



† *His Holiness Damianos*

HIS HOLINESS DAMIANOS, PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

THAT the frontispiece of our present issue should be a portrait of His Holiness, the Patriarch Damianos, sent us—and we are gratified by the honour—by himself, will be agreed to be opportune. For one thing, as Anglicans will always remember, he was the first of all Orthodox chief bishops to reply to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's invitation to accept Anglican Ordinations. The late Dr. A. Fortescue used to quote him as having rejected them. That was a mistake founded on a misconception of a conversation, recorded in *Eirene* for March, 1908, between him and Bishop Blyth, in which he expressed himself as unable to accept them until the whole Orthodox Church did so. As a matter of fact, he has always been sympathetic to the Anglican Church and took profound pleasure last May in telegraphing to our Archbishop the favourable result of the year's consideration which his Synod had given to Meletios IV.'s Encyclical of August, 1922. That fact alone would make most Anglicans glad to familiarise themselves with his portrait. But there are many other reasons. Some of us hope to pay him our personal tribute when he receives the Anglican Pilgrims at the Church of the Anastasis in May this year. Others have watched with great concern the stand that he is making against the Vatican's attempt to encroach on that Guardianship of the Holy Places which the Zionitic Church has exercised since the days of Constantine the Great. And all have read with deep emotion the accounts of the celebration of his Patriarchal Jubilee last October and of the participation of our own Bishop in Jerusalem therein.

Like two of his recent predecessors, the Patriarchs Cyril and Hierotheos, Damianos Kasiotes is a native of Samos, where, though he was born, in 1848, a Turkish subject, he was not brought up under direct Turkish rule, the island having been autonomous under its own Christian Prince. After being educated at the Pythagorean Gymnasium, the principal high school of Samos, he became the

secretary of a local Court of Justice, and his life would probably have been spent in that or the like secular office but for the death of his wife and child a week after the latter's birth in 1871.

Always devout, and then only in his 23rd year, that tragic happening decided him to seek membership in the Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, where he was received in 1872. Ordained deacon, he spent three years in the hard and unceasing routine of the Fraternity and after a withdrawal through physical breakdown, returned in 1875 and was ordained priest. From 1875 till his election as Patriarch, he did much service to the Church of Zion. Made Archimandrite, he was sent to Georgia to represent the Patriarchate which has historic rights in that country, and there came into close contact with the leaders of Russian Church life. In 1887 he went to Constantinople in a similar capacity. In 1893 he was consecrated Archbishop of Philadelphia and was appointed Hegoumen of the Monastery of Bethlehem. With the earlier years of his Patriarchate, with the difficult Arabophone problem and the troubles which it engendered, with the part which he played during the War and with what has happened since, those who read the CHRISTIAN EAST regularly will be fairly familiar. Any *lacunæ* in their knowledge will be supplied by a study of Sir Anton Bertram and Commander Luke's extraordinarily interesting *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*. The presence of the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria, from whom the difficulties which occurred between 1906 and 1910 had estranged him, at his Jubilee Celebrations must have given this "Grand Old Man" of the Orthodox Hierarchy peculiar satisfaction. His brotherly relations not only with the Anglicans in Jerusalem but also with the Copts, Jacobites, Abyssinians and Armenians are symbolised by the photo we give as an inset. It was taken after the conjoint service in which he took part with them, reading the Gospel in the Anglican Cathedral of St. George, on Armistice Day.

Respected, revered and loved, may he live many years and see the realisation of his prayers for the Reunion of Christendom.

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Our old friend Archbishop Themelis of Trans-Jordania, whose visit to London, recorded in our November issue, was in connection with the Orthodox guardianship of the Holy Places, has published several brochures on the subject in Greek, and a memorandum in English, *The Rights of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem*. Those who call to mind his work for *Eirene* sixteen years ago will not need to be told that the latter is vigorous, incisive and lucid. Briefly, the case is that the monastic Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre was founded shortly after St. Helena, removing the statues of the heathen gods and goddesses from the traditional sites at Calvary and Bethlehem,

proved them to be the very spots, and with her son Constantine built churches upon them, for the care of which it came into being. From the first, the Fraternity was in effect the electing body of the Patriarch who was its President. Omar the Khalif, on his conquest of Jerusalem in 638, gave the then Patriarch Sophronios a covenant by which he and his successors were confirmed in their possession of the Holy Places for ever. That covenant has been honoured by all who have ruled in Jerusalem down to the present, except by the Crusaders who infringed on its spirit but did not for shame attempt to evict the Fraternity altogether. Saladin restored it and the Turks honoured it. Both Selim I., the first Sultan-Khalif, 1512-20, and Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-66 reasserted it in precise emphatic terms. Franciscans, indeed, who had been admitted by the Fraternity of its own action in the fifteenth century, attempted, under Ahmed I. (1603-17), to oust the Patriarch from Bethlehem, the Holy Sepulchre and other shrines, but, though they secured some of the minor privileges they had usurped, the Sultan himself intervened and reaffirmed the old charter of Omar. The Fraternity, which has never been selfish, but has welcomed all Christians, Copts, Armenians, Syrians as well as Latins, freely to the Holy Places, has thus been in possession of their guardianship so long as they have been known and venerated. It would be strange if the League of Nations should deprive them of their sixteen-centuries-old privilege and duty. The whole case is admirably set out in *Nea Zion*, for November last by the Archimandrite Kallistos and in *Apostolos Barnabas*, the Cyprus official periodical, for December by the Metropolitan of Nicæa, Basileios.

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THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.—We recognise gladly that things seem going better at Constantinople than we inclined to forecast. The Patriarchate, it is true, is still depressed and disorganised. Its flock is reduced to a fraction of what it was before the war. Much time must elapse, at best, before it can breathe freely enough to take an active interest in anything except the preservation of its own existence.

But sufficient for the day! The pressing question as to whether, if it remained at Constantinople, the Turks would allow the canonical and free election of a successor to Meletios IV. has been decided satisfactorily. The *Church Times*, always admirably informed—better orientated, indeed, than any other paper, European or American, in these matters—printed, on December 14th and 21st, excellent and detailed accounts of the election of His Holiness Gregory VII. to the Œcumenical throne on December 6th; of Papa Eftim's seizure of the Phanar on December 7th, and subsequent ejection; of the new Patriarch's enthronisation on December 12th. Incidentally, it also

gave a biographical sketch of His Holiness, which there is no need to produce here, except to say that, like M. Venizelos and Meletios IV., His Holiness is a Cretan of the family of Zerboudakes, that he is 68 years of age and had long been a Synodal, *i.e.*, one of the Metropolitans permanently attached to the Phanar, having been first a *protégé* and then a confidant of Gerasimos IV., the Œcumenical Patriarch of the war years. A pronounced phil-Anglican, he was never enthusiastic about the Entente and, while he supported Meletios IV., avoided extreme anti-Turk ebullitions. Thus he is acceptable to the sensible Turks, though the fact that the Angora Government had not accepted his election as late as January 31st, when we went to press, would point to the Kemalist dislike of him. Happily his election appears canonically unchallengeable. Every Metropolitan of the jurisdiction, including those in exile and those outside the new Turkey, nominated a Metropolitan by letter. The three of those so nominated with the most votes were voted upon by the Holy Synod, which elected His Holiness by 10 votes out of a possible 11, his own being probably unrecorded.

In another column we give the letter in which his All-Holiness announced his accession to our Archbishop. We never had any doubt upon the matter, but it is good to remark that there is not only no retrogression in it as to the relations of the Orthodox with ourselves, but that, if anything, it marks an advance. Thus Gregory VII. styles Dr. Davidson his "Brother"—a not insignificant fact in view of the interpretation placed on that mode of address by Meletios IV. in his Encyclical on Anglican Ordinations. Further, he goes out of his way to speak of Meletios IV. as his predecessor and thus recognises implicitly his Synodical acts, including, of course, his recognition of our Ordinations. Indeed, the letter, with its warm words about the Anglican Church, is of the type which would be addressed to the chief bishop of an Orthodox Church rather than to the head of a heterodox denomination such as our Farm Street friends say the Orthodox account us.

May his rule of the Great Church of Constantinople, begun in danger and threatening, stretch over many prosperous years and bring peace and security to his people! May it also see the long dream of Christian Reunion accomplished!

JUBILEE OF THE COPTIC PATRIARCH.

We doubt whether any Patriarch other than the present Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria has ever held his throne for fifty full years. Ismail was Khedive, and Tel-el-Kebir, with the consequent British occupation, was seven years away when the names were put in the urn, and his being drawn out by a little innocent lad under seven, Cyril V. became the successor of St. Mark for the Copts. Small wonder,

then, that his golden jubilee, which fell just after the silver jubilee of the Patriarch Damianos, was kept with great rejoicing throughout Egypt. There is some question as to His Holiness' exact age, but he is reputed to have been born in 1818. One of our editors who visited him in his own monastery in the Nitrine Valley, twenty long years ago, has a vivid impression of him as being then an old, old man—in one fashion. "I cannot forget," he writes, "my first sight of him. Of scant stature, with a snow-white beard which covered his face altogether—except his sharp, piercing black eyes—he looked at me as if he pierced me through and through. It was eerie, almost uncanny, and I understood why the *fellaheen* Muslim, no less than Christians, regard him as supernatural. He struck me then as having outlived old age and as retaining every vigour of manhood, intellectual and physical, which he willed to retain. I spent many days as his guest, had much conversation with him, and found him marvellously perspicacious, clear in his judgments and decisive in his purpose. I am not surprised that he is the only Egyptian who ever *compelled* that strong dictator Lord Kitchener to go back upon his own *ultimatum*."

Bishop Gwynne, who is doing a great work for Christian Unity in Egypt, is well-beloved by the centenarian Coptic Patriarch. We wish that we had space to record the full debates of the important conferences to which he has been the main instrument of summoning the Greek, Coptic, Armenian and other clergy of Egypt.

THE PAN-ORTHODOX CONFERENCE.

Events have justified our anticipation that the unanimity necessary to effect the adoption of the Constantinople recommendations would not be found among the autokephalous Churches. When we made that forecast we knew, from personal conversation with him, that the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev regarded the Conference itself as anti-canonical and was alarmed at many of its recommendations as dangerous innovations. Since then he has published his views, endorsed by the Russian Synod of Karlowicz, the Patriarch of Jerusalem has telegraphed the Phanar urging the withdrawal of the most important proposal, and the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch have published reasoned and synodical refusals to have anything to do with the Conference. The least sharp of the three letters is that of the Patriarch Gregory, but it is trenchant enough. In it he says that the Antiochene Synod adjudges the Conference to have no authority because the Patriarch of Russia was not invited to it and its title to be a misnomer because four of the autokephalous Churches sent no representatives to it. In regard to its recommendations, he regards the change of the Kalendar as having been hastily conceived and inopportune and the proposal in

regard to the marriage of the clergy after ordination, their second marriage, etc., as being such as ought not to be envisaged except by an Œcumenical Council. In short, he makes it plain that he stands with the Patriarch Photios and the Metropolitan Anthony, and gives a plain warning that he would regard the adoption of the Constantinople Recommendations as in effect an act of schism.

This being the case, it may be as well that we should step out of our way to give its *quicquid* to a rumour, which appears to have originated from a source neither Orthodox nor Anglican, that Meletios IV. held the Conference and framed its Recommendations to please us Anglicans. Never was a more malignant—or skilful—bit of baseless mischief-making engineered. Some of us would regret the adoption of certain of the Recommendations. Others would have been mildly satisfied at the adoption of certain of them. But none of us would have interfered in what is clearly not our business.

THE KALENDAR.

So far as we know, none of the particular Orthodox Churches have adopted the style—which, by the way, is *not* the Julian—proposed by the Conference. In London Christmas was kept, both by Russians and Greeks, on January 8th. The Athens Kalendar for 1924 is of the Old Style, and so are those of Bukharest and Belgrad. On the other hand, the States have adopted the Western Style, so that to the man in the street, *e.g.*, the Epiphany was observed this year on July 19th. Much confusion is the result. We are informed that the Patriarch Tikhon and the ecclesiastical authorities of the Baltic Succession States have given their people option to use either style.

The Holy Synod of Constantinople has issued a circular urging the other Churches to adopt the new style as from March 10, 1924. That, however, must not be taken as deciding anything. It has also addressed a letter to the League of Nations inviting its initiative in proposing a Kalendar which might be acceptable to the Roman Church.

