into a single system, and the chaos of nationalities must give way to the logic of a super nationality. The mistake would have been bad enough if the policy had been the fruit of ecclesiastical theory alone. But to say the least, it arose equally from the chief desideratum of Imperial statecraft. Uniformity in things spiritual meant solidarity in the Empire. Diversity meant disruption. To say nothing of the past, the history of our own time tells us that the statesmen's device of denationalizing a nation through its Church is most often defeated by the nation rejecting the captured machine. Ireland turned to Rome and Wales to Nonconformity far less to escape Anglicanism than Anglicization.

There is no human persistency in policy that is greater than the persistency of a bureaucracy which is engaged in the propagation of its own system. Such policies tend to become secular and inexorable. Their tradition ends only with the end of the system itself. The Byzantine bureaucracy was the most wonderful, the most widespread, and the most centralized that has existed. It had its roots in the heathen concept of Rome as the one eternal, divine world-state, and grew up, existed, and lived on the principles that the Empire was consecrated to be the single and exclusive dominion of Christ, and that the centre and symbol of that dominion was the Emperor in Constantinople.

Viewed in detail, the history of the Byzantine Empire is a record of fierce factions, personal ambitions, and local rivalries. Viewed as a whole, it presents a magnificent effort to accomplish the impossible—*i.e.*, to subdue the world to an ideal of religion by the imposition of a universal, divinely sanctioned machinery of state. If that effort failed, as happily it failed and was bound to fail, it was sustained for a thousand years. The theory was as axiomatic and its realization as undeviatingly attempted by the Comneni and the Palæologi as by Justinian or Basil Bulgaroktonos.

Transformed by slow stages to the Papal Monarchy, with its puppet emperors, the theory dominated mediæval Europe. Its parentage is evident in our own modern states and in most of our State Churches. The Russia of the Czars inherited and was instinct with it, and though it was never essential to the principle of Œcumenicity—and that principle as now expressed by the Eastern-Orthodox is free from it—none the less the practical uniformity which in everything except language obtains in the Orthodox world is largely due to it.

When the mischief was done and the Empire had lost the whole of the West and the moiety of the East, it in no way abandoned its

objective—it could no more do so than the Papacy can abandon its unique claims—but it learnt caution. The policy of permeation took the place of a policy of assimilation.

But from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the seventh century the whole machinery of the Empire was concentrated on establishing uniformity. We are not concerned here with the West, and it will be enough to notice that, in spite of expectation and notwithstanding occasional breaches, a considerable identity of policy obtained between Constantinople and old Rome, and the beginnings of uniformity were secured. After the barbarian cataclysm in the West had left the former alone, the policy crystallized into one of what has been termed "Byzantinization." That it met with stubborn resistance and failed in Egypt and Syria must not blind us to the fact that, not so much, perhaps, because the Hellenic element was strong in them as that there was no other strong civilization, it succeeded altogether in those lands which were left to the Empire.

Now, this period of three and a half centuries is the period of those great Christological controversies which ended in abiding schism. It is not, of course, to be contended that the Imperial policy was the cause of those controversies. On the contrary, once Christianity had become paramount in the Empire they were inevitable. Undoubtedly the time was ripe for the necessary definitions and statements of the Catholic Faith which they produced and undoubtedly they originated in theological speculation. But of itself theological speculation could not have caused the schisms, temporary or permanent, in which those controversies resulted. Those schisms are to be accounted for only by their controversial issues having been taken hold of for political and national purposes. In fact, there was the will to quarrel. What happened was this:

At the beginning of the fourth century there was a contrast in all parts of the Roman Empire, and especially in the great cities, between the bulk of the native populations and an element which was individually and locally more or less denationalized and indurated with or sympathetic to the Hellenism of the day. This element, diffused through all classes but monopolizing the official class, and ignoring everything that was not of itself, formed in its totality a whole world of its own, and, since disputations spread rapidly in it, was a fertile field for heresy.¹ In detail, it had many rival centres, each of which had its own subculture and was thus also ready material for schism. It was in this Hellenic world that the Christological controversies originated and were fought out. It was long, however, before they resulted in organized abiding schism.

¹ Theophylact of Bulgaria writes: "Where there are two Greeks, there is dispute."

In Syria and Egypt at the beginning of the fourth century a very large if not preponderant part of the population was still pagan, and though, thanks to the recent persecution under Galerius, whatever friction had existed had been counteracted, there were no national antagonisms in the Church. In consequence national feeling was not roused in the Arian controversies, and though the Hellenic majorities of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage might commit their particular Churches to one of the battle-cries, the risk of schism was only in the Imperial ecclesiastical world. At the end of the fourth century the situation had changed (1) by the adoption of Christianity by the mass of the people everywhere, and (2) by the subject races' experience of the Imperial policy of denationalization. Thus, on the one hand, the Hellenic element became numerically insignificant, and, on the other, through its possessing almost a monopoly of the episcopate and of the higher ecclesiastical offices, both ruled and represented the Church in Egypt and Syria. It was in the latter respect, indeed, rather than in such matters as the substitution of the Peshitta for the old Syriac versions of Holy Scripture, that national sentiment must have been fretted. While both had been in community of danger from persecution, a Greek bishop had been no offence to an Egyptian or Syrian, but when he had been changed into a Government servant and, alongside with the local secular officials, had become the instrument of their denationalization, things were intolerable. Accordingly, instinct brought them the means of self-preservation. As sure as the Emperor—*i.e.*, the State—took one side in a theological quarrel the lesser nationalities ranged themselves behind the champions of the other, and, reversing the maxim *Divide et impera*, escaped Byzantinization by schism.¹

The subject-matter of the controversies of the fifth century related to the union of the human and divine in our Lord's Person, and it was thus that, because the Orthodox doctrine was upheld by the state, Egypt and Syria became the strongholds of those who maintained Monophysism and were defeated in the fourth Œcumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451.

For the sake of convenience we may take the date of that Council as epochal of the schism. In fact, although it marked the beginning of successful resistance to the Imperial policy, non-Hellenic Egypt did not organize itself into a separate Church till the latter part of the sixth

¹ That Emperors as well as others may have been firm, and even fanatical, champions of Orthodoxy or Heterodoxy goes without saying, but the explanation of swinging the machine of state now to this side and now to that is to be found in its first need of securing uniformity rather than in the theological merits of the controversies.

century, and a separate Syrian hierarchy¹ was not established in the Empire until the seventh.

It has been unnecessary for our purpose to mention Syrian schisms other than the "Jacobite" or "Monophysite." The Church of the Assyrians—*i.e.*, of the East Syrians of the Persian Empire—represents those who maintained Dyophysite teaching in a form that differentiated them from Byzantine Christendom, and so relieved them from persecution motivated by the suspicion of their being in political sympathy with the Empire. The whole subject is admirably treated by Dr. Wigram in his sketch, "The Assyrian Church," S.P.C.K., and in a valuable study on the origin of the Jacobites, now awaiting publication.

The period between Chalcedon and the consummation of these schisms was that in which Old Rome, regained by Justinian, having become an appanage of Constantinople, and the West being lost, the Empire definitely assumed its Byzantine character. It is marked by occasional and even sustained orientations of the policy of Byzantinization, not towards the non-Hellenic nationalities, but towards the Monophysism behind which they had ranged themselves. It was thus that, with a view now to disarming and now to breaking national sentiment, the Imperial machine was swung first to one side and then to the other, and that the ecclesiastical history of the period reads as a record of the alternative succession with mutual bitter persecution of Orthodox and Monophysite Patriarchs at Alexandria and Antioch. No one can tell what, if the Empire had been free from other distractions, might have happened, but the death of Justinian was followed first by exhaustion, the effect of his ambitious enterprises, and then by faction and weakness. At last, in the seventh century, when Egypt and Syria were irremediably stubborn and resentful, Islam appeared on the scene, and, in that, according to its principle, it allowed life and property to Christians who did not resist it with the sword, was unopposed by the great bulk of the Egyptian and Syrian peoples.²

A *coup d'œil* of Eastern Christianity for many centuries after the Islamic conquest thus gives us a picture of two Christendoms. On the one hand the Imperial Church, compact, co-ordinated, and centred at Constantinople with the Emperor as its symbol, abates no whit of its exclusive claims, maintains its machinery in the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and makes not only the recovery

¹ Syria—*i.e.*, for our purpose the lands from east to west between the Mediterranean and the Persian Empire, and from north to south between the Taurus and Arabia—was never homogeneous in religion like Egypt. Being the cockpit of East and West, it had been the theatre of conflicting cults in pre-Christian times, was the breeding-ground of sects in Christian times, and retains extraordinary diversity to-day.

² Islam was still in its stage of evolution at the time of its early conquests, and it should be remembered that Syrian and Arab are both Semites and of near kindred speech.

of Egypt and Syria but the subduing of the separated Churches the dream of its policy. On the other hand, the two separated Churches form a system of their own, in full communion and communication with each other, develop a rich life, and except for the relatively few adherents of the Imperial¹ Church, are able almost to forget the existence of the Empire.

The Armenian nation, which was debatable ground for centuries between the Byzantine and Persian Empires, and had also been naturally exposed to a similar attempt at Byzantinization, protected itself in the same way, rejected Chalcedon, and from the sixth century, though not with concerted action, has been grouped with the separated Churches of Egypt and Syria.

The earlier attitude of the Khalifs in Egypt and Syria, if not benignant, was tolerant to the *rayah* of those lands. As time passed, however, Moslem rule changed into an indescribable oppression, with the result that the Egyptian and Syrian Churches became depressed and the great majority of the people passed over to Islam. The Egyptian and Syrian Churches, however, have continued to exist and maintain their characteristics with the past. Whatever Christianity, except for the Greek colonies and a few Uniates, there is in Egypt is Coptic. In Syria there is a larger body of Orthodox, and Roman propaganda, aided by the privilege of European protection, has created a considerable Uniate element, and the Jacobite Church is one among many. None the less it possesses a living tradition with the past, and on that account as well as of its connection with the Copts and relations with the Armenians, has importance in any scheme of reunion.

From this sketch it will be evident that, before entering into negotiation with Mar Ignatios, we must satisfy ourselves—

(1) That these Churches are free from Monophysism;

(2) That in view of their rejection of Chalcedon with the succeeding Councils and of their being rival Churches to the Eastern Orthodox, we should be right in doing so.

In both these matters we ought clearly to listen to what the Eastern Orthodox themselves have to say.

(To be continued.)

¹ Melkites—i.e., supporters of the *melch*, or Emperor. By the vicissitudes of history the term has become the label of certain Uniates.

AN ARCHBISHOP IN A CELLAR

TRANSLATED FROM "SEVODNIA"

ON a day of historical significance for the Letts—"Olga Day"—the first Orthodox Archbishop of all Latvia entered the capital of the new free Latvia. It is known that the Latvian historians, perhaps not without cause, because of the birthplace of Olga, admitted that the first Russian Duchess who accepted Christianity was of Latvian nationality. This was the day fixed for the occupation by the new Bishop of his pastorate.

Unfortunately, the representatives of the Government did not take into consideration this date, which is of such significance and pride to the Latvian nation. Apart from the mayor of the town of Riga, Mr. Anderson, no representative of the Government met the Orthodox Archbishop; whereas, as is well known, the Catholic Archbishop was met even as far as at Latgalia.

This, of course, whilst not making the advent of the new Archbishop less worthy, may be an offence to the 250,000 strong pastorate of the Orthodox faith whose patriotic sacrifices for Latvia are well known.

On the other hand, the common people met the new Archbishop Johann with an extraordinary welcome, of which the Lettish nation can be rightly proud. A crowd of many thousands welcomed him at the station, and a picturesque procession, stretching for over a mile, was formed, and in the church itself there was not room for an apple to fall.

The service was mixed in the Lettish and Slav languages. The Archpriest Borman welcomed the first Latvian Archbishop, and Archbishop Johann replied with a notably eloquent address in the classical Lettish language, remarking on the priceless value of Christian love, and pointing out that in the new free Motherland people of the Orthodox faith must not be treated as stepchildren.

During the service the Bible was read in both languages, and all the Oriental Patriarchs were mentioned in memoriam; and after the Litany, the Bishop was welcomed on behalf of the Russian portion of his flock by the Archpriest Nicholas Tikhomeroff. The heartfelt reply of the Archbishop Johann moved the congregation to tears. His reverence mentioned the innumerable sacrifices of the Russian nation to the whole of humanity, and ended with a hope-inspiring exclamation: "Sow in tears and you shall reap in happiness."

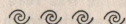
After prayers the congregation moved towards the street to see the Archbishop off to rooms which were reserved for him at No. 13, Castle

Street, which is exactly opposite the Orthodox Archbishop's house, which had been requisitioned by order of the Government for transfer to the Papalist Archbishop on the day before the Bishop arrived. Great, however, was the surprise of the crowd when the Archbishop declined the offer of the Synod, and descended into the damp vault of the cathedral, situate underground next to the rooms occupied by the Warden, and said modestly that the rooms offered to him being situated in a private house, he did not wish to inconvenience anybody, and preferred to remain in his own cellar until the Government shall find it necessary to return his legal property, the Archbishop's house and the Monastery of Alexis.

The decision of the pastor brought forth mixed feelings in his flock. A part admired his self-sacrifice; the other part, however, was overcome with a feeling of shame owing to such unequal treatment by the Government of the Orthodox and Papalist Letts. Thereby the old mutual relationship between the two Churches is involuntarily emphasized. The feudal Papalist Archbishop will live in a special palace set aside for him, but the Democratic Archbishop will be in a damp, depressing church vault.

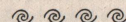
A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

THE Metropolitan Meletios Metaxakis, whose election to the Œcumenical Patriarchate was announced in London by telegram on December 8, is a man not past middle age, of a fine presence and of commanding character, ability, and vigour. Moreover, though, as many of us have learnt in conference with him, he is a stalwart, unflinching defender of every inch of the fundamental Orthodox position, he has studied the Anglican Communion here and in America, and has been a principal promoter of the close *entente* between the two Churches. No one, therefore, could view his enthronization in the Chair of St. John Chrysostom with greater hope and satisfaction than the wide circle of Anglican friends to which all of us who know him belong.

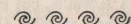


While obviously it is our business to speak of our friends' domestic differences with great reserve and reticence, it is desirable, if only to preclude their over-estimating those difficulties, that Anglicans should be acquainted with their main lines. We have, therefore, no hesitation in pointing out that while the solution is obscure, it is pregnant with anxiety and dangerous possibilities. Before speaking of these, we may refer to the semi-official statements made in Paris that the election will be disallowed by the Allied Commissioners on the ground that the Sultan was altogether ignored.

Rumour, indeed, had been busy that the Commissioners intended to advise the Sultan in the exercise of his usurped power of striking any name which he pleased from the list of eligibles. That the Holy Synod and the electoral bodies had the courage to refuse interference from anyone will commend them to every lover of religious liberty. That in these days the Khalif of Islam or the representative of France, which is the protector of the Vatican's interests in the Ottoman Empire, should have a voice in the election of the chief Patriarch of the whole Eastern-Orthodox Church would be as indecent as monstrous. We are not living in the Middle Ages. When, therefore, we are told that the Metropolitan Meletios may be refused permission to land at Constantinople because he is not an Ottoman subject, or read the ill-disguised threats of what will happen to the rebels of the Phanar when the Kemalists obtain possession of the city, we are only rejoiced that the matter is to be put to the test and that our friends have claimed the elementary rights of religious freedom which they were accorded in the Sèvres Treaty. If the struggle before them is to be hard, they will be supported not only by the Serbs, Rumans, and all the Orthodox Churches, but by English public opinion. That in the end they will win is as certain as that an Œcumenical Patriarch subordinate to any secular authority cannot fulfil his function, and that without freedom at its centre the life of the whole communion must be paralyzed. We have therefore neither regret nor anxiety as to any dangers of this kind which have arisen from the election of the Metropolitan Meletios, than whom no man living is likely to know better how to show a bold front.

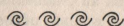


It is another matter, however, when we consider that the well-known tension between Constantinople and Athens may be increased, and that the existing fissure in the Hellenic ecclesiastical world may become a cleavage. In any case, as Mr. Borough points out, those metropolitans of the Patriarchate whose jurisdictions are in the Kingdom of Greece—*i.e.*, were in Turkey before 1912—had advanced canonical reasons against the holding the election, their action having been instigated and supported by the Greek Government in its fear that a Venizelist would be chosen. There was reason, therefore, to fear that any Patriarch elect would be regarded by the Church of the Kingdom as uncanonical. The choice of the Metropolitan Meletios more than sustains that anxiety.



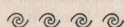
To grasp the main features of the situation it must be realized that (1) ecclesiastical and secular politics are very closely interconnected in the Greek world; (2) in the past fifty years the Hellenic race has been unified in sentiment, the Greeks in Turkey having learnt to think of themselves as one nation in solidarity with those of the Kingdom; and (3) for the past twenty years two strongly opposed parties have been diffused throughout the Greek Churches. Their origin is to be found in the action taken in 1902 by Damianos Patriarch of Jerusalem with a view to giving the Arab-speaking

Orthodox of that Patriarchate a greater voice in its affairs, which are governed by the almost exclusively Hellenic Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. In this he clashed violently with Hellenic sentiment, and an effort, supported by the present Patriarch of Alexandria, Photios, and others, was made (1908-10) to depose him. His formal deposition was actually decreed by the Synod, Joachim III. of Constantinople accepting it, but was not carried out, a patched-up compromise being reached. The trouble, however, smouldered and blazed out in another form after the occupation of Jerusalem by the British, so that against its will our Government in Palestine has been obliged to take notice of it.¹



While this lesser Jerusalem controversy has been merged in the greater storm caused in the Greek Churches by the Venizelist-Royalist struggle, it had prepared the way for it, and in a sense remains its core. When in 1917 M. Venizelos returned to Greece, Theoklitos, the Metropolitan of Athens, who had solemnly anathematized that statesman, was brought to trial on the canonical charge of abusing his spiritual power for secular ends. The majority of the Synod and of the bishops of the Church of the Athens jurisdiction being involved with him, the necessary court could only be constituted by bringing in others from those parts of the Kingdom which were in the Constantinople jurisdiction. This was done, and the court so constituted deposed Theoklitos and punished the others severely.

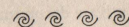
This procedure is said to have been advised, as it was carried out by the Œcumenical Patriarch elect, Meletios Metaxakes, then at Salonika—which, of course, is a metropolis of the Patriarchate—who had formerly been secretary of the Jerusalem Synod.



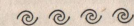
The Metropolitan Theoklitos protested that his trial had been uncanonical and that he was still Metropolitan. In this he was supported by the Patriarch of Alexandria, who, when Mgr. Meletios was elected by the reconstituted Synod of Greece as Metropolitan of Athens, withheld his recognition. This was in 1917, when communication with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem was impossible. The Œcumenical Patriarch, Germanos V., was a Royalist, but complications were prevented for a time by his resignation at the Armistice, the relations between Athens and Constantinople being most cordial until, on King Constantine's return in December, 1920, the Metropolitan Theoklitos was restored and the Metropolitan Meletios withdrew to America. Since then there has been continually increasing tension between the authorities of the two Churches, the Œcumenical Patriarchate, while avoiding the recognition of the Metropolitan

¹ See the Summary of the Governmental Commission in THE CHRISTIAN EAST for September, 1921. The full report, issued by the Oxford Press, reaches us as we go to press, and will be discussed in our next issue.

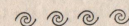
Theoklitos, showing marked sympathy with his rival and supporting his assumption of jurisdiction in America.



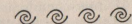
From all this it is plain that there is some possibility of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and the Church of Greece declaring the recent election to be uncanonical and of the ensuing of a breach of communion between Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem on the one side, and of Alexandria and Athens on the other. That would be a happening one of the minor ill-effects of which would be the difficulty it would create for us, but which at a time when the fate of the Christians of Asia Minor hangs in the balance and when the Orthodox Communion is confronted with many pressing problems would be lamentable in the extreme.



We hope to be authorized to publish next month the very able and interesting report of the Metropolitan of Demotikon's Delegation. The presentation of this scholarly and important document, together with Professor Commenos' recommendation of the Recognition of Anglican Orders, has been waiting the Patriarchal Election. Happily we have every reason to hope that both Venizelists and Royalists are equally desirous of developing the *entente* between the two Churches.