THE CHURCH OF HELLAS.

Professor Alivisatos, who, by the way, recently published a most acute and sympathetic article on the Intention of the Anglican Eucharist in the Athens Metropolitan Quarterly *Theologia*, and who has promised us another on our Thirty-nine Articles for the CHRISTIAN EAST, writes us that the changes adumbrated in our Athens Correspondent's letter are now *faits accomplis*. His authority is, of course, absolute, for he has been acting as secretary in the business. We tender our sincere congratulations to the Metropolitan of Athens and his compeers. They will make excellent use of the liberty which they have won.

MALINES.

Our Orthodox friends need not be perturbed, in the least, by the conversations which distinguished Anglican Theologians have been holding at Malines with distinguished Roman Catholics, under the auspices of Cardinal Mercier and with the cognisance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is true that the utterances of the veteran and well-loved ex-President of the E.C.U., Lord Halifax, might lead the casual observer to imagine that the Anglican Church is willing to treat the Papal Claim to Supremacy, as *de jure divino*, as an open question. There need, however, be no anxiety. We are not of those who run with the hounds and hunt with the hare. Presently the Archbishop of Canterbury will tell us what has taken place. Then it will be found that Lord Halifax has been speaking only for himself and that his five eminent colleagues, with the immeasurably great majority of Anglicans of *every* type, are with the Orthodox in regarding the Papal Claims as baseless and with the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev in calling on the Roman Obedience to return to the Faith and Unity of the Church of the Œcumenical Councils.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS.

There can be no need to tell our readers who Bishop Bury and Mgr Batiffol are. All English Churchmen know of the former's work and most have heard of the latter. The Rev. H. A. Boys was chaplain at Patras far away in the seventies and built the British Church there. Now, in retirement, as an ever young octogenarian, he is always busy in the Winchester Diocese, working for the good cause. Canon Browne is a veteran worker of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, whose praise should be in the Churches. Speaking of our contributors, we are reminded that Dr. Emhardt, whose invaluable report on his journeyings through the Near East in 1922 we printed recently, is now again in the lands of his and our hearts. He expects to be in London on his way home to U.S.A. about Easter.

THE SECRETARY OF A. & E.C.A.

The Rev. C. N. Smith has sailed to take up his post at the Cathedral, Georgetown, British Guiana, and the Rev. R. M. French is now getting into our saddle as his successor. The former had a fine send-off when he celebrated the Holy Mysteries on the eve of his voyage. He has served us well and our hearts go with him. As to the latter, he steps into his responsibility at a difficult moment, but he has deserved our confidence by his splendid past work and may rely on every backing that he could wish.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

Our review tray is the most tantalising thing in the world. At the present, a good dozen of books of which we desire to publish our

estimate are lying waiting until our merciless contributors leave us space to do so. Meanwhile, we urge our readers to get Father Gavin's *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Thought* from Messrs. Mowbray. The price is 7s. 6d., a small sum for a work, the modest title of which conceals its value. In fact, it is just the book for which we have been longing, waiting and watching. In other words, it is a concise and admirable summary of the Orthodox Faith as it is expounded by modern Greek Theologians. It is not exhaustive in scope and it does not take Russian Theological Science into its purview. But it supplies the thing which we have needed greatly. It will no longer be necessary for the lecturer to inform his audience that there is no book of the kind in English.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

THE Metropolitan of Thyatira, who is both Exarch of Western Europe and Apokrisarios, i.e. legate, to Lambeth for the Œcumenical Patriarchate, delivered the appended letter, wherein the Œcumenical Patriarch announces his election to the Œcumenical Throne, personally to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 18. We give also the reply of his Grace and the translation made by the Metropolitan himself. Reference to the correspondence will be found in this number's Chronicle and Causerie.

FROM THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

Σεβασμιότατε Ἀρχιεπίσκοπε Καντουαρίας καὶ Πρωθιεράρχα πάσης Ἀγγλίας, ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ λίαν ἡμῖν ἀγαπητὴ καὶ περισπούδαστε ἀδελφὲ κύριε Ράμδαλλ, χάρις εἴη τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ Σεβασμιότητι καὶ εἰρήνῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς ἀγάπης συνεχίζοντες τοῖς οὕτως αἰσίως ἀφ' ἱκανοῦ τῇ εὐλογίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μεταξὺ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πρὸς κοινὴν χαρὴν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀποκατασταθέντας, ἄσμενοι προαγγέλλομαι τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ γερασμῷ Σεβασμιότητι τὴν ἄρτι γενομένην διὰ κανονικῶν ψήφων τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱεραρχίας ἀνέρρησιν ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν Ἀγιώτατον Πατριαρχικὸν Οἰκουμενικὸν Θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, εἰς διαδοχὴν τοῦ διὰ τὰς περιστάσεις ἀποχωρήσαντος καὶ παραιτηθέντος παναγιωτάτου προκατόχου ἡμῶν κυρίου κυρίου Μελετίου.

Τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ δυνήσθαι ἡμᾶς αἰσίως πληρῶσαι τὴν ἀνταποκρίσιν ἡμῖν βαρεῖαν ἐν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις ταῖς αἰσίοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ λαοῦ ἐντολῇ, διαβιβασομένη τὴν Ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμείνων ἀναγκῶν φρόντισι μέλημα οὐχ ἦτον ἱερὸν ἡμῶν ἔξομεν πάντοτε μετὰ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱεραρχίας πάσης τῇ ἀφ' ἡμῶν σπουδῇ περιέπειν καὶ προάγειν τὰς ἀγαθὰς σχέσεις τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐπικοινωνίας πρὸς πάσας τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξ ὧν ποτὶ ἐκείτους καὶ ἡ Χριστοπαράγγελτος πλήρης ἐνότης, κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόθον

ARCHBISHOP AND ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH 9

καὶ ἐλπίδα, δύναται προσελθεῖν. Ἰδιαίτως ποθοῦμεν καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα ὅπως ἀπαρμειώτοι παραμείνωσι καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναπτυχθῶσιν οἱ δεσμοὶ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς τιμῆς πρὸς τὴν Ὑμετέραν γερασμίαν Σεβασμιότητα καὶ τὴν αὐτόθι Ἀγίαν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὧν ἡ εὐκρινὴς συμπάθεια πρὸς τὰς πολλὰς δοκιμασίας ἡμῶν βαθέως συνεκίνησε καὶ παραμυθεῖ καὶ ἐνισχύει ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Χριστιανικοῦ λαοῦ.

Ὁ κύριος ἐπιδαφιλεῖν τὴν χάριν Αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογίαν παντὶ τῷ αὐτόθι Χριστιανικῷ πληρώματι, τὴν δὲ Ὑμετέραν περισπούδαστον Σεβασμιότητα εὐλογοῖ ὑψαίνειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι κατ' ὅμφω διανεκῶς ἐν εἰρηνίᾳ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

Μετ' ἀγάπης ἀδελφικῆς, 1923, Δεκεμβρίου κά.

Τῆς Ὑμετέρας γερασμῆς Σεβασμιότητος,
ἀγαπητὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅλος πρόθυμος

† Ο ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ.

FROM THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, our well-beloved and dear Brother in Christ our God, Mgr. Randall, grace be to your Lordship and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Pursuing the bonds of love which for some time have been so auspiciously restored by the blessing of the Lord between our people and yours, to our common joy and hope, it is with much pleasure that we take the initiative of announcing to your venerable Grace our recent accession by the canonical votes of our Hierarchy to the Most Holy Œcumenical Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople in succession to His Holiness our predecessor, Mgr. Meletios, who has, owing to the force of circumstances, retired and resigned.

Placing our hopes in the God of patience and of comfort that we shall be enabled propitiously to execute the weighty mandate entrusted to us for the welfare of our Church and our Christian people in these most difficult times, we assure Your Grace that, both in our tribulation and our over-powering cares for immediate needs, we shall at all times consider it no less our holy duty, together with our Hierarchy, to watch over, and to forward with all zeal on our part, the good relations of friendship and intercourse with all the Churches of Christ from which it is likely that the full unity commanded by Christ may some day come, in accordance with our common longing and hope.

Especially do we long, and are much concerned, that the bonds of love and of esteem towards your venerable Grace and your Holy Church may remain unimpaired and be strengthened still more. For your unfeigned sympathy in our many trials has deeply moved us and is to us and to our Christian people a source of comfort and of strength.

The Lord make His Grace and Blessing to abound towards your Christian flock, and bless your dear Grace in health and strength, both of body and soul, unceasingly in abundance of good works.

With brotherly love,

Your venerable Grace's beloved Brother in Christ and wholly devoted

December 21, 1923.

(Signed) GREGORIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS.

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 1.

MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

January 19, 1924.

Your Holiness will need no assurance from me of the welcome which I gave to the letter which you have sent me announcing the accession of Your Holiness by the Canonical Vote of the Hierarchy to the Œcumenical Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The letter has now been placed in my hands by Your Holiness's representative in this country, Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira.

It has fallen to Your Holiness, in the providence of Almighty God, to take your place in that great seat of authority and influence at a time of wide disturbance and anxiety within and around the regions wherein the jurisdiction of Your Holiness extends. The greater, therefore, is the need and the obligation resting upon us all of earnest prayer that Your Holiness may be enabled to fulfil aright the high responsibilities which are yours for the promotion of the welfare of the Church over which you preside and of all Christian people with whom you have to do. May the privilege be granted to Your Holiness of finding that the influence which you are enabled to exercise conduces to the pacification of strife and to the healing of the wounds inflicted both upon Christians and non-Christians by the tragic events of recent years.

Your Holiness will accept my assurance of the happiness with which I read the fraternal words in which you undertake to watch over, and to forward with all zeal, the good relations of friendship and intercourse with all the Churches of Christ, and to secure unimpaired the bonds of love and esteem which unite your Church with our own. We have, indeed, wept with those who weep in the troubles of these distressing days. May it be ours also to rejoice with you when you are enabled to rejoice in the restoration of peace and goodwill. We daily pray to the God and Father of us all that, through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, abundant grace and blessing may be vouchsafed to Your Holiness and to your flock.

Assuring Your Holiness of our fraternal love,

I have the honour to remain,

Your faithful Brother and Servant in our Lord Jesus Christ.

(Signed) RANDALL CANTUAR.

To His Holiness,
The Œcumenical Patriarch,
The Lord Gregorios VII.

The telegrams appended were also exchanged between Lambeth and the Phanar at Christmas.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY.

Μετ' ἐγκαρδιῶν ἀδελφικῶν εὐχῶν συγχαίροντες ἀσπασόμεθα Ὑμετέραν ἀγαπῆτὴν σεβασμιότητα ἐπὶ ἑορτῇ γενήσεως Σωτῆρος. Αὐτὸς δωρεῖτω εὐσεβεῖ πληρώματι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀγγλίας πᾶν ἀγαθόν.

Οἰκουµενικὸς Πατριάρχης

Γρηγόριος.

(Translation.)

With heartfelt brotherly prayers and sharing your joy, we greet your beloved Grace on the Feast of the Saviour's Birth. May He bestow every good gift on the devout clergy and laity of the Church of England.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH GREGORY.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.
MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I have had the high pleasure of receiving from you a message of Christmas greeting, and I desire to assure you how warmly I reciprocate the good wishes which Your Holiness is kind enough to express.

In all parts of the world we are living at a time of anxiety and difficulty, but it is in anxious days that we have special need of the presence and guidance of the Church's Divine Lord and the right to expect that such help will be given to us.

That Your Holiness may have every blessing during the year which has just begun is the earnest prayer of

Your faithful Brother and Servant in Our Lord Jesus Christ,

RANDALL CANTUAR.

BISHOP BURY IN MOSCOW.

This extraordinarily interesting and important account of his visit to Moscow, was written by the Right Rev. Herbert Bury, D.D., Bishop of North and Central Europe, for his Diocesan Magazine, the Anglican Church Magazine, and is placed at our disposal by his Lordship's kindness.