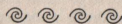


Meletios Metaxakes, the Œcumenical Patriarch elect, was born in Crete in 1871, and after studying at the School of the Cross in Jerusalem, at an early age became a member of the Fraternity of the Holy City. He was appointed secretary to the Jerusalem Synod in 1906, and in that capacity took a prominent part in the proceedings, referred to above, against the Patriarch Damianos, his monograph, "Exigences des Orthodoxes Arabophones," being an important document in that controversy. On Damianos' reinstatement he withdrew from Palestine with the Archimandrites Basilakes, now of Paris, and Chrysostom, his close associate subsequently at Athens, and was elected Metropolitan of Citium. His visits to England will be fresh in our readers' memory. Among the questions which await the enthronization of the new Œcumenical Patriarch for solution are the marriage of the widowed Serbian clergy, the recognition or otherwise of the autocephalicity of the Ukrainian, Georgian, Polish, and Czecho-Slovak Churches, the Rumanian proposal for the holding an Œcumenical Council, and the regularization of the Albanian Archbishopric.

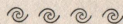


We note with some alarm that *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* of Constantinople, *Ekkh. Pharos* of Alexandria, and *Ekkh. Keryx* of New York, all print the "Suggested Terms of Inter-Communion" (issued last year for consideration at the request of the Eastern Churches Committee) as an authoritative document. In our judgment as a *ballon d'essai* these terms can do no

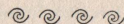
harm, but their formal proposal as a basis of reunion would slam the door on future negotiations. We venture, therefore, to point out that they have no official endorsement, but are a private document.



We were caused much surprised amusement from an anonymous review in the *Tablet* of the Rev. J. A. Douglas' book, "The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox." Internal evidence points with almost irresistible force to the reviewer being a Dr. A. Fortescue, whom in a controversy in the *Tablet* and *Church Times* Mr. Douglas showed to have made some extraordinary mis-statements and over-statements as to the E. O. attitude towards Anglican orders. Style, method of criticism, outlook, subject-matter, are all so akin that we are not surprised that a correspondent wrote to the editor of the *Tablet* asking whether Dr. A. Fortescue could have written and the *Tablet* have printed an unsigned attack of the kind. After reading the review a second time, we were not wholly surprised at the inquiry receiving no answer.



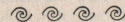
We should acknowledge with gratitude that the portrait of the Patriarch Tikhon, which illustrated our June, 1920, number, was borrowed from the Rev. R. F. Bigg-Withers' "History of the Church of Russia," S.P.C.K. In passing we may note that our sketch of the Patriarch's career and recent notes on Russian happenings have been quoted *extenso* in *Ekkh. Aletheia*, *Ekkh. Pharos*, *Glaznik*, and other Eastern periodicals, to say nothing of the *Church Quarterly*.



The Bishop of Gibraltar being unable to visit Constantinople this year, his place has been taken by Bishop Bury, from the account of whose visit to the Phanar, as recorded in the *Gibraltar Diocesan Magazine*, we take this extract, which is of importance as a record of our movement:

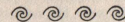
"The Bishop was keenly interested in the British High School for Boys and Girls, and spoke to the pupils about British aims and ideals, and was deeply impressed by an official visit to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. He was received with all possible honour by the Locum Tenens, the Metropolitan of Caesarea, and a full gathering of the members of the Holy Synod. In the interview political questions were avoided, but it was interesting to hear that at last a new Patriarch was on the point of being elected, and that after the election the deliberations of the Holy Synod with regard to the relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Communions would be made public. If inter-communion could be recognized on both sides, a great step towards complete reunion would have been taken, and in the meantime it is the duty of all who look for the unity of Christendom to work and pray for good and friendly relations to be maintained between these two great branches of the Holy Catholic Church. At the conclusion of the interview the Bishop was shown the Council Chamber of the Holy Synod, and then was conducted to the Church of the Patriarchs and installed on the throne of St. Chrysostom, transferred long ages ago from the Church of Saint Sophia. The choir chanted in his

honour the welcome of the Church to a Patriarch, and from the lofty throne the Bishop blessed first the Metropolitans surrounding him and then the people who had thronged in from the streets, and received in his turn the blessing of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens. Ancient ikons were exhibited, and also the pillar to which, according to tradition, our Saviour was bound for the scourging. The Bishop's party left amidst cries of "Long live England!" and "Long life to the Bishop!"



We do not necessarily agree with the *elenchos* in our correspondent's mind, but we think it worth while to quote this passage from the friendly but critical letter of a distinguished Athenian theologian on the matter of the Lambeth Appeal:

"Your Bishops invite the many kinds of Protestant ministers to exchange Orders. They are willing to be ordained in Congregational fashion if Congregationalists will be ordained by them. Are we to understand that they agree to add the Congregational doctrine of ordination to the Anglican doctrine, and to believe both? And is there no important contradiction between the two doctrines? Or do they reserve the right to disbelieve in the inward part of the rite which they are to receive? And do they invite Congregationalists to do the same? That sort of exchange does not appeal to us Orthodox."



The Liturgy rendered at St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, on the occasion of the A. and E. A. S. Anniversary, on October 20, is the first Liturgy rendered by the Eastern-Orthodox with intention for the reunion of the Eastern-Orthodox and Anglican Churches. As such it should be added to the large recent list of precedents. Father Smirnoff, the Russian Embassy Chaplain, officiated, and was assisted by all the Russian clergy in London and by the Greek Archimandrite Basdekas. Bishop Hook, Bishop G. F. Browne, and other Anglican clergy were present in the sanctuary. At the close of the Liturgy Father Smirnoff spoke eloquently of his own affection for the Anglican Churches and of that of his fellow Eastern-Orthodox. Remembering the high reputation possessed by Bishop Browne, and that he stands to us now as one of the few survivors of the leading Churchmen of forty years ago, and that he has never been intimately concerned in our movement, it will be well to record the impromptu address which at Father Smirnoff's request he delivered before Bishop Hook gave the blessing. He said:

It is a very great pleasure to the members of the Church of the English that we have been able to put this Church of St. Philip's, so well suited for the great ceremony we have been privileged to attend, at the disposal of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church, whose member the Russian Church is now suffering martyrdom.

The words which he who is to-day at your head has now addressed to you have gone straight to my heart. They have not only gone straight to my heart; they have found there a full and free echo. I am aware that we meet under conditions most unusual, probably unique. I do not stand here at a narrow doorway in a lofty screen which hides all that is enacted behind it. I stand in the open; there is no screen but a few flowers. May I suggest that we may see in this an omen of the open door? And these few deep-coloured flowers and autumnal leaves and branches, may I suggest that they may be to us an omen that the time is ripe.

When I commenced my ministry, sixty-four years ago, I suppose there was no man living who could have foreseen the possibility of any approach to what we have seen to-day. And it has never been in my province to take any part in the proceedings of the Society for whose intent the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom has to-day, in our presence, been celebrated. But there are three incidents in my experience on which I look back with much pleasure.

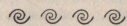
When I was a Canon of St. Paul's, I was asked if the Archbishop of Warsaw, Nicolas, might kneel at Evensong by my side, with Mr. W. J. Birkbeck kneeling at his other side, to render the prayers to him in Russian. When we had left the church, the Archbishop flung himself upon me with emotion, and exclaimed something in Russian two or three times over. The substance of it was that the Church of the English is the only Church that prays for "the good estate of the Catholic Church" throughout the world. Whether that is a fact I do not know; but that was the one thing that struck the Archbishop most.

When I became Bishop of Bristol, I received from the Bishop of Archangel, Joanniki, a letter addressed to me as "most holy ruler and gracious chief pastor, and beloved brother in Christ." The Bishop had heard of my arrival from the priest Pascoe (one of the clergy of All Saints, Clifton), who was "in charge of the Anglican Church in Archangel." "He has earned," the Bishop continued, "particular esteem for his earnest zeal for the union of our Churches, for which we all entreat our Saviour. Oh, when will our religious strife come to an end, and all Christians form one fold under one Shepherd? May the Lord hear the prayers of millions of His believing ones, and may He restore to His Church her primitive entire integrity."

One more reminiscence. Under the able management of Dr. John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, we sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Constantin V., a Theodore Memorial Press, in memory of the great Archbishop who came to us from the East at the most formative period of the Church of the English—*Anglorum Ecclesia*, as Bishop Gregory, of blessed memory, named it. The Patriarch asked for some English book on the Archbishop, and my little book on "Theodore and Wilfrith" was sent to him. He replied by a missive in Greek, thanking the Bishop of Bristol, "most beloved of God," for sending the book, and he set a Church lawyer, M. G. Theotokas, to review it at length in the *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* of 15 Aprilion, 1900. The review carefully emphasized the independent action of Archbishop Theodore, and its effect upon the general attitude of the Anglican Church towards Rome.

I am speaking to the members of a Church which is suffering from direct persecution. We hear on all hands how nobly the Church is bearing its trials, with what enthusiasm it recognizes and maintains religion as the one good left in that unhappy land, the one hope of recovery. If the time should ever come when we in turn have to suffer persecution—I fear that religion is much more likely to suffer among us from neglect and running after all manner of things that are not consistent with religion—our descendants will look at the history of the Holy Russian Church, and will learn there how to comport themselves with Christian dignity under extremity of trial.

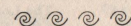
Those of us who are here present can never forget the solemnity of the service and the friendliness of our reception. We shall be careful to tell in our own world the delight we have felt.



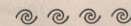
A member of the Russian parish in London sent us this note just too late for our September issue:

Eulogius, Archbishop of Volynia and Jitomir, now the director of the Orthodox Churches abroad, by order of his Grace the Patriarch Tikhon, is

in the act of performing a revision of the said churches and parishes in his charge. After the Russian Revolution the Archbishop Eulogius energetically defended the idea of unity in the Russian Orthodox Church under the head of the Patriarch of all Russia, and was for this reason arrested by the Oukrainian Separatists in Kief, and interned in a Catholic Uniat (that part of the Greek Church which acknowledges the Pope) monastery in Galicia, together with two other bishops—Anthony, the Metropolitan of Kief, and Nikodim, Bishop of Chigirin. When the Poles conquered Galicia they arrested these bishops a second time, and sent them to a Roman Catholic monastery of the Trappists, not far from Cracow, where they were held under the strictest of prison régimes, not being allowed even to go into the garden without a guard of gendarmes. Through the intercession of certain persons, especially through that of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, they were released and returned to Russia, but soon found themselves obliged to emigrate abroad, fleeing before the Bolshevik terror. The Archbishop Eulogius lived for more than a year in Serbia, where he established the very best and cordial relations with the Serbian hierarchy, so that he was included in the Serbian delegation which took part in the World Congress of Christian Faiths in 1920. From 1921 he directed all the Russian Orthodox Churches abroad, and because of this office he also came to London. The most consolatory impression he received was, that the Anglican Church, always close in spiritual communion to the Orthodox Church, has presented to the Russian refugees in London that nice Church of St. Philip the Apostle, where the whole Russian colony can assemble together in prayer, as the Russian Embassy Chapel is so very small. May this new Anglo-Russian Orthodox Church be the living symbol of the growing union between the English and Russian Churches! The Archbishop Eulogius visited the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, also the Secretary of the Society of the Joining of the Churches, and the Rev. J. A. Douglas, and talked with them about this important matter. He is one of the patrons of this society. In leaving London he sends a christianly, pastorly greeting to the brotherly English Church, and begs for her prayer and her love for the suffering, oppressed Russian Orthodox Church.



As we go to press we learn that the Patriarch-elect sailed for Southampton on December 31 with the intention of waiting in London for the Delegation of the Holy Synod from Constantinople, which is reported to be *en route* in order to announce his election. Before leaving New York he celebrated the Liturgy in the Russian Cathedral of St. Nicholas, Bishop Darlington preaching the sermon.



We learn that on December 8 and 9 two highly important Conferences were held in Cairo under the presidency of Bishop Gwynne, Greeks, Copts, Armenians, and Jacobites taking part. We venture to believe strongly in such meetings.

HYMNS OF THE GREEK CHURCH

II. JANUARY TO MARCH

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. G. R. WOODWARD, M.A.

MHN IANOTAPIOΣ.

XXIV.

Μνήμη τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου.

Ἰαν. α'.

Ἐπικληρὸν ἰδιόμελον. Ὁχος α'. Βῶζαντος.

Ω θεία καὶ ἱερὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ
Ἐκκλησίας μέλισσα,
Βασίλειε παμμακάριστε·
σὺ γὰρ τοῦ θείου πόθου τῇ κέντρῳ
σεαυτὸν καθοπλίσας
τῶν θεοστνηγῶν αἱρεσέων
τὸς βλασφημίας κατέτρωσας·
καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν πιστῶν
εὐσεβείας τὸν γλυκασμὸν ἐθηγαύρισας·
καὶ νῦν τοὺς θείους λειμώνας
τῆς ἀκηράτου διερχόμενος νομῆς
μνημόνευε καὶ ἡμῶν
παρεστῶς τὴν Τριᾶδα τὴν ὁμοούσιον.

Σ. 6.

XXV.

Τὰ Ἅγια Θεοφάνεια τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ἰαν. ε'.

Κοντάκιον. Ὁχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

1. Ἐν τοῖς ρείθροις σήμερον
τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
γεγονὸς ὁ Κύριος
τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐκβοᾷ·
Μὴ δειλιάσης βαπτίσαι με·
σῶσαι γὰρ ἤκω
Ἀδάμ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον.

Ἰδιόμελον. Ὁχος β'. Ἀνατολίου.

2. Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ
ιδῶν σε ὁ Ἰωάννης
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον
ἔλεγε, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός·

MONTH OF JANUARY.
XXIV.

COMMEMORATION OF OUR HOLY
FATHER ST. BASIL THE GREAT.

Jan. 1 (Menaion, p. 6).

Sticheron idiomelon. Tone 1. By Byzas.

Hail! work-bee in the Church of Christ,
Saint Basil, bless'd in the high'st!
For thou with sting of heav'nly zeal
Didst arm thyself, and diddest deal
A deadly wound to blasphemies
Of God-detested heresies.

And thou for faithful souls didst store
Thy cells with honey, godly lore;
And now that, in thy heav'nly home,
Through virgin pastures thou dost roam,
Bethink thee on us, at thy post
Nigh Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 8, 48,
or 289.

XXV.

THE HOLY THEOPHANY OF OUR
LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Jan. 6 (Menaion, pp. 19, 50, 57, 59, 61, 64).

Kontakion. Tone 4.

1. "Fear not" (to-day by Jordan's side
The Lord unto the Baptist cried);
"But dip Me, for I come to save
The first man Adam in this wave."

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 35, 36,
38, or 41.

(Menaion, pp. 77, 91.)

Idiomelon. Tone 2. By Anatolius.

2. When John beside of Jordan's brim
Descried thee drawing nigh to him,
"O Christ, my God, from soiture free,
Why seekest Thou Thy thrall?" quoth
he.

HYMNS OF THE GREEK CHURCH

Τί πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον παραγέγονας
ρύπον μὴ ἔχων Κύριε;
εἰς ὄνομα δὲ τίνος σε βαπτίσω;
Πατρός; ἀλλὰ τοῦτον φέρεις ἐν
ἐαντῷ.
Υἱοῦ; ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπάρχεις ὁ σαρκω-
θεῖς.
Πνεύματος Ἁγίου; καὶ τοῦτο οἶδας
δίδόναι τοῖς πιστοῖς διὰ στόματος.
Ὁ ἐπιφανεῖς Θεός
ἐλήρησον ἡμᾶς.

"In whose Name must I Thee bap-
tize?
The Sire's? But common is Your
guise.
The Son's? But Thou Thyself art He,
In robe of flesh although Thou be.

"The Holy Spirit's? Thou shalt
breathe,
And Him unto Thine own bequeath.
O God, who dost reveal Thy face,
Have pity on our piteous case."

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 35, 36,
38, or 41.

Ἀπολυτικόν. Ὁχος α'.

3. Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτιζομένου σου, Κύριε,
ἢ τῆς Τριάδος ἐφανερῶθῃ προσκύνη-
σις·
Τοῦ γὰρ Γεννήτορος ἡ φωνὴ προσε-
μαρτύρει σοι
ἀγαπήτορ σε Υἱὸν ὀνομάζονσα·
Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐν εἰδει περιστερᾶς
ἐβεβαίον τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀσφαλές.
Ὁ ἐπιφανεῖς Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός
καὶ τὸν κόσμον φωτίσας
δόξα σοι.

Ἀπολυτικόν. Tone 1 (Menaion, p. 77).

3. While in Jordan's water-ford
Thou wast being christ'ned, Lord,
Then the worship of the Blest
Trinity was manifest;
For the Father did declare
Thee His darling Son and heir,
And the Holy Ghost, above
Hovering in form of Dove,
Was beheld as certain token
Of this testimony spoken.
Christ, reveal'd as God, whose rays
Light the world, to Thee be praise!

Ἰδιόμελον. Ὁχος β'. Ἀνατολίου.

4. Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸς
ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ἦλθε βαπτισθῆναι.
Σήμερον ὁ Ἰωάννης
ἄπτειται κορυφῆς τοῦ Δεσπότης.
Αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐξίστησαν
τὸ παράδοξον ὁρᾶσαι μυστήριον.
Ἡ θάλασσα εἶδε καὶ ἐφυγεν·
ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἰδὼν ἀνεστρέφετο.
Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ φωτισθέντες βοῶμεν·
Δόξα τῷ φανέντι Θεῷ
Καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀφθέντι
καὶ φωτίζαντι τὸν κόσμον.

(Menaion, pp. 83, 90, 115.)

Idiomelon. Tone 2. By Anatolius.

4. To-day came Christ, for 'twas His will
To be baptized in Jordan's rill,
To-day by John was water pour'd
Upon the head of Christ his Lord.
The Powers of heaven in realms of
light
Were 'mazed to view the wonder-
sight.
The sea beheld the deed, and fled:
Yea, Jordan saw, and backward sped.
And we, His 'lighten'd people, say,
"All glory be to God to-day,
"Who was upon our planet seen,
And lit the world with glory sheen."

For tune, see *The Cowley Carol Book*,
No. 1 or 64.

XXVI.

Μνήμη τῆς Ἀγίας Μάρτυρος Τατιανῆς.

'Ιαν. ιβ'.

'Εξαποστειλάριον. Ἐπεφάνη ὁ Σωτήρ.

Διὰ τὸν πόθον τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 βασιάνους ἐκαρτέρησας,
 Τατιανῇ γενναῖόφρον,
 καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τὴν ἰσχὺν
 γενναίως ἐξηφάνισας
 διὰ τοῦτο σε πάντες
 πιστῶς μακαρίζομεν.

XXVII.

Μνήμη τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Ἀντωνίου τοῦ μεγάλου.

'Ιαν. ις'.

'Εξαποστειλάριον. Γυναῖκες ἀκούσθητε.

Καινὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄτριπτον
 ἀνθρώποις ἐκ νεότητος
 ἀναλαβὼν, Θεοφόρε,
 ταύτην θερμῶς ἕως τέλους
 ἀνεπιστροφῶς ᾤδεστας,
 νόμῳ καινῷ πειθόμενος
 Χριστοῦ, καὶ πρῶτος πέφηνας
 καθηγητὴς τῆς ἐρήμου
 καὶ μοναζόντων ἀκρότης.

XXVIII.

Μνήμη τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Μακαρίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου.

'Ιαν. ιθ'.

Κοντάκιον. Ἦχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

Ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Κύριος
 τῆς ἐγκρατείας
 ἀληθῶς σε ἔθετο
 ὥσπερ ἄστέρα ἀπλανῇ
 φωταγωγοῦντα τὰ πέρατα,
 Πάτερ Πατέρων
 Μακάριε ὅσιε.

XXVI.

THE HOLY MARTYR TATIANA.

Jan. 12 (*Menaion*, p. 119).*Exapostelarian.*

For love of Christ thou didst not flinch
 From torture of the hook or winch,
 Brave Tatiana, minded-right ;
 And nobly didst thou quell the might
 Of devils. Wherefore, with the rest
 Of Christendom, we call thee Blest.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 48 or 289.