IT seems so strange now, while going down the Adriatic under a blue sky, to realise that I have actually been in Russia once more, that, as I said when writing to a correspondent a few days ago, "I can almost think it was a kind of second self who went there and had those wonderful and unexpected experiences." And I feel almost hopeless as I try to give some adequate account of them in such limited space as the Magazine can grant me. The Visit came upon me with almost startling suddenness, as I had not the remotest thought of such a possibility when talking to Mr. and Mrs. North at Helsingfors of the Moscow they know so well, or with the Archbishop of Riga—or rather Archbishop John of Riga—of the Patriarch whose pupil and adherent he was in other and happier days. It was the Consul at Moscow, whom I met at Danzig, who appealed to me to go and see them and give them services, and a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury which reached me 3 days later in Berlin, which made me say to myself "Why should I not try? I can but fail, and if I succeed—!"

I will not dwell upon the steps taken to secure permission to enter Russia, but will content myself with saying that in a fortnight's time—usually they require three months' notice—the visa was promised, and a telegram just caught me in time at Vienna, as I was about to start for Naples, Brindisi and Rome. All arrangements were, of course, at once cancelled. I set out within a few hours for Warsaw, where M. Obelenski, the Soviet Government's Minister, gave me both a Diplomatic Visa and a *laissez passer*; and, with another from the Polish Government, I set forth with every document that an Ambassador would have had and with a hearty send-off from Sir William Maxmüller, our Minister for Poland, taking a good supply of food, soap, towels, etc., which Lady Maxmüller kindly supplied, as all ordinary necessities for the journey have to be found by the travellers themselves. Some prefer to take their own bedding, but the Russian authorities supply what is really needed, though the loan has, of course, to be paid for. The journey is not unattended with danger, as our British Courier, who leaves Warsaw every Tuesday night, had the misfortune a little while ago to be in a train, which was held up by bandits soon after leaving the Polish frontier and all the 1st class passengers were robbed. The poor man was completely plundered, even of his collar.

I was more fortunate, probably because soldiers with fixed bayonets are in every carriage, and I was agreeably surprised to find every one on the journey—porters, conductors, ticket collectors, passport men, *douaniers* and fellow-passengers—as friendly and good-natured as they could be. My porter at the Polish frontier put me and my bags in the Russian train, went and took my ticket, helped himself to his own tip, all from a vast heap of Russian roubles which I had got at the Exchange office in return for a few pounds sterling, and commended me to the youthful conductor, who looked much more—no railway uniforms are worn—as if he were going to a football match than taking a sleeping car to Russia. He then asked for the price of the sleeping berth, later for the extra charge for the “rapide” train, then for the hire and washing of the “linge” and finally for his own tip, and all went from the same heap which, of course, had almost vanished when we arrived in Moscow.

It was Sunday afternoon when the train drew in and it was immediately boarded by two young and alert Englishmen from the Mission, and with a real “thrill” I found myself in a car with the Union Jack fluttering in front, driving through familiar streets and drawing up at the Mission with a large British flag waving from the top of a mast in the garden. What an arrival that was, and how warmly I greeted them all, and what an Evensong we had at 6 o'clock with about twenty present out of the, at most, thirty who are scattered about in the Russian Capital! The Mission is more like a legation than a consulate and has very nearly twenty members on its staff, and within its walls contains in all 35 people. The butler, who valeted me, was body-servant to the late Emperor of Russia until he was taken from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg to die, when the family were finally separated from their faithful servants. I was sure when I saw him that he was the servant who, dressed like an English butler, ushered me into the Emperor's study the first time I had an audience with him at Tsarskoe Selo in 1911, but he, of course, could not remember, as he was showing people in, one after another, all day long; it was nearly thirteen years ago.

The next day, the 5th, Mr. Hodgson took me to leave cards at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as they had been so courteous to me, upon M. Chicherin, the Secretary, and M. Litvinoff, the Under-Secretary, both of whom knew London and England well, and in other days had been very happy to be there. M. Litvinoff returned my call before I left; but I was out, and so I did not meet any of the Members of the Government while there.

On the Tuesday I went out, by arrangement, to call upon the Patriarch and give him my own greetings and the messages of sympathy and goodwill of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and, through the Archbishop, the greetings of friendliness,

solicitude and goodwill of the whole Church of England. He received me in one of two small rooms in which he lives in the little gatehouse of the Donskoi Monastery, about half an hour's drive from the Mission, but within the city. I had an admirable interpreter, but the Patriarch was rather pensive and sad, while he talked freely; but now and then he looked up with a whimsical smile as he made a little joke at the expense of the “New Church” as it is called. There was no malice in what he said, he is too gentle and truly Christian for that, but just a bit of irresistible fun. He was most grateful for the sympathy of England and for all the help sent to his clergy, for the intervention of the British Government which, as the whole Russian Church, in Russia, Latvia, Poland and elsewhere, knows, saved his life, and for the help of the Archbishop of Canterbury. We had quite a long interview—I could hardly realise that I was at last talking confidentially and affectionately with this modern Confessor who has done so much for all Christendom, and he gave me his latest photograph, and signed it, and invited me to come in my robes to a service he was to take on the Thursday in the great Uspensky church in honour of St. Michael's Day. “You will wear your mitre,” he said, and then he laughed merrily as he opened and closed his outspread hands to show that he understood it to be collapsible, their own wonderful golden crowns, studded with gems, being very rigid and requiring quite large boxes to hold them. With the three embraces with which he had welcomed me, he saw me off again, and I felt sad as he turned into his small room which he must find very inconvenient. His small bedroom, which is his oratory also, opens out of it. Would that he were more worthily lodged! I don't understand why the Government do not grant him a suitable abode, as they give him such comparatively full liberty, for, though it is said that he lives in the Donskoi Monastery, which is a very beautiful place indeed, with a large garden, it is no more true than if I were to say I was living in some English historic mansion when I was only living in two rooms in the lodge at the gates. Below, told of my visit, but outside, I found Bishop Platon of Moscow, the Bishop of Tula, the Bishop of Nijni Novgorod, and a priest or two. I had a very friendly conversation with them before I left. Next day was the first anniversary of the setting up of the Soviet Government, a public holiday. There were processions, and reviews, and banners, and decorations, and bands, the Red Flag everywhere! I wanted to see something of what went on, but could not go to the official stand to see the March Past, lest it should be reported; and Orthodox clergy and laity feel hurt at what might seem almost sanctioning and approving the government's actions both in Church and State. As I recall it, however, I feel it will be best for me to say nothing of what I thought myself of the day's observances, as it would

ill become me to attack them and their methods as soon as I am out of the country, when I was glad enough to ask and obtain their permission to enter it. I was much impressed once more with the good nature and friendliness of the Russian people, for I never saw any rude pushing, or taking advantage, in the largest crowds, and the Red Guards were particularly kind to all the people they had to hold back, and chaffed and made jokes with them continually and were chaffed merrily in return. The same afternoon at the Diplomatic Reception, Mr. Hodgson asked M. Litvinoff if he saw any objection to my attending the Patriarch's Service next day, but he said at once "None whatever. I should think it would be a very good thing."

The next day, accordingly, I went to the Liturgy for St. Michael's Day, but the whole service was so interesting and the attendant circumstances so remarkable and impressive that I feel they really demand a separate little article, and so I will write it and send it with these notes, and if the Editor thinks well he can print it in January or hold it over until the February number. I do not yet know what awaits me in Egypt, what I shall have to report—perhaps nothing—from the New Tomb.

In the evening I went to the opera and sat spell-bound, not only by the beauty of Tschaikowsky's music, given by a large and magnificent orchestra and the attractiveness of "Eugene Onegin" which I had not seen before, but by the fact that it is a play showing country life in a wealthy landowner's mansion, with deferential servants and happy, rejoicing peasants, a girl saying prayers in her bedroom before an ikon and its red light. Evening parties, with lovely frocks and dainty dancers, a reception at the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg, with ladies wearing jewels, diplomats their sparkling orders and uniforms, and everything that was most beautiful in old and Imperial Russia, *could all be given now* before an audience, large and attentive, who must, it seemed to me, be saying to themselves "How lovely life was then, even for peasants, servants and workmen. How much we have lost that gave charm, refinement, interest and zest to life for all classes, and which we shall never have again!"

Sunday, the 11th, was Armistice Day, and we made the most of it. We had hoped on my arrival that we might have one service at least in our own beautiful church of St. Andrew's, but a visit to it on the Friday soon showed me that this was quite impossible. The parsonage, church and many buildings connected with it are leased to the Finnish Legation and the minister has had to use the church as a storing place for all our property, which he has had to remove so as to be able to establish his Legation with their own furniture and other belongings. They regard themselves, he told me, as trustees for the Church of England, ready to give an account of their

stewardship when the time comes. We could not be more fortunate than in having them in possession, for they will take great care of things and execute repairs, while we, as a community there, could not possibly pay the expense of lighting and heating, nor meet the cost of a chaplain, even if one could be got when there is so little for him to do.

We had, therefore, our Armistice Day services at the Mission and were twenty-three at the Celebration, thirty-five at Matins and Sermon and twenty-five at Evensong. Mr. Hodgson wondered where they all came from at 11 o'clock. The services were a great joy to them all, and as the Mission has a great central hall, as well as the drawing-room in which we had our services, they could chat together and compare notes as they sat in warmth and comfort both before and after services. An ikon of our Lord instituting the Holy Communion, with the two lights, furnished our temporary altar, and Mr. Carpenter sent up a chalice, paten and a little linen from Warsaw, for everything of the kind had been looted from our church and the organ ruined in searching for anything that might be concealed there. We had but few hymn-books and so I had to read out each verse from well-known hymns, "O God our help," and "O God of Jacob," at 11.0, and "Nearer, my God, to thee," and "Lead, kindly Light," by particular request, at 6.30. It was like a service in the early days of Faith "for I soon began to realise that we were in a kind of beleaguered fortress with the doors shut," and everyone there knew something, some a great deal, of the darker side of life. There was a very old lady at the Celebration, who had come far, and her Russian son-in-law was with her; his wife, her daughter, had been nearly three months in prison and then died, and he, being Orthodox, had brought his children, that they might see their grandmother make her Communion in her own church. The beautiful house in which we had our services and for which a high rent is paid to the Government, was built and lavishly furnished—I slept in the former billiard-room—by a wealthy sugar merchant who had himself died of starvation. It was with these suggestive surroundings that we worshipped on our great day of Remembrance, and expressed, still humbly and thankfully, our faith and trust in God!

On Monday I went out again to the Donskoi to say good-bye to the Patriarch, but alas, he was confined to his bed and forbidden to see any one at all for some days. Bishop Hilarion, who is, I believe, his "Alter Ego" and most trusted friend, and who is one of the most charming Orthodox dignitaries I have yet met, told me this, and expressed his great regret that the Patriarch could not express, himself, what they all felt about my visit, and how it had comforted and encouraged them all by the assurance it had brought them of the full and loving sympathy of the Church of England.

I assured him that all our Christian people, speaking generally, of course, though not members of our own Church, were full of just the same solicitous sympathy with the Christian people of Russia.

I must not take up more time of speaking of the many interesting experiences I had in Moscow, the people I saw, Russian priests and laity coming to the Mission, and other guests, and the many impressions I received. It was with a very full and thankful heart that I left after my ten days' visit, returning to Warsaw to give them the usual Confirmation, Sunday services, and address at the Reception, of which I have asked the chaplain to give some little account himself in this Magazine.

I went out on my first day to call upon Archbishop Dionysius, the Metropolitan of Poland, who was formerly Bishop of Volhynia, also in Poland, and at one time Embassy Chaplain at Rome under Prince Dolgorouki. He was a most experienced prelate and evidently very devout and sincere, and my heart warmed towards him as I saw the gratitude in his sparkling eyes as I told him of the Patriarch and our service together—of which he had already read in a religious paper they keep going outside Russia to give as much information about their Church as they can obtain from different and numerous sources, some reliable and some not. He returned my call at the Legation on the following day, gave me his photograph and a letter for the Patriarch, which I sent on, and again expressed to me the gratitude his whole Church felt to our Archbishop and Church, and to the British Minister, Sir William Maxmüller the gratitude they all felt for that intervention at the critical moment, by which the British Government saved the Patriarch's life. He told me with great thankfulness that the Russian Church has the greatest kindness and assistance in its religious work shown by the Polish Government, and it is in this strongly Roman Catholic country that at this time there is the one green spot, or oasis in the desert of persecution where the unfortunate Russians can breathe and worship God freely.