XXVII.

OUR HOLY FATHER ANTONY THE
GREAT.Jan. 17 (*Menaion*, p. 147).*Exapostelarian.*

A pathway new, as yet untrod
 By man, thou, vessel fraught with God,
 In youth thou didst adopt, to wend
 Therein with zeal until the end.
 No turning back, once on thy way,
 For Christ's new law thou didst obey.
 First guide o'er desert, frith and fen,
 High-water mark of Minster-men.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 41, 59,
74, 159, 243, 362, or 414.

XXVIII.

FEAST OF OUR HOLY FATHER
MAKARIUS THE EGYPTIAN.Jan. 19 (*Menaion*, p. 159).*Kontakion. Tone 4.*

In the house of self-restraint,
 Sure, God set thee there a Saint,
 Constant as the Northern Star,
 Beacon-guide by near and far,
 O Makarius, highly Blest,
 Father, and of Fathers best.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 112, 239,
or 298.

XXIX.

Μνήμη τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Γρηγορίου, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντι-
νουπόλεως, τοῦ Θεολόγου.

'Ιαν. κε'.

'Απολυτικίον. Ἦχος α'.

Ὁ ποιμενικὸς αὐλὸς τῆς θεολογίας σου
 τὰς τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίκησε σάλπιγγας·
 ὡς γὰρ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκζητή-
 σαντι
 καὶ τὰ κάλλη τοῦ φθέγματος προσετέθη
 σοι·

ἀλλὰ πρέσβευε Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ, πάτερ
 Γρηγόριε,
 σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

XXX.

Μνήμη τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐφραίμ
τοῦ Σύρου.

'Ιαν. κη'.

'Απολυτικίον. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Ταῖς τῶν δακρύων σου ῥοαῖς
 τῆς ἐρήμου τὸ ἄγονον ἐγεώργησας·
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ βάθους στεναγμοῖς
 εἰς ἐκατὸν τοῖς πόνους ἐκαρποφόρησας·
 καὶ γέγονας φωστὴρ
 τῇ οἰκονομένῃ
 λάμπων τοῖς θαύμασιν,
 Ἐφραίμ Πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὅσιε.
 Πρέσβευε Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ
 σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

XXXI.

Μνήμη τῶν Ἀγίων καὶ Θανματουργῶν
Ἀναργύρων, Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου.

'Ιαν. λα'.

Κοντάκιον. Ἦχος γ'. Ἡ Παρθένος σήμερον.

Ἐκ τῆς θείας χάριτος
 τὴν δωρεὰν τῶν θαυμάτων
 εἰληφότες Ἄγιοι
 θαυματουργεῖτε ἀπαύστως
 ἅπαντα ἡμῶν τὰ πάθη
 τῇ χειρουργίᾳ
 τέμνοντες τῇ ἀοράτῳ,
 Κύρε θεόφρον
 σὺν τῷ θεῷ Ἰωάννῃ·
 ἡμεῖς γὰρ θεοὶ ἰατροὶ ὑπάρχετε.

XXIX.

OUR HOLY FATHER GREGORY,
ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE,
THE THEOLOGIAN.Jan. 25 (*Menaion*, p. 201).*Apolytikion. Tone 1.*

Thy pastoral flute of doctrine kill'd
 The trumps in oratory skill'd :
 The Spirit (for thy search among
 His depths) did add thee grace of tongue.
 In prayer, then, father Gregory, strive
 With Christ to save our souls alive.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 8, 48,
or 298.

XXX.

OUR HOLY FATHER EPHRAIM THE
SYRIAN.Jan. 28 (*Menaion*, p. 225).*Apolytikion. Plagal Tone 4.*

With floods of tears, with sweat and toil
 Thou till'dst the barren desert soil ;
 And, with thy groanings from the deep,
 An hundredfold 'twas thine to reap.
 And by thy wonders, as a star,
 Thou com'st to glisten near and far,
 Our holy father Ephraim.
 To Christ, our Lord and God, to Him
 Make thou request, that He may shrive,
 And save thy bedesmen's souls alive.

XXXI.

THE HOLY UNMERCENARY WONDER-
WORKERS, CYRUS AND JOHN.Jan. 31 (*Menaion*, p. 252).*Kontakion. Tone 3.*

As, by the grace of God, ye were
 Endow'd with wondrous gifts whilere,
 So, Holy Saints, for evermore
 Work miracles, as heretofore !

And let your godly hands unseen
 Probe all our wounds with lancet keen,
 Saints John and Cyrus ; for ye can,
 As leeches, cure the ills of man.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 35 or 41.

ΜΗΝ ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ.

XXXII.

Μνήμη τῆς Ἀγίας Μάρτυρος Ἀγάθης.
Φεβ. ε'.

Κοντάκιον. Ὕχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

Στολιζίσθω σήμερον
ἡ Ἐκκλησία
πορφυρίδα ἑνδοξόν
καταβαφεύσαν ἐξ ἁγνῶν
λύθρων Ἀγάθης τῆς Μάρτυρος.
Χαίρε, βοῶσα,
Κατάνης τὸ καύχημα.

XXXIII.

Μνήμη τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Βουκόλου, Ἐπισκόπου Σμύρνης.
Φεβ. ς'.

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Τοῖς Μαθηταῖς.

Ποιμαντικῶς ὠδήγησας
πρὸς νομᾶς εὐσεβείας
τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ποιμνιον
πάνσοφε Ἱεράρχα,
ἀποδιώξας ὡς θήρας
πάντα αἵρεσιν· ὅθεν
νῦν ὑποπτεῖσθαι ἱλεως
καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐρανόθεν,
ὡς παρεστὼς μετὰ τῆς παν-
άγνου καὶ Θεοτόκου,
τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς Θεότητος,
παμμακάριστε πάτερ.

XXXIV.

Μνήμη τοῦ Ἁγίου Μεγαλομάρτυρος
Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου.

Φεβ. η'.

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Τοῖς Μαθηταῖς συνελθωμεν.

Μεγαλομάρτυς ἐνδοξε
τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατηλάτα
καὶ θεῖον ἐγκαλλώπισμα
τῶν σεπτῶν Ἀθλοφόρων
Θεόδωρε γενναίόφρον,
μὴ ἐλλίπης αἰτεῖσθαι
τῷ Βασιλεῖ τὰ τρόπαια
καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ,

MONTH OF FEBRUARY.

XXXII.

THE HOLY MARTYR AGATHA.

Feb. 5 (Menaion, p. 31).

Kontakion. Tone 4.

Let the Church to-day be drest
Glorious and in purple vest,
Dipt and dyed within the flood
Of the Holy Martyr's blood.
Cry we, "Hail, good Agatha,
Saint and pride of Catana!"

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 112,
239, or 298.

XXXIII.

OUR HOLY FATHER BOUKOLOS,
BISHOP OF SMYRNA.

Feb. 6 (Menaion, p. 37).

Exapostilarion.

As shepherd, thou, most wise high-priest,
Didst lead thy sons and daughters,
The flock of Christ, to godly ways,
Green pastures and clear waters.

All heresies, as evil beasts,

Thou dravest from thy people:
So now vouchsafe to watch o'er us
From thy celestial steeple.

There, standing near the See Divine,
With God's all-holy Mother,
Make prayer for us, good father, blest
O'er all, or any, other.

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 58a.

XXXIV.

THE HOLY MEGALO-MARTYR
THEODORE THE GENERAL.

Feb. 8 (Menaion, p. 52).

Exapostilarion.

Hail! Mighty Martyr of the Lord,
And Commandant all-glorious,
The holy pride of Saints revered,
And combatants victorious.

O noble-minded Theodore
By thy sustain'd rehearsal
Of bedes, may he, our King, prevail,
And peace be universal!

καὶ ἱλασθὲν τῶν ἁμαρτη-
μάτων καὶ σωτηρίαν
τοῖς ἐκτελούσι, πάνσοφε,
τὴν φωσφόρον σου μνήμην.

And, all-wise Martyr, unto us,
Of our offences shriven,
Who yearly keep thy brightsome Feast,
May saving health be given!
For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 58a or
150a.

XXXV.

Μνήμη τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἱερομάρτυρος
Χαραλάμπους τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ.

Φεβ. ι'.

Κάθισμα. Ὕχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

Ὡς φωστὴρ ἀνέτειλας ἐκ τῆς ἑσπας
καὶ πιστοὺς ἐφώτισας
ταῖς τῶν θαυμάτων σου βολαῖς,
Ἱερομάρτυς Χαραλάμπες·
ὅθεν τιμωμεν τὰ θεῖά σου λείψανα.

XXXV.

ST. CHARALAMPES, THE HOLY
MARTYR AND WONDER-WORKER.

Feb. 10 (Menaion, p. 64).

Kathisma. Tone 4.

As the day-lamp didst thou spring
From the East, illumining
Faithful people with the blaze
Of thy wonder-working rays,
Charalampes, Holy Martyr.
This the reason, this the charter,
Of the worship that we pay
To thy Relicks on this day.

ΜΗΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ.

XXXVI.

Μνήμη τῶν Ἁγίων μεγάλων
Τεσσαράκοντα Μαρτύρων, τῶν ἐν τῇ
λίμνῃ Σεβαστείας μαρτυρησάντων.

Μαρτ. θ'.

Ἰδιόμελα. Ὕχος β'. Ἰωάννου Μοναχοῦ.

1. Φέροντες τὰ παρόντα γενναίως,
χαίροντες τοῖς ἐλπίζομένοις,
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐλεγον οἱ Ἅγιοι Μάρ-
τυρες·

Μὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀποδύμεθα;

ἀλλὰ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτι-
θέμεθα·

Δρυμὶς ὁ χειμὼν,

ἀλλὰ γλυκὺς ὁ Παράδεισος·

ἀλγευὴ ἡ πῆξις,

ἀλλ' ἡ δεῖα ἡ ἀπόλαυσις.

Μὴ οὖν ἐκκλίνωμεν, ὃ σὺ στρατιώ-
ται·

μικρὸν ὑπομείνωμεν

ἵνα τοὺς στεφάνους τῆς νίκης ἀναδη-
σώμεθα

παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ

καὶ Σωτῆρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

MONTH OF MARCH.