I left Warsaw for Vienna on the 19th and Vienna for Trieste, meeting a heavy snowstorm which made me fear our train would have to be dug out if I was to catch my boat, and finally sailed safely on the 23rd, as arranged. I have the most grateful recollections of Legations and Embassies in Europe, but *cherish* feelings of the deepest, even affectionate, gratitude to Sir William Maxmüller at Warsaw, and Mr. Akers Douglas at Vienna for their very, very great kindness, hospitality and assistance as I went to and returned from Russia.

PATRIARCH'S LITURGY.

ON November 8th, S. Michael's Day in Russia, New Style, I set out, fully robed, from the Mission in Mr. Hodgson's car with its Union Jack at the front, and, accompanied by an English friend, born in Russia, to act as my interpreter when necessary, I arrived soon after ten o'clock at the Church. Here the Patriarch's representative received me, and gave me the Patriarch's greeting and welcome. An alert and refined-looking young Russian came forward and introduced himself as my interpreter, while the large crowd filling the entrance to the Church looked eagerly on, and murmured their approval.

The service had already begun and the Patriarch was standing in his beautiful vestments of cloth of gold and two other Bishops robed in the same rich garments with him. Many other priests and the deacon stood round about the dais which was, as usual, placed in the middle of the church, and a very carefully trained choir was singing the accustomed responses, with the constantly repeated "Gospodi pomilui (Lord have mercy)," so familiar to all lovers of Russia and its Church. I went up the right aisle with my companion, took my place in the space just outside the great screen, and glanced round upon an immense congregation, before giving my attention to the service in a little book in English which had been thoughtfully provided for me. It was a very moving and appealing sight as I gazed down the Church, and the most moving and touching part of it was that his venerable face appeared blanched in its paleness, as with rapt expression he looked fixedly straight through the open central door of the screen to the altar, which had large vases of fresh white chrysanthemums upon it, the seven-branched candlestick resting behind and above, the jewelled copy of the gospels standing, as usual, on end, and a large painting of our Lord upon the Cross at the back of the sacarium. I have not seen fresh flowers upon a Russian altar before, but they were in other places also and even bound at the top of the Patriarch's Staff with which he blessed the people. He wore nothing distinctive in his vestments as Patriarch, but was constantly prayed for during the service, being as frequently mentioned, I thought, as the Emperor and Imperial family used to be.

At the end of about half an hour, he and all the other Bishops and clergy with him moved up the church and entering the screen took their places before and about the altar and I also entered at the same time and took my place, as directed, on his right.

The service was especially beautiful and most reverently given and though it always appears to me to be unduly long—lasting nearly three hours, it was quite evidently not too long for any of those who

were taking part in it. The Choir without sang very sweetly, though I missed boys' voices, as they are no longer allowed to be taught religion under 18, nor to be trained, and the Deacon intoned the prayers assigned to him in his deep rich bass, crossed himself constantly with the end of his long stole worn from the left shoulder, the processions within and without took place, carrying the Gospels outside and then the oblations of bread and wine placed upon the head of him who bears them, the Patriarch moving to and fro, and for the first time giving me the impression of frail old age, though he is only 58, and reverence, piety, devotion, faith and resignation—I was not conscious of hope, alas!—made one feel in an atmosphere of the deepest spirituality. There is no doubt in my mind that the sense of sorrow and suffering does bring one very near to God in prayer and worship.

One of the most beautiful parts of the Liturgy to me, more appealing I find even than the Consecration itself, is just before it, when the Celebrant kneels or sometimes almost prostrates himself, and the other officiants take up the silken chalice veil and, holding it by the four corners, wave it gently up and down above the chalice to typify the descent of the Holy Spirit to bless the sacred elements and make them sacramental, while the Choir outside sing the Nicene Creed. On this occasion it was sung very clearly by a beautiful soprano voice in a melodious kind of recitative, while the Choir gave a rich kind of accompaniment, which sounded almost like an organ softly and skilfully played by a master hand. When I think of the Patriarch now at prayer or worship, I always seem to see him, bent and feeble with bowed head apparently "caught up into heaven," in absorbed supplication, at that particular part of the Divine Service.

All present (and there were very many) received Communion, and in both kinds, but standing, and without words of administration. Some, having received the bread, walked away and looked steadily and contemplatively at it in the open palm, before partaking, and all wiped the lip of the chalice after receiving and then kissed it.

I was asked, as usual, to share the Patriarch's ceremonial breaking his fast, and partake of a little warm wine and water, and eat a morsel of bread brought to me by one of the servers. The little loaf—shaped like what we call a "cottage loaf"—was then brought me, as my own, to bring away. This represents to me now and always my specially personal part in the Service. The loaf has religious emblems upon the top of it and a small bit has been taken out by the point of a knife to be consecrated with the other bread, and then, when offered, my intention was offered with it, what was in my mind and heart and soul as desired from God was thus offered with the

Patriarch's own intercessions. This always seems to me a very beautiful custom in the Russian Church, bringing one, when devoutly worshipping with them and not yet admitted to communion, into the very heart of the Service. I shall therefore always treasure it as having sacred associations for me under the Patriarch in his sore and anxious travail.

After the administration the Chief Episcopal Assistant went outside and delivered a short address or sermon, while the service was brought to an end behind the doors, which, closed just before the Consecration, were not reopened until all was over. At the conclusion the Patriarch kissed every single person in the Sanctuary, including the servers, one of whom was a very small boy. The Bishops and Clergy then came to me also, and when the servers looked wistfully expectant, I, too, kissed every one of them including the small boy, and all looking as pleased as I felt.

It was as I am so often reminded in Russia, a page out of the Acts of the Apostles when they were bidden to greet one another with a holy kiss. "It would probably not seem to be at all in place at the close of an English service, but it is so different in Russia," when the seven-branched candlestick and the holy place, and the large square altar remind one constantly that their Church carefully "keeps the traditions." Then the lay authorities of the great Church, members of its Council, including the father of my young interpreter, came in to be presented to me, and to express their deep gratitude for my coming to assist at the Service. They were well dressed, refined and well educated men and I was rejoiced to see them. They were anxious I should write down my messages from our Archbishop, and anything else which might be in my heart, and I gladly did so, though it had to be in pencil—they said they would go over it with pen and ink and carefully keep it—and expressed my real "Christian joy" in being able to worship with them that St. Michael's Day and to have, what St. Paul called in his Epistle to the Philippians, "Fellowship in the Gospel" with them all.

The Patriarch had now and then turned an approving eye upon our proceedings as he concluded the Service, and then began slowly to unvest and at length stood a very attenuated-looking figure in a dark-blue velvet cassock and girdle. He was then robed again in that round white cap, with which we are so familiar, and which has a winged cherub in front and a cross of diamonds above it, and a large flowing veil descending from it about his shoulders. A very rich robe, worn by the last Patriarch, of blue, with rich bars of many colours across it in a slanting direction, was next put upon him, and after saying good-bye to me he passed out to the front, then to give a personal blessing to all who wished to have it. He would be a long time there I felt very sure.

I left at the same time, but passed slowly on, and so could only very inadequately respond to those who sought "the English Bishop's blessing." I stretched out both hands as I went along and both were brought into service, but one or two old peasant women looked depreciatively at the left and pressed on with determination until they could have the right hand. I have never had such an experience, though at Riga they were more demonstrative in what they said and shouted; and it continued down the entire length of the great church, down the many steps at the door and all the way to the car, and even when seated in it, and when moving slowly away. The Consul told me that he heard two Jews when they saw the large crowd say "What is this? A funeral, I suppose," and the crowd said, "It's no funeral to-day. There's an English bishop in there, and he is coming out soon to bless us all." They moved hastily off to the great disappointment of the Consul, who said, "I should like to have heard what they said when you came out."

The Patriarch sent me a modern ikon of a guardian angel, and another of the famous Patriarch Tikhon, of other days, who is now his patron saint, for the Archbishop of Canterbury. The clergy and laity of Moscow sent me two most valuable ikons, one of our Lord, of the sixteenth century, and the other of St. Nicholas, of the seventeenth century, adding also a modern one of our Lord. I sent word to them by their messenger that I should deeply value, but could not regard, them as purely personal, but representative, and that I should at once direct that they should go to my successors, with the Patriarch's ikon also, and be a link, I hoped, in happier days between the Russian Church and the Bishops of Northern Europe.

THE POSITION OF HIS HOLINESS THE PATRIARCH TIKHON AND OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN RUSSIA AFTER LIBERATION FROM PRISON.

Translated from "Tserkovnoye Vedomostie," the official organ of the Acting Holy Synod of Russia in Belgrad, of October 15/28, 1923.

ON his release from confinement, as is admitted by the Moscow Pravda in an article entitled, "The End of a Hideous Comedy," at the demand, delivered to Krassin by Lord Curzon, of England, his Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon proceeded from his gaol to the Donskoy Monastery, assigned him as a residence, and assumed the government of the Church, appointing as governor of things spiritual in Moscow and its district, Bishop Ilarion, to whom he gave authority to receive penitent recusants.

Practically the whole of the (Moscow) clergy is now obedient to their rule. The laity reverence Bishop Ilarion for his preaching, his loyalty to the Patriarch and his vigour of action. His Holiness organised round himself a Holy Synod in the persons of the Metropolitan Seraphim and Bishop Ilarion. By means of the revival of church

services the religious attitude of the proletariat was improved decisively and quickly. The churches in which the Patriarch ministered were altogether insufficient to accommodate the people who wished to take part in the services. In his utterances the Patriarch declared persistently that the Church ought not to be entangled in politics under even the worst circumstances. He forbids the clergy to take any part whatever in the political life of the country, and insists that every priest should devote himself to the service of God and should withdraw from worldly life. In regard to the Church itself, the Patriarch Tikhon denounced any reforms whatever which are contrary to the canons or the laws of the Church. He has repudiated altogether the Living Church and the various sections which have sprung up recently in the Orthodox Church. The Patriarch's utterances produced the greatest impression upon the faithful and in a short time many of the larger parishes in Moscow which had been reckoned nests of the Living Church approached him penitently and asked for his recognition of their presiding priests. When the Patriarch passes there is a general kneeling in the streets. It is remarkable that his movements are willingly guarded by militia from members of the Living Church. Where the Patriarch celebrates there are always many working people and red soldiers.

The Soviet authorities had not anticipated that the great mass of the people would so receive the Patriarch after his sub-mission to Soviet authority. The Bolsheviks, who follow the religious attitude of the proletariat attentively, are beginning to regard the influence of the Patriarch as not to be laughed at and there is talk again of bringing him to trial for his past counter-revolutionary activity. The leaders of the Living Church and the former Procurator of the Synod, M. Lvoff, are energetic to that end.

By order of the Patriarch all churches in which divine service is rendered by representatives of the living Church are under interdict. In many Moscow churches a proclamation is hung by the Church Council's order, "This church is in canonical subjection to the Metropolitan of Moscow, the Holy Patriarch of All Russia, Tikhon." A meeting of laymen was convened in a chapel of the Troitsky Monastery at Moscow by the Living Church to decide the question of the establishment of the synodical principle in the Church and the elimination of the Patriarch. None of the Living Churchmen, however, could speak two words, for the laymen whom they had convened showed themselves intense partisans of the Patriarch, and by shouting and cries made it impossible for them to gain attention. After the dissolution of the meeting all the laymen proceeded to the Donskoi Monastery to obtain a blessing from the Patriarch. The ecclesiastical strife between the supporters of the patriarch and the Living Church assumes a continually fiercer form. A meeting convened in the Church of Christ the Saviour by the Living Churchmen ended as the thrashing of the "Protopresbyter of all Russia," V. D. Krasnitsky. The thrashing was only stopped by the intervention of the military. Krasnitsky was carried in a half conscious condition from the church.

It is reported in Moscow that the Patriarch Tikhon is occupied at the present time with the project of convening a local Synod for the re-assertion of the Russian Orthodox Church and the condemnation of the Living Church. It is asserted that at that Synod the Patriarch will resign his dignity and place the election of his successor in its hands. General consent designates as that successor Bishop Theodore, who is possessed of the greatest popularity, and is known for his unswerving opposition to the Living Church and fearlessness towards the Bolsheviks. From Moscow the best intelligence states that His Holiness daily ministers in the churches of the city, and that there is a full programme arranged for him up to December. The people meet the Patriarch everywhere with indescribable enthusiasm, and throw flowers before him. On his entrance into a church, the clergy ask him, kneeling, with sobs for his forgiveness for having taken the side of the Living Church through stress of necessity and fear of the Jews. Then Bishop Ilarion sprinkles the Church with Holy Water and the

service begins—a Liturgy or Vespers. The first Liturgy of the Patriarch Tikhon in the Donskoi monastery was an extraordinary solemnity. The crowd in and outside the church numbered 10,000. The Sanctuary was filled with clergy; representatives of the British, American and Polish Missions were present. . . . The Patriarch Tikhon goes to his services to-day with great dignity. The great Patriarchal Cross is carried in one carriage in front of him, he himself goes in a second. It may be said, indeed, that Orthodoxy is resurgent in Moscow and is full of vigour. The Living Church meets with no success, but practically all the parish churches have acceded to the Patriarch.

While the Living Churchmen retain only three churches in Moscow, they have, however, 123 in Petrograd, where the Patriarch has 40. That fact is explained by there being no canonical archbishop in Petrograd. Artemie, the Living Church Archbishop there, is said to be panic-stricken.

In Juroslav the Living Church is disappearing rapidly. In Vladimir the whole population flocks to the priest Gregory of the Balaam monastery. His Holiness Tikhon is in good health. The reports about his illness are lies. He is still in the Donskoi, but has asked for more convenient accommodation. The Bolshevik "Higher Church Ministry" is idle. From morning to night deputations from all parts of Russia wait on the Patriarch. But it must be remarked that in the provinces the Living Church meets with some success, both clergy and laity, whenever they avow themselves supporters of the Patriarch, being subjected to terrorism and arrest. Protests to the Commissary remain unanswered. The Bolsheviks argue: although the Patriarch has repented of his anti-Soviet acts, he remains all the same, a counter-revolutionary at heart. Therefore we support the Living Church.

A quarrel has arisen between Antonin and Krasnitsky. Krasnitsky declares in his sermons that Antonin is "old leaven" and ought not to be heeded. Vedensky, who, as an out-and-out red, was recently made Archbishop of Crutetz by the Living Churchmen, has cut his hair, dresses as a layman and walks the streets arm-in-arm with his young mistress. At the services he wears neither *hlobuk* nor *mantiya*, but cassock and cap, like a popish prelate. This same Vedensky exhibits the greatest frenzy against the Orthodox Church in the provinces, when, with the active aid of the Soviet, he makes many tours and agitates against the Patriarch. Iskestia records that in a brief period he has visited 30 dioceses, in which he has succeeded in winning, according to that journal, many to the Living Church. He cut a poor figure, however, in Moscow during July, when the people laid hold of him as he delivered a lecture and he had to be rescued by the soldiery.

Ex-bishop Antonin, alarmed by the actions and popularity of the Patriarch, published in *Izvestia* "An Explanation of the Return of Tikhon." Even if the Synod sentenced him uncanonically, that gives no one, not even the Patriarch, the right individually and by his own authority to trample upon and subvert it. By the 12th canon of the Synod of Antioch, a bishop deposed by a synod receives the right to appeal to the Great Synod. A Patriarch having been deposed has not the right, on his own initiative, to assume the right to celebrate the Liturgy. The ex-Patriarch, treating the 67 bishops present at the Synod with contumely, has proceeded, on his own initiative and authority in defiance of the Church, to exercise the functions of Patriarch as if nothing had happened. The advice to give him was—"Sit still, put up with the deprivation imposed, do not be factious. Do not trample on the decisions of the 'bad' Synod. Wait. When a new Synod delivers its decision, maybe it will annul the former altogether." By the 4th Canon of the Synod of Antioch, if a bishop, being degraded from his rank by a Synod, dare perform any sacerdotal ministrations whatever, it is not only not permitted him to hope for restoration to his former rank by another Synod but no appeal on his part may be received, and all who communicate with him are excommunicate. The ex-Patriarch has not only displayed an indecorous monarchical blindness, but has neglected to appeal and has

brought his friends into excommunication. Although not pardoned by the Soviet Authority, the ex-Patriarch is producing, under Soviet rule, a monarchical revolution in the Church, *i.e.*, one that is counter-revolutionary. He has resumed the Patriarchal function which had been abolished—on his own authority, through demagogic methods, by demagogic playing on the feelings of the faithful laity, by an appeal to the mob.

"With the intent to exploit the passions of the people on being released from confinement he reached such a pitch of indecorous behaviour as, having proceeded at full speed to render ecclesiastical honour to the funeral of the popular Moscow priest Mecheva, to refuse to enter the 'defiled' church and to conduct the Pannychidi by the graveside. Again, when, two days after his release, he celebrated the Liturgy in the Donskoi Monastery, he received the 'foreign diplomatic corps' within the Bema and placed himself on his throne upon the Patriarchal Carpet, strewn with fresh flowers. From the moment, indeed, that the ex-Patriarch came out of prison, though deposed by the Synod, he ignored it and, proceeding to style himself and to act as 'Patriarch of Moscow and of All Russia,' became the promoter of faction, a schismatic, the leader of the Tikhonist party. Tikhon has thus separated himself from the Unity of the Church and has become the head of a sect or party, very large, it may be, in numbers, but subsisting only by subterfuge."

The author of this "Explanation," Antonin, has departed apparently into the country. Report has it that his departure bears the character of being made by no means of his own will but on the pressure of the Higher Political Ministry. According to recent news from Moscow Antonin has now fallen completely.

Ex-Protopresbyter Vedensky, one of the principal leaders of the "Living Church" has petitioned the Soviet Government to prohibit the Patriarch Tikhon and Bishop Ilarion to perform sacerdotal ministrations, on the ground that their great influence attracts thousands of worshippers and that cries are raised in the crowds, "The Patriarch has appeared, the Prince will appear."

The Soviet Press reports that the position and authority of the Patriarch continues to grow in strength.

When a film of the Patriarch Tikhon had to be withdrawn from the screens of the Moscow cinemas, the public protested everywhere and commenced a boycott of the theatres.

According to the communication of the *Russ Press* the Soviet authorities have forbidden public ministrations by the Patriarch Tikhon, except in such cases as their particular permission has been obtained. That prohibition is due to the fact that services in which the Patriarch takes part attract invariably vast crowds of the people, with the result that collision with the partisans of the Living Church, and of other groups attached to the Soviet Government, never fails to occur.

The Soviet authorities have seized the Patriarch's manifesto condemning the autocephalicity of the Church of the Ukraine.

In view of the growth of the Patriarch's popularity, all the modernising societies have decided to unite and to organise a common synod under the presidency of ex-Metropolitan Evdokim, who has issued a manifesto on their common behalf to the episcopate, clergy and laity of the Russian Orthodox Church.

An interesting article on the Patriarch Tikhon has been published by Shrom in the *Prager Presse*. In it he says that now that the storms round the person of the Patriarch Tikhon have subsided, it has become possible to give a summary of the events which are connected with his name. After giving a full and clear sketch of the troubles in the Russian Church, he declares that at the present time the Bolsheviks do not hinder the Patriarch from expressing his views, for they reckon that his manifestoes will provoke opposition on the part of the Living Church and so will cause still greater division in the Church."

"The opponents of Tikhon," Shrom tells us, "hold great propagandist processions

and aim, by their utterances, at winning as many converts as possible. The Soviet Government not only allows their agitation but supports it in its Press, while at the same time not preventing the Patriarch from expressing his views in any way he chooses. That attitude must not, however, be attributed to neutrality. Most assuredly the deepening of the ecclesiastical conflict and the increase of the divisions in the ranks of the Orthodox population are great interests of the government, and even more of the Communist Party.

Some local Soviet authorities take action to prevent the mention of the Patriarch Tikhon in the Church Services. Thus, for example, we have received official documents from Moscow which show that an enquiry made by the Parish Council of the Pokaovsky Kolomensky Church in Petrograd as to the mention of the Patriarch in divine service, was assured by the Procurator of the Petrograd Government, Comrade Azovsky, as follows: the Patriarch Tikhon is indicted for public offences, provided against in articles 57 and 67 of the Criminal Code and, therefore, "a fresh manifestation of his recognition by individual citizens in groups under a claim to the right of religious freedom, might give legal occasion for the renewed persecution of those guilty of complicity in counter-revolutionary actions, even though not implicated in that direct participation in the offences designated, which is provided for in Article 68 of the criminal code."

Further, the Procurator of the Government of Novgorod declared that "the matter of the mention of this or that person in the services as a matter of internal ecclesiastical discretion, is no concern of the Government at all. The solemn mention, however, in the *ektenie* or at the Great Entrance of known counter-revolutionaries, such, e.g., as the ex-Patriarch Tikhon, who is now under persecution, and his styling, "Our Lord," and so forth, passes the limit of simple prayer, and evidently belongs to the category of the approval of the known enemies of the Soviet Government. Therefore there must be no public mention whatever, in the *ektenie*, at the Great Entrance or at any time in the services of the Church, of known enemies of the Soviet Government, and among them is the ex-Patriarch Tikhon."

The above declaration threatens those who contravene it with three years' imprisonment with forced labour.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE PAPACY.

BY THE METROPOLITAN ANTHONY OF KIEV.

In view of the discussions which had appeared in Western periodicals, Anthony, Metropolitan of Kiev, was ffit to deliver a lecture in Belgrad on August 5th 28 in order to elucidate the conditions which, from the Russian standpoint, must precede the Union of the Orthodox and Roman Churches. In estimating the weight of his words it should be remembered that the famous Metropolitan presides over the Acting Synod for all Russians outside Russia, which was formed by him under the Patriarch Tikhon's commission in 1920 and over which he presides by the Patriarch's authority. Our translation of his own summary is from his Synod's official publication, Tserkovniya Vedomosti, of 15/28 October.

THE Church is one and has never been divided, but heretics and schismatics fell away from her in the first age, have fallen away since, and will fall away until the Lord's Second Coming. Therefore, there can be no question of Union with heretics and schismatics, but only of their restoration to union with the Church from which they fell away.

If the Roman Catholics should renounce their imaginings, then their restoration to union with the Church would be a matter for the greatest joy to the faithful and to the Holy Angels, not only for the sake of their souls' salvation but for the realisation of the

restored fulness of the Church's life to which our brethren of the West would bring that corporate ecclesiastical activity which is characteristic to them. In the circumstance of the renunciation by the Roman Catholics of their pseudo-dogmas, and in particular of that absurd one of them which ascribes Infallibility to the Pope in matters of Faith, the Holy Church, in restoring them to union with herself, would not only certainly restore to the Roman Primate that primacy which was assigned to him before his falling away into schism, but would probably invest him with such an authority in the Œcumenical Church as had never hitherto been assigned to him—inasmuch as that which he formerly possessed was confined to Western Europe and North-West Africa.

But such authority, assumed as being given to the Pope after his return to Orthodoxy, would be based, not on Roman fables about the Apostle Peter as chief over all the Apostles, about the succession of the Popes to the fulness of his imaginary authority, about indulgences, purgatory, etc., but in the practical need of ecclesiastical life by the force of which that life was gradually centralised: first, in the metropolitanates (from the third century) and then in the patriarchates (from the fourth and fifth centuries) with the result that the authority of the metropolitans and patriarchs in their areas was continually and gradually strengthened in proportion to the assimilation of the people to Christian culture. We admit for the future the conception of a single personal supremacy of the Church in consonance with the broadest preservation of the conciliar principle and on the condition that that supremacy does not pretend to be based on such invented traditions as the above, but only on the practical need of ecclesiastical life.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH.

BY HIS HOLINESS MAR TIMOTHEOS, ARCHBISHOP OF MALABAR.

Before actually proceeding to describe the present position of the Assyrian Church, it is evidently necessary to say a few words about its past so as to enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the actual change that has since then come upon it.

This ancient Church is to be designated, more correctly, as the "Church of the East." Its adherents are variously described in the West as "East-Syrians," "Nestorians" (?), "Chaldeans" and "Assyrians," but now, for our purpose, we will call them Assyrians, without attempting to investigate the propriety of each of the above terms.

It has been historically admitted in the East that the holy Apostles, Mar Thoma, Mar Adai (SS. Thomas and Thaddeus) and Mar Mari, brought the spiritual light of the Gospel into the regions of the Persian Empire; and it has been, from those Apostolic times, very faithfully preserved by them ever since.