XXXVI.

THE GREAT FORTY MARTYRS ON
THE POOL OF SEBASTE.

March 9 (Menaion, p. 33).

Three Idiomela, Tone 2. By John the Monk.

1. Present danger bravely met,
For the joy before them set,
Thus the Holy Martyrs spake
One to other by the lake.

"Do we now disrobe? If so,
Let old habits also go:
Spurn the winter sheet of ice,
'Twill be spring in Paradise.

"Painful be the cold to-night,
Joy will come with morning light.
Therefore courage! for a span,
Brethren, play we each the man;

"That we Forty all may be
Diadem'd with victory
At the hand of Christ, the goal,
And the Saviour, of the soul."

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

2. Ῥίπτοντες περιβόλαια πάντα,
βαίνοντες ἀτρόμος εἰς λίμνην
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον οἱ Ἅγιοι Μάρ-
τυρες·
Διὰ Παράδεισον ὃν ἀπωλέσαμεν
ἱμάτιον φθαρτὸν σήμερον μὴ ἀντι-
σχώμεθα·
δὲ ὄφιν ποτὲ
φθοροποιὸν ἐνδυσάμενοι,
ἐκδυσώμεθα νῦν
διὰ τὴν πάντων ἀνάστασιν·
καταφρονήσωμεν κρούςιν λυομένου,
καὶ σάρκα μισήσωμεν
ἵνα τοὺς στεφάνους τῆς νίκης ἀνα-
δυσώμεθα
παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ
καὶ Σωτῆρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

3. Βλέποντες ὡς τρυφὰς τὰς βασάνους
τρέχοντες πρὸς λίμνην κρύαδην,
ὡς πρὸς θάλασσαν, ἔλεγον οἱ Ἅγιοι
Μάρτυρες·
Μὴ ὑποπτήξωμεν ὥραν χειμῆριον
ἵνα τὴν φοβεράν γένειαν τοῦ πυρὸς
φύγωμεν·
καυθῆτω ὁ ποῦς
ἵνα χορεύῃ αἰῶνι·
ἢ δὲ χεῖρ βέλτω
ἵνα ὑφῶται πρὸς Κύριον·
καὶ μὴ φεισώμεθα φύσεως θνησκού-
σης·
ἐλώμεθα θάνατον
ἵνα τοὺς στεφάνους τῆς νίκης ἀνα-
δυσώμεθα
παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ
καὶ Σωτῆρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

By the same Poet.

2. Laying cloak and coat aside,
Boldly at that time and tide
Thus the Holy Martyrs spake
On the way toward the lake.
"Eden's garden to re-win,
This day doff we clothes of sin,
By the serpent erst beguiled,
Clad with shame and sore defiled,
"Cast we mortal robes full fain,
Robes immortal to regain.
Therefore, brethren, scorn the cold;
Hate the flesh, the child of mould;
"That we Forty all may be
Diadem'd with victory
At the hand of Christ, the goal,
And the Saviour, of the soul."

By the same Poet.

3. Counting torture naught but sheer
Pleasure, to the frozen mere,
As an hot-house, while they sped,
Thus the Holy Martyrs said:
"What! by frost if we be bit,
So we 'scape the burning pit?
Perish! foot, that so thou may
Jet it in the realms of ay.
"Wither! hand herewith, in prayer
For to be uplifted there.
Why prolong this fleeting breath?
Rather let us welcome death;
"That we Forty all may be
Diadem'd with victory
At the hand of Christ, the goal,
And the Saviour, of the soul."

For tune, see *Songs of Syon*, No. 7, 15,
105, 116, 213, 231, or 375.

NAMES OF SAINTS

WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THEIR LIVES

AGATHA, V.M., St., of Panormos, in Sicily; suffered, at Catania, in A.D. 251 [No. XXXII].

ANATOLIUS, St., of Constantinople. See THE CHRISTIAN EAST, p. 130. Author of two *Idiomela* for the Epiphany [No. XXV., 2 and 4].

ANTONY THE GREAT, ST. AND ABBAT. Born in Egypt in A.D. 251; fell asleep on Jan. 17, 356, aged 105. For his life, see St. Athanasius. He is also spoken of by Sozomen, Socrates, St. Hierome, Rufinus, Theodoret, Evagrius, and others. He lived through the

persecution of Diocletian and Maximin into the times of Constantine and his sons [No. XXVII].

BASIL THE GREAT, ST. Son of Basil and Emmelia, brother to St. Macrina and to St. Gregory of Nyssa; born at Caesarea of Cappadocia, c. 329; studied at Antioch and Constantinople under Libanius the Sophist, then at Athens, at the same time as St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and with Julian, afterwards the Apostate. Not the least notable of his services to the Church was the establishment of Monasticism in Asia Minor, the Basilian Rule being to this day the foundation of the Religious Life in the East. St. Basil is famous for his piety, courage, orthodoxy, asceticism, wisdom, and learning, and was chosen Archbishop of Caesarea in or about 370, and departed this life on Jan. 1, 379. Dr. Neale states that "the Liturgy of St. Basil, modified from that of St. James, as the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is from that of St. Basil, is still said in the Eastern Church on all Sundays in Lent (except Palm Sunday), on Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve, the Vigils of Christmas and the Epiphany, and the Feast of St. Basil (Jan. 1)." With SS. Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom, St. Basil is reckoned one of the Four Doctors of the Eastern Church [No. XXIV.].

BOUKOLOS, ordained by St. JOHN THE DIVINE as Bishop of Smyrna. This Boukolos, in turn, appointed St. POLYCARP for his successor [No. XXXIII.].

BYZAS, possibly the same as BYZANTIOS, and apparently one of the older school of Eastern Church poets [No. XXIV.].

CHARALAMPES, St., priest in the city of Magnesia; suffered in the reign of Severus, under Lucian, the Governor of Magnesia, A.D. 198 [No. XXXV.].

CYRUS AND JOHN, SS. In the time of Diocletian. Cyrus came from Alexandria; John from Edessa, in Mesopotamia. Owing to the then persecution they fled to Arabia, where they dwelt, doing all manner of good works, and healing every sickness and disease, freely, for the love of Christ, taking no reward. Hence they earned the title of the *Anagoroi*. But hearing that a certain Christian lady, Athanasia by name, had been brought to the seat of judgment, together with her three daughters, Theodote, Theoktiste, and Eudoxia, and fearing that these, being women, might lose courage under torture, and so deny Christ, SS. Cyrus and John hastened to the scene for to encourage them. Whereupon they too were arrested, and together with the aforesaid Christian women suffered martyrdom, being beheaded, in the year 292 [No. XXXI.].

EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN, ST. Born at Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, c. A.D. 307; was a pupil of St. James, Bishop of Nisibis; was ordained deacon by St. Basil the Great. He departed this life at Edessa in 373. A renowned theologian and poet. Many orthodox hymns were written by him to counteract the damnable heresies of Bardesanes, Marcion, and the Manichees [No. XXX.].

FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE, THE GREAT. March 9, c. 320. These illustrious soldier-martyrs "are held in singular honour by the whole Church; they were frozen at Sebaste under Licinius. Modern Rome (since Paul V.) has transferred them to the tenth, to make way for a far less illustrious name, S. Francesca" (J. M. Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 772). The three *Idiomela*, sung at Vespers on March 9 (No. XXXVI. in this magazine), are ascribed to "John the Monk." This very likely means St. John Damascene. Whoever was the author, he either had access to the same material as that which St. Basil the Great made use of in his sermon on "The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste" or else "John the Monk" appropriated part of St. Basil's sermon, for in some places St. Basil is given word for word.

GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN, ST. His father was Gregory (afterwards Bishop of Nazianzus, in Cappadocia), his mother was Nonna, his sister Gorgonia. This St. Gregory studied first at Caesarea, in Palestine, then at Alexandria, and last of all at Athens, where he made the friendship of St. Basil the Great (Julian the Apostate being one of his fellow-scholars there). By his own father he was ordained priest at Nazianzus; and by St. Basil the Great was consecrated Bishop of Zasila. He afterwards became Bishop of Constantinople; was present at the Second Ecumenical Council held at Constantinople, but soon afterwards retired to Nazianzus, where he spent the rest of his days on earth in writing theological works and sacred poetry. In A.D. 391 he fell asleep in the Lord, having lived, as they say, upwards of eighty years [No. XXIX.].

MAKARIOS, OF EGYPT, ABBAT. Born c. 331; said to have been a disciple of St. Antony

the Great. He departed this life in 391. Authorities for his life are Palladius (*Hist. Lausiaca*), Rufinus, Sozomen, Socrates, Cassian, etc. [No. XXVIII.].

TATIANA, ST., martyred under the Emperor Alexander, the daughter of a Roman of consular rank, A.D. 218. Not to be mistaken for that other St. Tatiana who is commemorated on Jan. 5 [No. XXVI.].

THEODORE, ST., of Euchaita, in Galatia. Lived at Heracleia, and suffered under Licinius in A.D. 230 [No. XXXIV.].

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK CHURCH AND THE SERBS

By BISHOP GORAZD

[Our readers will find interest and profit in studying this valedictory oration of Bishop Gorazd on leaving Serbia after receiving episcopal orders as the first Bishop of the Czecho-Slovak Church from the Serbian Orthodox Episcopate. The translation from the Belgrade *Politika* is by the Rev. R. M. French.]

ON preparing to depart to my own country, I ask to be allowed to say a few parting words about the inspiring proofs of brotherly love which we (both the members of our Church delegation and myself) have found among the Serbian people everywhere where we have been. We Czechs, in our own opinion, have always stood out in the first rank as workers for the Slav national idea. It was among the Czech people that the "Slovenska Uzajamnost" originated. Among Slavs we have made no distinction; we have considered them all as our brothers, and our desire has been to be held as such by them. It is a fact that can be proved that, apart from the Slovenes, we have been best understood by the Serbs. The reason for this lies, perhaps, in the fact that both the Serbian and the Czech peoples have been brought up on democratic principles. It was the lot of both our peoples to pass from bondage to liberty only under difficulties. And it is interesting to notice how both these peoples have progressed, not by means of high diplomacy, but by their own power—the power of national masses—the Serbian through heroic conflict on the field, the Czechs by means of the systematic culture and education of the people.