After the reception of the Living Message of Salvation, this branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church began to progress by gigantic strides, in spite of the diverse vicissitudes she had to combat with; such was the prosperity that attended her in the meridian hour of her evangelical activities that she had large metropolitan sees and bishoprics, not only in her own country, but in those remote regions of India, Tibet, Central Asia, China, various islands, and probably even Japan; all the metropolitans of these arch-dioceses, with their numerous bishops, owed unswerving allegiance to their spiritual Head, His Holiness the "Catholikos Patriarch of the East," residing then in the Apostolic See of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Even the mighty Shah-in-Shah of Persia had to reckon the Patriarch, not only as a powerful religious Head, but as a temporal one as well; for it has been a peculiar feature of this Church that ever since the days of its existence, from the very first century till to-day, its interests, either religious or political, have been exclusively in the hands of the Patriarch; and hence it was that the Patriarch was reckoned as a temporal chief by the Emperor himself. Such was the greatness of this Church of the East, and such its power.

But just as smiling summer is followed by the biting cold and choking fog of melancholy winter, so also those times of Assyrian prowess and sway have been followed by periods of disaster and dismay to such a considerable degree that the very existence of the Church of the East has become almost obscure.

As a result of the famous Crusades, in which the sympathy of this Church was entirely on the side of western Christendom, she began to be crumpled and cowed down by the relentless persecutions and ruthless massacres of the Turks, the Kurds, the Persians and the Arabs. These determined to spend their revenging fury on their Christian neighbours for the sympathy they evinced for their fellow-brethren in the West; consequently the Assyrians were hunted out from the major portions of their own vast land and were constrained to, and hemmed in, that triangular area that lies between the lakes of Urmi and Van and the modern city of Mosul; till the year 1914—the memory of which date stirs horror in every mind—they clung to this plot. But with the outbreak of the world-war, even this spot was awfully threatened; for the Assyrians, regardless of consequences, threw in their lot with the Entente, their western brethren, from whom, by virtue of the promises made to them, they expected

freedom and immunity from the sanguinary atrocities and shocking hooliganism of the fanatic Islamites.

As the "Smallest Ally" of the Entente, the Assyrians fought admirably well, and merited the high encomiums of the British and other European military experts; in about sixteen battles, within the short period of some months, these sturdy veterans, like Horatius and his party, baffled every combined attempt of the Turk, the Kurd, and the Persian, backed up by German help. But they could not stand long; for they were soon outnumbered by the disciplined hosts of the foe; and ammunition ran short, while reinforcement was far from getting on the spot. So it was inevitably determined to begin a grand trek of the whole Assyrian population with its neighbours the Armenians; even this process could be accomplished only with the utmost tact and care of the British soldiers who were later on dispatched to relieve them; and nearly 50,000 homeless, penniless refugees were settled in the newly-pitched camps at Baquba, under the efficient supervision of Brigadier-General H. H. Austin.¹

After the signing of the Armistice, it was deemed possible that "Our Smallest Ally" would obtain her due recompense, by being repatriated and made free in her original home under the protection of Great Britain; but circumstances tended so unfavourably that every request for and attempt at the execution of this right scheme had to be suspended. The obvious outcome was, and is, that the members of this Ancient Church of the East, with their ecclesiastical dignitaries and other Christian fellow-men, became a large body of suffering wanderers in a strange land, with an inadequately remunerative soil and an unsuitable climate; while many more of them are scattered in the countries of Persia, Syria, Thrace, Russia, Greece, France and America. Since the beginning of the War many of their priests have died, having none to succeed them; their children have no regular schools or other institutions; they have not even churches to worship in; the majority of the ancient churches were razed to the ground, while the rest were converted into mosques. This is the result brought about by unchecked Turkish vandalism. Thus we see that the life of this Church is so inseparably interwoven with politics that the decay of the latter indispensably sounded the fearful death-knell of the former; and one fears very much that, unless the authorities, especially "this sceptred Isle," who are responsible towards the Assyrians, take immediately efficient steps to ameliorate adequately the present wretchedness, indigence, and suffering of these people, the final collapse of a once-powerful nation and in consequence one of the most ancient branches of the Apostolic Church, will soon be painfully realised.—Will not England respond?

¹ See the Baquba Camp, by Brig.-Gen. Austin, Faith Press, 1921.

PAPAL ROME AND THE ORTHODOX EAST.

BY MGR PIERRE BATIFFOL, CANON OF NOTRE
DAME DE PARIS, HON. D.Litt., Oxford.

In publishing this article we depart from the natural rule of accepting contributions only from Anglican, Orthodox or other Eastern writers. The exception, however, is justified abundantly, not only by the personal distinction of Monsignor Batiffol, but also by the fact that he was present to state the Roman position at the informal discussions, the third of their series, held between Anglicans and Roman Catholics last autumn at Malines, under the auspices of Cardinal Mercier and with "the cognisance" both of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Vatican—see his Grace's "Letter to the Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion," dated Christmas, 1923. Bishop Charles Gore, who shared also in the Malines discussions, has informed us of his willingness to comment on this article in our April number, and we anticipate that Prof. Glubokovsky will be found ready to do the same. Meanwhile, we should express our sense of the privilege accorded us by Mgr Batiffol.—EDITOR.

EN réponse à mon article, *Catholiques anglicans et Catholiques romains*, paru en français dans la *Revue des Jeunes* du 10 avril 1923 et en anglais dans le *Blackfriars* de juin, M. le Prof. Glubokovsky a donné au *CHRISTIAN EAST* de novembre un article d'une noble tenue intitulé *Papal Rome and Orthodox East*. Je ne pouvais avoir un contradicteur plus compétent et plus distingué que l'ancien professeur de l'académie ecclésiastique de Pétrograd, aujourd'hui professeur à l'académie ecclésiastique de Sofia, et bien connu parmi nous historiens pour son *Saint Théodoret, évêque de Cyr* (1890), le meilleur livre que l'on ait sur ce beau sujet, au jugement de M. Harnack.

M. Glubokovsky m'accorde que je m'établis sur le terrain des faits, et ce terrain nous est heureusement commun ; " nous abordons les faits avec la même méthode." Mais il nous arrive de ne pas en donner toujours la même interprétation. M. Glubokovsky ne sera pas surpris que je défende l'interprétation que j'ai proposée, et dont je voudrais lui montrer qu'elle est légitime sans y mêler de controverse confessionnelles.

En se séparant du Siège de Rome, en 1054, l'Eglise d'Orient s'est-elle trouvée, en ce qui concerne l'autorité de saint Pierre considérée comme se perpétuant dans l'Eglise de Rome, abandonner quelque chose qui aurait été antérieurement et un temps de sa doctrine ? A cette question Bishop Gore répond : Non, le catholicisme grec n'a pas professé une telle doctrine. Et M. Glubokovsky

rappelle que j'ai répondu : Oui, le catholicisme grec a répudié ce qu'il acceptait au temps du concile de Chalcédoine. M. Glubokovsky, quant à lui, abonde dans le sens de Bishop Gore. Tenons-nous à la question ainsi posée.

I.

M. Glubokovsky me prête cette présupposition que "*the Papacy in its present formation is entirely identical with that of the epoch of the seven Œcumenical Councils.*" J'ai à peine besoin de dire que cette affirmation massive n'est pas de mon cru. L'identité de la papauté à travers les siècles, comme de toute la constitution divine de l'Eglise, doit être entendue en fonction de la loi du développement. Et il faut en outre soigneusement distinguer ce qui appartient à la constitution divine de l'Eglise de tout ce qui est institution ecclésiastique contingente, comme les provinces, les métropoles, les patriarchats, les concordats, le sacré collège, etc. M. Glubokovsky a raison de dire cependant que nous nous appliquons à mettre en lumière "*the various historical facts asserting papal sole and exclusive primacy,*" et que de ces faits le premier est que "*the Easterns not seldom appealed to the Roman See, where such appeals were judicially examined and authoritative decisions on them promulgated.*"

M. Glubokovsky a raison encore de dire que nous inférons d'appels de cette espèce que l'évêque de Rome était censé posséder et ne doutait pas de posséder une compétence qui s'étendait à toute la catholicité et qui était une prérogative héritée de l'apôtre Pierre.

Le second fait serait, "*the dogmatic primacy of the Popes, inasmuch as all the Œcumenical Councils were expressions of the Papal will, and only from the Popes received their universal obligatory power over the Church.*" Je tiens à faire remarquer à M. Glubokovsky que je ne me suis pas arrêté à considérer le second fait.

II.

Les appels ont fait l'objet d'une étude de P. Bernardakis (1903) que j'ai citée, parce qu'elle est la plus complète que nous ayons, encore qu'elle pourrait être reprise et approfondie. Il conviendrait, de plus, de distinguer avec soin les appels qui s'adressaient à l'Occident des appels qui s'adressaient au Siège Apostolique en tant que tel. Mais pour tant qu'on insiste sur cette discrimination, il reste que, au Ve siècle et jusqu'à l'époque de Photius, des appels sont adressés d'Orient à l'évêque de Rome qui est saisi de jugements prononcés en Orient pour qu'il les revise. J'ai cité l'exemple caractérisé de l'appel formé contre les sentences du brigandage d'Ephèse de 449 par l'évêque de Constantinople Flavian, par l'évêque de Cyr Théodoret,

par l'évêque de Dorylée Eusèbe. J'aurais pu citer un exemple tout aussi caractérisé, celui de l'évêque d'Ephèse Iddua, en 437, accusé devant l'évêque de Constantinople et son concile, jugé et innocenté par ce tribunal, poursuivi alors à Rome par ses accusateurs, et le pape Xystus confirmant la sentence de Constantinople.

M. Glubokovsky reconnaît que ces appels sont des faits incontestables, mais il s'applique à leur enlever toute valeur canonique. Les appelants sont des "*persons grievously wronged and seeking re-establishment of their rights*"; ils appellent à Rome, "*because they had no other means available, as the authorities all over the East happened to be, at the time, inimical and persecuting*"; ils exaltent l'autorité du pape "*in order to secure for themselves a special importance of the Pope's verdicts*." Concédonsons-le. Mais quand M. Glubokovsky conclut que ces appels "*were neither constitutional nor regular, but extraordinary and sporadic*," nous avons le droit de lui dire: *sporadic*, oui; *extraordinary*, oui encore, car enfin bien des orientaux qui auraient pu appeler à Rome de sentences injustes de l'Orient, s'en sont abstenus; mais *neither constitutional nor regular*, non.

Sans doute aucun canon oriental ne prévoit les appels, à l'exception des canons de Sardique qui ne sont ni œcuméniques, ni orientaux, encore que Saint Athanase y ait collaboré. Mais aucun canon oriental, jusqu'à Photius, n'a interdit les appels.

Nous avons la preuve que, à Constantinople, autour de 440, on les tenait pour réguliers, puisque, à propos du recours à Rome de Saint Athanase déposé par les Ariens, les deux historiens grecs, tous deux hommes de loi, tous deux de Constantinople, Socrate et Sozomène, ce dernier bien en cour auprès de l'empereur Théodose II, déclare que c'est une loi ecclésiastique que soit invalide tout ce qui est prononcé contre la volonté de l'évêque de Rome: *Μὴ δὲν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίσειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας* (Socrat. II, 17). Si, comme le suppose M. Harnack, cette règle a été formulée par le pape Jules (*Dogmengeschichte*, t. II⁴, p. 102), combien il est remarquable que, cent ans plus tard, elle soit mentionnée comme un canon organique de l'Eglise par les deux historiens grecs de l'Eglise du temps de Théodose II!

Veut-on une autre preuve? Eustathe de Sébaste, déposé en 357 par un obscur concile de Mélitène, déposé une seconde fois avec plus d'éclat par les Ariens réunis à Constantinople en 360 autour de Constance II, vient à Rome en 366, se fait rétablir par le pape Libère, et revient en Orient avec la lettre qui le rétablit: saint Basile, de qui on tient le fait (*Epist.* CCLXIII, 3), ne trouve rien là que de régulier.

M. Glubokovsky insiste. Si, dit-il, les sentences d'appel prononcées à Rome avaient été souveraines et définitives, "*there would be no room for either revision or approval of them*." Or, dans le cas de

Théodoret, nous voyons le pape Léon relever l'évêque de Cyr de la sentence fulminée contre lui par le brigandage d'Ephèse, puis, "*the whole affair was submitted for re-examination at the Council of Chalcedon, which, alone, re-instated Theodoret*."