It was interesting to watch how the victory of Serbian arms influenced the Czechs and how the progress of Czech schools influenced the Serbs.

There has been, however, one great difference between the two peoples. Serbia had its own national Church, which in time of national distress meant everything to the Serbs, which preserved their national unity, which always inspired hope and perseverance—the Church which, in its representations, stood at the forefront of the nation whenever a sacrifice for the benefit of all was in view, and which was the first to take part in every national movement. In his national

Church the Serb found a shelter in times of greatest affliction, and therein he was able to live nationally even during the most trying of national persecutions.

The Czech people was deprived of such a Church. After the unfortunate battle of the White Mountain, the victorious Hapsburg (and with him was always Rome) lifted his hand against the root of national life by preventing the formation of a national Church. The people were deprived of their political and ecclesiastical leaders, who were punished often by death, by confiscation of property, and by banishment. By means of persecution, and the Jesuit schools which were systematically erected throughout the country, the Roman Church was imposed upon the Czech people, thus killing in them that which makes a people a nation.

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries the Czech people was so reduced that it appeared as if it would die out altogether. That this loss did not come about and that the Czech people ever entered upon a new life, the credit is due in the first place to men who in their heart of hearts had broken off all relations with Rome. And in so far as the Catholic clergy worked for this revival they were men who loved their people more than they loved the Roman Pope, or who worked for him only from clerical motives lest they should lose their influence. It may be asserted with every justification that to all the earnest efforts of the Czech people for revival, the Roman Church, as a Church, has remained indifferent. And during the last war she displayed a keen interest only for the victory of the Hapsburg monarchy and its allies.

The educated classes of the Czech people are well aware of all this. We have been longing for our own national Church. We knew quite well what great support our national idea would find in it. Surrounded by Germans and Magyars, who are Roman Catholics, the Czecho-Slovakian people would always be in danger if it remained true to the Roman Church, which was its stepmother, because in the event of the collapse of the State the Germans would gain control over its Church again. Thereby they would hold in spiritual subjection Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, as the Magyars would hold Slovakia, which was the case before the last war, when, out of a total of seven bishops in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, there were five Germans, and in Slovakia all the episcopal sees were occupied by Magyars.

The Czecho-Slovakian people must be free from this danger at all costs. And the only way that this can be accomplished is by the organization of the national Church, which would feel at one with the people both in time of happiness and in time of trouble; which would not be in disharmony with national history and with the evident progress of its development; but which would, on the contrary, always

be concerned with the spiritual and moral conditions of national development and progress.

However, we have not been concerned with national aims only. They would be insufficient by themselves to justify the organization of a new Church if there had not been other and more important—namely, religious—reasons. The Czecho-Slovakian people has passed through all the phases of the intellectual development of Western Europe, and has found itself confronted with the same religious crisis as the rest of Europe. Its crisis was even greater, because the cleavage with the official Church of Rome was greater. This religious crisis discloses the dark picture of moral conditions, and there lay the great danger which can neither be concealed nor in any way be compensated for, not even by the greatest successes in the fields of science, civilization, and material progress. From the ranks of the representatives of the most venerable sciences there came the same cry, that the most acute problem of all at present for the Czech people is the religious problem.

The prophetic words of Masaric, that the Czech people must first of all solve the problem of its religion if it desires to solve the problem of its future, are becoming every day more true and more believed in. And, indeed, throughout the country religion is the chief subject of discussion, perhaps just as earnestly and thoroughly as in the days of Hus. The Czecho-Slovakian Church is the result of this religious interest, and she represents an attempt of the Czecho-Slovakian people at the solution of its religious problem. Should this attempt succeed, it will be the salvation of the Czecho-Slovakian people; and should the Serbian Church support it, it will be to her eternal credit.

Our religious circumstances are not so simple as the Serbian. Indeed, it may be said that there is no nation in Europe whose religious problem is more complicated than ours. Therefore this line of action of the Czecho-Slovakian Church was by no means easy. But the Serbian Orthodox Church came out magnanimously to meet us. In the Serbian Church—and especially in its representative, the right reverend Doritheus, Bishop of Nish—orthodoxy appeared in its true and acceptable light, and so our line of action became possible. We are convinced that the Serbian Orthodox Church will always understand her beloved sister, our Church, and that neither of us will ever regret the step thus taken. On the contrary, we shall bless the present events as the beginning of a new era. The present events, if they fulfil the hopes placed in them, will have consequences never before seen both for Christianity in Europe and for the whole of Slavdom.

Let us prepare the soil and let us sow the seed, and for future generations it will spring up and bear fruit—God grant—in a great and rich harvest. O Serbia, which hast the germ of great things, be blessed.

THE CHURCH WAXEN CANDLE

FROM the earliest times during divine service the Orthodox Church has used tapers which constituted a sacred, necessary, and significant part of the Orthodox Church service, being the expression of those sacred meanings through which the Word of God shows forth the glory of the Lord and His saints in heaven. Christ Himself, the Head of the Church, is the eternal light (John i. 9). St. John the Evangelist, describing in his Revelation the glory of the heavenly Church, says that he saw "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne" (Rev. iv. 2, 5), and "in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of Man" (Rev. i. 13). When entering into the covenant with God, who had appeared to Abraham and laid the foundation of the Church within his family and posterity, the Patriarch beheld "a smoking furnace and a burning lamp" (Gen. xv. 17). Within the Tabernacle lamps burned "always, continuously" (Ex. xxvii. 20-21; Lev. xxiv. 1-4). According to the words of the prophet Zechariah the Church of God is "a candlestick all of gold" (Zech. iv. 2). "The seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven Churches," as spoke the voice of the Revelation to St. John the Evangelist (Rev. i. 20).

Being the lamp of the world, the Church of Christ from its earliest days uses lights at divine service and in many cases keeps them burning unceasingly. Candles were burning, without doubt, at the very institution of the Christian service—at the last supper of our Lord with His disciples in the upper chamber in Jerusalem. Candles burned at the sacred gatherings of the apostles. St. Luke writes: "And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached to them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight. And there were many lights in the upper chamber where they were gathered together" (Acts xx. 7-8).

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* it is ordained that oil should be brought to the altar for the lamps, and it is forbidden to bring oil to the heathen temples and Jewish synagogue, or to light candles within them (Constitution, 3 and 71). From the foregoing articles laid down by the apostles granting permission for oil for the lamps to be offered at the altar the pious custom originated amongst the Orthodox Christians, and has been observed from the earliest days until now, of zealously placing candles in churches and in their homes before the sacred cross and holy ikons, and in general at public and private religious services. The early chroniclers of the Church witness to this ancient custom. Thus Tertullian, in his *Apology*, written about A.D. 200, says: "having washed hands and lighted the tapers each one sang a hymn of praise to God" (Tertullian xxxix.).

Constantine the Great, speaking of the use of lights during divine service, extols their use (Epistle written to the Society of the Faithful, Ch. 12), and others—for instance, the historian Eusebius (Book VI., Ch. 9). The Seventh Œcumenical Council laid down that before the sacred and life-giving cross and the holy gospels and other sacred things incense and candles should be burned, giving honour as was the holy custom among our forefathers (Dogma of the Holy Fathers at the Seventh Œcumenical Council).

According to the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, candles are the sign of spiritual joy and of the triumph of the Church (John v. 35, viii. 12); they signify intense love to God and the saints according to the word of the apostle Paul: "Not slothful in business; fervent [according to the Russian, 'burning'] in spirit" (Rom. xii. 2).

And to the religious spirit of the Russian people the church candle has a precious traditional sanctity. They have bought their candles for many centuries as a pure and holy sacrifice to God; the church waxen taper is an indispensable thing to the fervent faith and holy prayer of the Russian people, both in time of joy and in time of sorrow. At all divine services, both public and private, on all occasions of Orthodox religious life, the church candle burns and glows. The peasant saves his last hard-earned coppers to light a candle of pure beeswax—the most acceptable offering—before the holy ikons, the life-giving cross, before the sacred relics, at the font, at the marriage service, and at last at the grave of his beloved dead. The candle-light glows in the "sacred corner" of the cottages, on the image-stands in the good Christian's house, at prayers in the private chapel, during all intense religious moments of life. In a word, the waxen taper always, under all circumstances, forms a necessary part of the Orthodox Church service.

MEMORIAL TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY THE METROPOLITAN OF CÆSAREA

QUELQUE lourd qu'ait été le joug turc au cours des siècles, jamais les chrétiens de Turquie n'ont été exposés à de plus grands dangers, à plus de souffrances, que sous le régime insurrectionnel de Moustafa Kémal. Les procédés dont use ce régime à l'égard des populations chrétiennes qu'il fait égorguer sans distinction d'âge ou de sexe, et dont les terres sont changées en déserts, ne témoignent que trop des intentions des hommes qui continuent depuis l'armistice l'œuvre entreprise pendant la guerre de turciser le pays, en y supprimant les éléments ethniques appartenant aux diverses confessions chrétiennes,

si importants aussi bien par leur nombre que par leur supériorité intellectuelle et sociale. On entend leur faire payer les vœux dont ils accompagnaient les alliés pendant la lutte et les acclamations avec lesquelles ils les ont accueillis après la victoire.

Les Turcs d'aujourd'hui tentent de réaliser par les dévastations, les massacres et les conversions forcées, le programme nationaliste que leurs ancêtres de XVI^e siècle n'ont pas osé exécuter. Leur audace augmente à mesure que le territoire qu'ils occupent diminue, et leur parti pris d'y accumuler des ruines avant d'être refoulés plus loin encore devient d'autant plus inquiétant que leur mentalité de barbares voit un encouragement dans l'impunité dont ils jouissent depuis l'armistice.

Le Patriarcat Œcuménique désirerait donner un tableau absolument fidèle de la situation du pays, des scènes de sauvagerie qui s'y déroulent, et dont on ne trouve pas d'exemple dans les annales des peuples asservis. Mais le gouvernement de Moustafa Kémal, en frappant les chefs des diverses Communautés Orthodoxes en Asie Mineure, a privé l'Autorité Suprême de l'Église de toute communication avec ses représentants. Néanmoins d'autres sources d'information dignes de foi permettent de se faire une idée des événements dans les régions les plus éloignées de l'intérieur.