L'argument développé là n'est pas nouveau, car déjà Bossuet tire parti de cette sorte de revision par le concile d'une sentence prononcée par le pape (*Gallia Orthodoxa*, III, 18). En fait, les magistrats, qui d'ordre de l'empereur forment le bureau du concile, à Chalcedoine, invitent Théodoret à prendre séance, "parce que, déclarent-ils, le très saint archevêque Léon lui a rendu la dignité épiscopale et que le très divin et religieux empereur a ordonné qu'il prenne part au concile." Donc Théodoret est en règle. Mais son entrée soulève un tumulte. Les évêques de la faction de Dioscore (Egypte, Illyricum, Palestine) demandent son expulsion, sous prétexte qu'il est favorable à Nestorius. Les évêques du Pont, de Thrace, d'Asie, manifestent en sens contraire et crient: "A la porte Dioscore l'assassin." Le bureau supplie les évêques de s'apaiser, et pour concilier les deux factions décide que Théodoret prendra place au banc des accusateurs, et le calme revient. En somme, le bureau consent à ce que le cas de Théodoret soit réservé, non qu'il soit douteux, mais parce qu'il y a contre Théodoret une faction qui ne désarme pas. A la VIII^e session, Théodoret est requis d'anathématiser Nestorius, et il s'exécute. Le bureau prononce alors: "Tout doute est levé au sujet du très théophile Théodoret, puisqu'il a anathématisé devant nous Nestorius, et qu'il a été reconnu par le très théophile et très saint archevêque Léon de la vieille Rome. . . . Il ne reste plus à votre piété qu'à prononcer que Théodoret doit recouvrer son Eglise, ainsi que le très saint Léon a jugé." Les acclamations éclatent qui approuvent la proposition du bureau: "Théodoret est digne de son siège! Nombreuses années à l'archevêque Léon! Après Dieu Léon a jugé!" Peut-on dire après cela que, "*the whole affair was submitted for re-examination at the Council of Chalcedon, which alone reinstated Theodoret*"? C'est une exagération manifeste. On a accordé à une faction du concile, la faction qui était solidaire du brigandage d'Ephèse, que Théodoret rendrait raison de son orthodoxie: les légats du pape n'ont pas fait difficulté d'accorder cette satisfaction à la minorité du concile, nous ne pouvons être plus difficiles qu'eux.

M. Glubokovsky poursuit: "*The Church is thankful to the Popes for their historic services to Christianity, but to turn these services into a right of dogmatic domination, unsupported by prescript, over the whole Church, would be a seductive usurpation. . . . If P. Batiffol refers to the over-courteous, and even servile, style of the Eastern appeals to Rome, one must differentiate between convention and dogma, and*

not raise the first to the degree of the second." M. Glubokovsky a raison de dire que dans telles lettres d'appel d'Orientaux à Rome il y a des termes d'une déférence sujette à caution. Bishop Gore, dans l'article qu'il a écrit sur saint Léon pour le *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, a dit avec clairvoyance que Théodoret dans sa lettre d'appel met très en relief la primauté du siège de Rome, mais qu'il ne fonde pas cette primauté sur les prérogatives "on which Leo grounds his primacy." C'est une observation de valeur. Je ne pense pas que nous devions tirer parti, nous catholiques romains, des déclarations éloquentes, mais inadéquates, de lettres comme celles de Théodoret, de Flavien, d'Eusèbe de Dorylée, pas davantage des déclarations de Nestorius exaltant le pape saint Léon, "le siège de saint Pierre et l'honneur apostolique" dans son *Livre d'Héraclide* (éd. Nau, p. 302). Pareilles déclarations sont intéressées. Ce qui compte, la seule chose qui compte, c'est l'appel lui-même.

Car l'appel suppose à Rome une compétence, et cette compétence n'est nulle part ailleurs, et, supposé que les Orientaux ne se fassent pas de cette *potestas* une idée aussi nette que les Occidentaux, que les Romains, encore est-il qu'ils y recourent, et contre qui? contre des conciles d'Orient comme le brigandage d'Ephèse (ce nom de "brigandage" lui a été donné par saint Léon et lui est resté), c'est-à-dire un concile qui avait tous les dehors d'un concile général et qui avait pour lui le Basileus.

Nous pouvons donc conclure que M. Glubokovsky n'est pas fondé à écrire: "Thus we have arrived at the conclusion that the Eastern appeals to Rome did not mean that the Easterns accepted the primacy of the Popes."

III.

Venons au fait du concile de Chalcédoine. "It is impossible to suppose that the Popes dominated the Councils, the authority of which was higher than that of the Popes, who were thus bound to a certain subordination." En parlant ainsi, M. Glubokovsky ne tient pas compte de ce fait, d'abord, que dans un concile comme celui de Chalcédoine, l'évêque de Rome représenté par ses légats comptait au moins pour tout l'Occident, c'est-à-dire pour la moitié de la catholicité universelle. On ne peut pas parler de subordination de l'Occident envers l'Orient et prétendre que le concile était plus que le pape.

Donc, dès là que le concile prenait une résolution sans le pape ou contre le pape, il cessait d'être l'accord de l'Orient et de l'Occident, pour n'être plus œcuménique qu'au sens où *oikouménē* désigne les Etats du Basileus.

Un autre fait a été négligé par M. Glubokovsky qui est que le



The Abbot of the Coptic Convent of Jerusalem. The Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Bishop of Jerusalem. The Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem. Bishop McInnes. The Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Abbot of the Abyssinian Convent in Jerusalem.

concile de Chalcédoine a accepté que l'évêque de Rome s'affirme la tête de toutes les Eglises. " Nous étions là environ cinq cents, que tu conduisais comme la tête conduit les membres," dira au pape saint Léon la lettre synodale du concile. Voilà une subordination catégorique, consentie de la part des évêques orientaux envers l'évêque de Rome. Et cette fois ces évêques ne sont pas des persécutés, mais bien le catholicisme grec assemblé, unanime, maître de ses démarches et de ses déclarations. On pourra voir dans les *Theologica*, t. II (1921), p. 132-136, du P. d'Herbigny, le détail documentaire. Quant à la leçon qui s'en dégage, elle a été tirée par V. Soloviev, dans son livre ardent, *La Russie et l'Eglise universelle* (éd. franç. 1922, p. 181-202), qui montre comment le concile de Chalcédoine s'est incliné devant les revendications de saint Léon, loin de s'élever contre elles. Si saint Léon a été un usurpateur, écrit Soloviev, il faut accuser le concile de Chalcedoine de prévarication.

M. Glubokovsky me soupçonne d'avoir " *a good deal of trouble with the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon.*" Je puis le rassurer pleinement. C'est en effet me prêter une pensée qui n'est pas la mienne, que de dire que je tiens le 28e canon de Chalcédoine " *as having undoubtedly the value of a canon of an Ecumenical Council.*" Dès l'instant que le pape Léon (et l'Occident avec lui) repousse ce canon, comment pourrait-il lui donner cette valeur ?

Mais pourquoi le pape Léon le repousse-t-il ? Le pape ne prend pas ombrage de ce que les diocèses de Thrace, d'Asie, du Pont passent sous l'obédience de l'évêque de Constantinople, pas plus que du partage des provinces entre l'évêque d'Antioche et l'évêque de Jérusalem : ce sont là dispositions qui rentrent dans la compétence du concile, en tant qu'il est concile général d'Orient. La pensée de saint Léon est révélée par ce qu'en rapportent ses légats : ils ont dans leurs instructions de ne pas laisser violer la volonté des saints pères et amoindrir la personne du pape, et de ne pas tolérer que quelque évêque, fort de la prépotence de sa ville, essaie d'usurper. La volonté des saints pères est représentée par le 6e canon de Nicée, dans lequel on croit à Rome trouver consacrée une hiérarchie des sièges, qui fait de Rome le premier, d'Alexandrie le second, d'Antioche le troisième. Au fond, la vraie raison de saint Léon est qu'il se rend clairement compte que Constantinople tend à créer à son propre profit en Orient une primauté, et une primauté d'essence politique.

" Quel n'eût pas été son aveuglement, écrit Mgr Duchesne (*Hist. anc.* t. III, p. 464), s'il n'y avait pas discerné un grand danger pour l'unité de l'Eglise et pour la dignité de l'épiscopat grec ! A l'antique conception de la fraternité chrétienne présidée par l'Eglise apostolique de Rome, on était en voie d'en substituer une autre, celle de l'Eglise dirigée de la capitale par un prélat, que sa situation, souvent aussi son

origine et ses tendances d'esprit, plaçaient sous l'influence immédiate de la cour et du gouvernement. Et puis, allait-on pousser plus loin l'application de ce principe que l'évêque de la résidence impériale a droit à une juridiction souveraine? Transporté en Italie, cette notion de droit ecclésiastique n'allait à rien moins qu'à déposséder le siège de saint Pierre au profit de l'évêque de Ravenne."

M. Glubokovsky me reproche d'avoir dit que le 28^e canon "*put forward as a ground for the primacy of the Roman See the consideration that Rome was the capital of the Empire.*" M. Glubokovsky ne rend ni ma pensée, ni celle du 28^e canon. "Au siège de la vieille Rome, parce que cette ville est souveraine (*διὰ τὸ βασιλεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*), les pères ont à bon droit attribué la primauté (*τὰ πρεσβεία*), et dans le même dessein les 150 évêques (du concile de 381) ont accordé la même primauté (*τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεία*) au siège très saint de la nouvelle Rome . . . grande comme elle (la vieille Rome) dans les choses ecclésiastiques, étant la seconde après elle." Où voit-on que ce canon reconnaisse à la vieille Rome des "*prerogatives of Apostolic origin*," comme dit M. Glubokovsky?

Mais j'ai dit que le concile de Chalcédoine a demandé au pape Léon de confirmer le 28^e canon, spécialement. Pourquoi? Pour lui donner une autorité œcuménique? Pas n'était besoin, puisque le canon ne concernait que l'Orient, au même titre que tous les autres canons de Chalcédoine pour lesquels on ne demandait rien à Rome. En réalité, le 28^e canon est soumis à l'approbation du pape Léon, parce que dans l'*Actio* XVI du concile, le dit canon ayant été accepté par tous les évêques présents et aussi bien par le bureau qui représente l'empereur, le légat Lucentius a demandé que le dit canon fut repoussé, ou que l'on prit acte de sa protestation, et que nous sachions, dit-il, "ce que nous devons en référer à l'apostolique et précellent évêque de toute l'Eglise, afin que lui-même puisse juger de l'offense faite à son siège et de la transgression des (anciens) canons." Le premier mouvement du concile fut de ne rien entendre; puis il se ravisa; et la lettre synodale fut adressée à Rome, qui demandait au pape Léon de confirmer et les sentences doctrinales, et le canon 28. Le pape Léon refusa le canon. Dans ces conditions je ne comprends pas M. Glubokovsky écrivant: "*We prefer to remain in agreement with the Ecumenical Council, the validity of which is not denied by Rome itself.*" Rester d'accord avec le concile, c'est solliciter et recevoir le jugement de Rome sur le canon que le concile a soumis à Rome, et que Rome a rejeté.

IV.

M. Glubokovsky dans le paragraphe qu'il consacre à la question de savoir quelle primauté on trouve dévolue à saint Pierre dans le Nouveau Testament, résume sa pensée dans cet aphorisme: "*In my*

exegetic understanding there is no biblical justification for the papal claims during the time of the Ecumenical Councils."

Nous reconnaissons là l'exégèse négative que nous retrouvons embusquée dans tous les textes scripturaux qui peuvent avoir une portée dogmatique ou confessionnel; si ces textes sont authentiques, ils ne prouvent rien, mais s'ils prouvent quelque chose, ils ne sont pas authentiques! On peut échapper à ce dilemme, en tâchant de ne faire dire aux mots ce qu'ils disent, comme l'énonce Bishop Headlam à propos de Mat. XVI, 18-19, dans son livre *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion* (1920), p. 35, et comme s'applique à le pratiquer, par exemple, l'article, *Simon Peter* de Chase dans le *Dictionary of the Bible* de Hastings.

L'historien a aussi le droit de dire que l'histoire subséquente éclaire la signification de textes qui sans elle resteraient obscurs.