C'est ainsi qu'on a appris que dans les six diocèses du Pont et les diocèses d'Ancyre, de Césarée, d'Iconion (Koniah), d'Hélioupolis, de Pissidie, de Philadelphie, qui sont pour la plupart à une grande distance du théâtre de la guerre en Anatolie, et où, par conséquent, rien ne justifie des mesures militaires, les Grecs de 15 à 70 ans ont été déportés à Van, Bitlis, Diarbékir, Erzeroum et Mamouret-ul-Aziz dans des conditions telles qu'un grand nombre d'entre eux sont déjà morts en route de fatigue, de privations et de maladies, et que tous sont condamnés d'avance à périr de faim et de mauvais traitements.

Mais là ne s'arrête pas l'acharnement contre nos malheureux chrétiens. Les agents de Moustafa Kémal, en bien des cas, tuent les déportés en masse. A la fin de juin et au commencement de juillet des hommes expédiés de Samsoun par groupes de mille ont été décimés en route par les gendarmes qui les escortaient. Un premier groupe a perdu de cette manière près de Kavak 216 individus, un autre 250 à Djibis-han, un autre encore de 850 en a perdu 700 à Tsakali sur le mont Mamour-dagh; on ne sait ce que les autres sont devenus. A Bafra sur l'Halys et à Alatsam (au mois de juin) les hommes enlevés à leurs foyers furent presque tous égorgés.

Le clergé a été particulièrement éprouvé par cette fureur de massacre qui s'est emparée des Turcs. Sept prêtres de la circonscription de Bafra Alatsam ont été mis en croix après avoir été atrocement torturés; le prêtre du village de Tépédjik a subi le même sort. L'évêque de Zéla, Euthymius, est mort en prison à Amassia. L'archevêque grec et

l'archevêque arménien de Koniah ont été exilés à Erzeroum. L'évêque d'Aristée, Monseigneur Hiérothéos, a été exilé à un endroit inconnu de l'intérieur.

Cette œuvre d'extermination va même jusqu'à affecter des formes de légalité. Moustafa Kémal a institué les trop fameux "Tribunaux de l'Indépendance" qui ont condamné à mort et fait pendre tous les grecs jouissant de l'estime et de la confiance du peuple : médecins, avocats, professeurs, directeurs de banque, grands propriétaires, grands négociants, entre autres un octagénaire, l'archimandrite Platon Aïvazidès, l'ancien député de Trébizonde Mathieu Cofidès, le professeur G. Papamarkou, D. Théocharidès, professeur au Collège américain de Merzifoun, Paul Bacon, missionnaire (ces deux derniers appartenaient à la confession protestante). Et de quoi étaient accusés ces hommes qu'on jugea à huis clos en l'absence de témoins et sans l'assistance d'un avocat ? D'avoir fait partie de groupements qui, profitant de la liberté que leur accordait l'armistice, ont soumis leurs vœux nationaux aux Gouvernements de l'Entente, plus d'une fois à la demande de ces derniers. D'ailleurs cette imputation elle-même n'est pas fondée en ce qui concerne les victimes ci-haut désignées, car elles n'ont appartenu à aucun groupe politique. Les "Tribunaux de l'Indépendance" ont frappé des gens dont l'unique tort a été de faire partie des Comités de Secours aux orphelins et aux réfugiés ; et ces comités agissaient au grand jour, sous les yeux d'Européens, d'Américains et de fonctionnaires turcs dont les ressortissants ont, à plus d'une occasion, profité du bon vouloir de ces organisations humanitaires.

En outre, et pour que le monde civilisé apprécie à leur valeur ces "Tribunaux de l'Indépendance," le Patriarcat Œcuménique fera observer que parmi les condamnés figurent de nombreuses personnes déjà mises à mort antérieurement à leur jugement.

A toutes ces persécutions s'en ajoutent de nouvelles. En Septembre et en Octobre des jeunes garçons de 15 et même de 12 ans ont été expédiés de Sinope et des environs vers une destination inconnue à l'intérieur. Le sort des femmes et des enfants en bas âge n'est pas plus rassurant. Bafra, Ladik, Tcharchamba, Alatsam, Kavak, Hafza, Merzifoun, Kirk-harman, Messoudié, Niksar, Erbaa en ont vu massacrer un très grand nombre. On a égorgé de même à Karahissar-Charki, à Zara, districts spécialement confiés par Moustafa Kémal à la garde d'Osman Agha, le plus féroce des ses adhérents. Des crimes semblables ont été commis dans sept villages du diocèse de Rodopolis ainsi qu'à Bereketli-maden et Ghumuch-maden du diocèse de Koniah. On jugera de toute l'étendue de cette catastrophe quand on saura que les 338 villages du diocèse d'Amassia ont été détruits par le fer et le feu ; qu'il en a été de même de la plupart des villages de Kérassunde et de Néocésarée. Nous n'osons décrire les scènes épouvantables et répug-

nantes qui ont précédé ces massacres ; les rares femmes et enfants qui y ont échappé errent à cette heure dans les montagnes et les forêts traqués par les bandes que Moustafa Kémal a lancées à leur poursuite.

Telle est en résumé l'horrible situation où se trouvent nos chrétiens. En la portant à la connaissance de la Société des Nations le Patriarcat Œcuménique se permet de solliciter son intervention prompte et efficace en vue de sauver les survivants de cet immense désastre.

En attendant que soit élaboré par les Grandes Puissances le statut précis et détaillé qui apportera aux chrétiens des garanties réelles de respect de tous leurs droits, nationaux et religieux, civils et politiques, le Patriarcat Œcuménique croit que les décisions les plus urgentes devraient viser : la cessation des déportations, le retour immédiat des déportés dans leurs foyers, la protection des enfants et des femmes, l'autorisation pour les chrétiens de quitter, à leur gré, la zone des persécutions, la suppression de la conscription, illégalement imposée depuis l'armistice et des enrôlements forcés dans les bataillons d'ouvriers.

Veuillez agréer, Excellence, l'expression de ma haute considération.

(Sign) L'ARCHEVÊQUE DE CÉSARÉE NICOLAS,
Le Locum Tenens du Patriarcat Œcuménique.

13/26 novembre, 1921.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

ST. ANDREW'S DAY, 1921.

DEAR SIR,

All else is entirely overshadowed just now by the burning question of the Patriarchal election. Probably by the time this letter reaches London, to say nothing of its possible publication, all will be over, and an Archbishop of Constantinople, which is New Rome, will have been duly chosen and perhaps enthroned. That, at any rate, is the present intention at Phanar, although in the East it is never wise to count on anything at all until it is an accomplished fact.

The secret of all the hubbub is that the Gounaris Government does not relish the idea of there being an Ecumenical Patriarch of Venizelist sympathies, and as there is no chance whatever of the election of a Constantinist, they have tried to secure a further postponement. A communication from Athens urging this was sent to Phanar through the Greek High Commissioner, and an answer was returned setting forth in full the reasons why delay was no longer practicable. The only result was a peremptory note saying that if the Holy Synod persisted in proceeding to an election the Greek Government would know how to act. This is understood to mean that the Metropolitans of Thrace and Macedonia will not be allowed to cross the frontier to vote. Naturally the Synod and the Mixed Council are extremely angry at this unwarrantable interference by Civil Government, and are determined to assert their independence. The unfortunate thing from the ecclesiastical point of view is that any action towards reunion taken by a new Patriarch and his Synod is likely to be disavowed by the Church of Athens if political relations remain strained. So far no hostile voice at all has been raised against Professor Comnenos's

Report on Anglican Orders, and it will indeed be the work of the devil if political complications spoil the chance of its unanimous acceptance by all the autocephalous Eastern-Orthodox Churches.

The new Bishop of Gibraltar has made a very definite and welcome pronouncement against proselytizing within his jurisdiction. Here is the quotation: "Reunion we most earnestly desire, and we know how to promote it. But we retard instead of advancing this great object by seeking to make proselytes from the great branches of the Church in the midst of which we sojourn. We have no mission, right, or desire to convert, say, Spaniards or Rumanians, Maltese or Greeks, to become members of our branch of the Church Catholic; still less to receive members of other races who for a great variety of reasons have become discontented with their own Communion." His Lordship speaks of being "steadfastly opposed" to this, and says that he desires to affirm explicitly his own strong conviction on the point. I think it should be carefully noted that it is not merely *active* proselytizing that he condemns, but even the *receiving* of other races, and that he asserts that we have no mission or right to do so. We have travelled a long way since the days of Bishop Gobat at Jerusalem, but it still seems that ninety-nine clergymen out of a hundred have no knowledge of the technical meaning of the word "mission," or indeed of its existence except as regards the heathen at home and abroad.

R. F. BOROUGH,
Chaplain of the Memorial Church, Constantinople.

OUR BOOKSHELF

Report of the A. and E. A., 1914-1921. (S.P.C.K.) 1s. 6d.

There are things in this Report which are too good to be buried and forgotten in any report, and especially under such a title as "Relations with Russia," and so on. Having said this, we should wish to draw the attention of our readers to the value of this Report, which is far more than a summary of the A. and E. A.'s activity since it came into being through the amalgamation of the historic E.C.A. with the vigorous A. and E.-O.C.U. The article by Dr. Runkevic, to which we have referred, is, in fact, a sketch of the recent reconstitution of the Russian Church, and is written with first-hand knowledge. Besides this the summaries of our relations with the Serbians, of the visits of Eastern hierarchs to England, and of the St. Sophia movement are of importance. The Report is indeed admirably put together, records work of extraordinary scope and activity, and should find a place in all libraries.

Ὁ Γολγοθᾶς τοῦ ἐν Τουρκίᾳ Ἑλληνισμοῦ. (Constantinople.)

If anyone doubts the fierce, thorough, and horrible persecution to which those unhappy hostages of Europe, the Christians, and above all the Greeks of Asia Minor, have been delivered since the Armistice, let him read this terrible book. The events recorded are authenticated by absolutely reliable witnesses, and consist of the persistent nightmare of murder, outrage, and rapine which is the expression of Turkish rule. The area is from the Black Sea to Cilicia and from the outposts of the Greek Army to the Taurus.