Le cardinal Newman a écrit que des paroles du Sauveur comme "Sur cette pierre je bâtirai mon Eglise," sont des prophéties et des promesses, "*promises to be accomplished by Him who made them, prophecies to be fulfilled according to the need, and to be interpreted by the event, by the history.*" et par histoire Newman entend, non pas l'histoire apostolique, celle qui est racontée dans les Actes des Apôtres, mais l'histoire ecclésiastique, celle du IV^e et Ve siècles. *An Essay on the Development*, éd. 1878, p. 196. Nous ne construirions pas l'institution de l'épiscopat monarchique sur les textes du Nouveau Testament qui nous parlent des *ἐπίσκοποι* de l'âge apostolique, mais l'épiscopat monarchique a son anticipation, sa justification, dans ces textes. Il en est de même du privilège apostolique revendiqué et exercé par les papes: il se raccorde à la primauté de l'apôtre Pierre, qui en est l'anticipation et qui l'autorise.

Voilà ce qu'un historien peut et doit dire, en laissant aux exégètes l'exégèse. C'est dans cette perspective historique que j'ai considéré le texte 1 Cor. i, 12, que je persiste à croire beaucoup plus significatif que ne le croit M. Glubokovsky. Si besoin était, je le renverrais au travail du P. Roiron, "Saint Paul témoin de la primauté de Pierre," *Recherches de science religieuse*, 1913, p. 489-531.

V.

Le dernier paragraphe de M. Glubokovsky n'a plus guère trait à des considérations d'histoire, et rentre un peu trop pour mon goût dans la manière polémique. Je me dois cependant de répondre à un reproche qui m'est adressé. J'ai dit, en effet, que la prérogative propre au pape ne supprime pas la prérogative et l'utilité du concile œcuménique.

Les théologiens catholiques, en effet, enseignent que le pape ne peut toucher à la constitution divine de l'Eglise. Le pape ne peut donc supprimer l'épiscopat, qui appartient à cette constitution

divine, ni supprimer la fonction de cet épiscopat *in magisterio et regimine ecclesiastico*.

M. Glubokovsky semble croire que les conciles œcuméniques appartiennent à la constitution divine de l'Eglise : ils n'appartiennent qu'au *Kirchenrecht* ! Ils ne sont pas, en effet, une institution du Christ ou des apôtres. Leur *magisterium* est le *magisterium* collectif de l'épiscopat universel, en y comprenant l'évêque de Rome, et l'assistance du Saint Esprit qu'ils revendiquent est celle qui est promise à cet épiscopat universel.

Mais, poursuit M. Glubokovsky, supposé le pape infaillible, le concile œcuménique sans le pape n'a pas "*the decisive voice in Church affairs*." Nous l'accordons sans difficulté.

Donc, conclut M. Glubokovsky, "*Councils, fully such as the Ecumenical Councils, have no room at all in the present system of the Papacy*." M. Glubokovsky ne conçoit le concile que souverain, nous le concevons coordonné, coordonné à l'autorité du pape, en l'absence duquel il ne s'assemble pas.

Alors le concile n'est pas libre ! Non, il n'est pas libre, si le pape s'est prononcé *ex cathedra* sur la question soumise au concile, mais l'hypothèse est vaine. En réalité, le concile est consulté sur une question qui n'a pas été définie *ex cathedra*, il l'examine, il la discute : on a vu au concile de Trente la question de la souveraineté du pape mise à l'ordre du jour par les légats, et retirée, parce que le concile ne s'accordait pas sur la formule proposée. On peut voir dans les procès verbaux du concile du Vatican quels amendements les définitions ont subis avant d'être fixées.

Cette coordination a toujours été la règle, même au temps où saint Léon faisait précéder le concile de Chalcédoine de sa lettre à Flavien, c'est du moins le jugement du Cardinal Bellarmin en personne, dont Bossuet s'irrite à tort (*Gallia Orthodoxa*, III., 7, 18.) Si M. Glubokovsky veut bien consulter la *Collectio Lacensis*, t. VII (1890), p. 286 et 397, il verra qu'au concile du Vatican on a discuté la question de savoir quelle serait la condition des futurs conciles œcuméniques, et fortement affirmé, soit l'utilité, soit la liberté, qu'on leur reconnaît.

Un dernier mot : M. Glubokovsky oppose, en terminant, ce qu'il appelle "*the ascending progress*" du catholicisme romain à ce qu'il appelle "*the order of the Ecumenical Councils*," et il déclare que la papauté "*with its all-engulfing supremacy will remain an unsurmountable obstacle to our reunion with Roman Catholicism*." Non, il n'est pas d'obstacle insurmontable à la réalisation des desseins de Dieu sur son Eglise. Le jour où M. Glubokovsky découvrirait, comme Soloviev, que la *potestas* papale rentre dans l'*order of the Ecumenical Councils*, ainsi qu'en témoigne le concile de Chalcédoine, la réunion du catholicisme oriental au catholicisme romain serait bien près de s'accomplir.

THE KALENDAR

WITH SOME CONSIDERATIONS AGAINST A FIXED EASTER

BY

THE REV. H. A. BOYS, F.R.Met.S., CHAPLAIN AT PATRAS, GREECE, 1870-75.

IT is difficult to believe that there has been any serious demand for a fixed Easter from those who regard Good Friday and Easter Day as the commemoration of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord, and who so keep those days ; that is to say, from practising Christians in England ; still less from those in Europe, or in any other part of Christendom.

The strength of the cry has come from our own urban population, from those who are thinking about a statutory holiday, irrespective of any religious commemoration. They take it for granted that their statutory holiday will be at Easter, and they want longer days and warmer weather for their holiday makers. This cry is, therefore, loud in England, but nowhere else. It finds no echo in Presbyterian Scotland. On the Continent, May 1st is already in possession as a public holiday, by no means of Christian character.

But, though the cry for a fixed Easter did not come from Christians as such, when once the question had been raised, some among ourselves have been asking whether, after all, it might not be a good thing to have a fixed rather than a changing Easter. The second Sunday in April has been suggested, in the belief that the Resurrection took place actually on April 9th.

Our State Authority is no doubt fully competent to ordain a statutory holiday in England on any date that it thinks desirable. It is *not* competent to shift the date of Good Friday and Easter Day. That is a matter for the Church. And in this the Church of England cannot act by herself. This religious commemoration belongs to all Christendom : and a fixing of Easter by anything less than the whole of Christendom could only further increase our unhappy divisions.

There would be considerable gain in one direction, though loss in another, if our State would altogether separate its statutory holidays from Good Friday and Easter, and also from Whitsuntide, and would appoint a new one on and about St. George's Day, April 23rd (not till 1943 would this clash with Good Friday) ; and another on June 22nd, the Coronation Day of our present King, which would make a more appropriate " Empire Day " than May 24th, and never clash with feast or fast of the Church. In such case, too, the Patron Saint of England would no longer be the least regarded of the four Patron Saints of the British Islands !

It will be questioned seriously by many whether even the whole Church could *rightly* sever the connection between the Christian Passover and that other divinely-appointed Passover ordained in Egypt more than 3,000 years ago on a lunar basis. But for so momentous a change there ought certainly to be required nothing *less* than a consensus of all those bodies of Christians which *do* keep Easter. Those who do *not* may, without offence, be left out of our reckoning.

In the early days of Christianity, when the rule for Easter had yet to be decided, two ways were open.

It could be kept on the fourteenth day of the Jewish lunar month Nisan, *with* the full moon, *i.e.*, on differing days of the week.

Or, it could be kept always on the first day of the week, which meant the Lord's Day, following the Paschal moon.

Each of these methods was extensively in use, though the second in time prevailed.

In the third century it was ruled that Easter Day must in no case coincide with the Jewish Passover, but must be deferred a whole week, if necessary, to avoid such coincidence.

But no one in those early days ever so much as thought of tying Easter to a fixed

date in the Solar Kalendar, *e.g.*, to April 9th, or the Sunday following. And this was *not* because the Christian Church did not *know* of the Solar Kalendar, nor because it did not *use* it.

It will be well, however, now to consider the Solar Kalendar before going further into the Easter question.

A preliminary digression concerning the clock may here be helpful.

Primitive mankind had no conception of accurately calculated hours.

In Northern Rhodesia to-day the natives are perfectly content with the following terminology.

"When elephants pull down trees," *i.e.*, before dawn.

"The first cock-crowing."

"The first appearance of the sun"—the day spring: *Ngwa-ngwa-ngwa*.

"The sun overhead," *i.e.*, noon.

"When the sun says 'Shoo,'" *i.e.*, sunset.

"When the leopards cry," *i.e.*, dusk.

In the Bible one finds 12 hours to the day, reckoned from sunrise to sunset, these necessarily of varying length, according to the season. No precision was possible so long as an hour was the twelfth part of a day that varied in length from summer to winter. The nearer to the Equator the less was the variation, and the less it mattered.

But as civilization spread northward, and the difference between the summer day and the winter day increased, till the one was double of the other, and more than double, observing man was driven to seek a more accurate method. He soon found that noon, which he could determine with very fair precision, gave him the unvarying starting point that he wanted. From this he could reckon to midnight, and henceforward he could enjoy twelve hours of unvarying length from midnight to noon, and other twelve from noon to midnight; and accurate computation of time became possible. Witness the magnificent mediæval clock at Strasbourg and that at Glastonbury (still in good working order in Wells Cathedral). Quite recently it was further found that the days so reckoned were subject to a very small variation; and man has now made clocks which keep more *uniform*, one must not say *better*, time than the sun itself.

As with the clock, so it has been, and yet will be, with the Solar Kalendar.

Primitive man, with short memory, reckoned by moons. He lacked artificial light, so moonlight was of considerable importance to him. But civilized man in Egypt, Babylonia, or Crete—the builders of Stonehenge, also—soon found that it was necessary to determine the length of the year; and that meant to find out the longest and shortest days.

Close to the Equator this would be very difficult, but between, say, Lat. 25° and 40° it was easy enough.

Even in Hampshire I have been able, in the short space of two years, to determine very nearly which is the shortest day, by the simple process of watching the sunset from my study window! I have seen it setting behind a ridge less than a mile away—its point of disappearance working sensibly more and more south, till about December 19th it had apparently reached its limit, and by December 24th had begun to work northward. This in our misty and cloudy climate!

But in the clear air and sunny skies of the Mediterranean, how great the advantage to the observer! Unclouded skies the rule, rather than the exception; clear-cut horizons of jagged mountain 40, 60 or 100 miles distant. From Patras in Greece I have watched the point of sunset travelling along the mountain backbone of Leucadia, Cephalonia, and Zante, 60 or 70 miles distant; from Algiers the point of sunrise travelling in like manner along the Atlas range, 30 or 40 miles away.

Nor could the sudden glory of the "day spring," once seen thus, be ever forgotten. Then the full meaning flashed upon one of that phrase in the Benedictus—"The day spring from on high hath visited us." Think of Zachariah travelling so often along the high ridge of the hill country of Judæa between Hebron and Jerusalem, beginning

his journey at dawn, and looking across the deep abyss of the Dead Sea to where, behind the hard outline of the mountains of Moab, the red glory of the Eastern sky grew every moment more intense, till the first rays of the sun himself glittered on that distant horizon, and it was day.

Observant men in Egypt, Chaldea, and Crete (there must have been many), or later in Greece, could not have failed in a few years to ascertain very nearly exactly the extreme points of sunrise and of sunset to north and to south.

These once settled, they had got—what corresponded to noon and midnight in the reckoning of the day—the true starting-points, *viz.*, the longest and shortest days—Midsummer and Midwinter.

The other two Solar Epochs, the Vernal and Autumnal Equinoxes are *not* equidistant from the longest and shortest days, but are appreciably nearer to Midwinter. This it would have been less easy for them to discover.

If the year had consisted of an exact number of days, say 364, the rest would have been easy. But it is not so. The Creator has given to us a course of nature in which nothing *does* fit exactly. Astronomical periods are incommensurate one with another. Days do not fit with lunar months; and neither days nor lunar months fit with solar years. The History of the Kalendar is that of a slow struggle, for thousands of years, to discover and adjust the small misfittings. The exact number of days in the year *cannot* be expressed—not with twenty places of decimals!!

I have been at pains to lay stress on all this, in order to show how easily and how naturally the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, or *Etruria* could have developed a Solar Kalendar with the summer and winter solstices as points of reckoning. It would not be quite exact. Indeed, I would *postulate* such a kalendar for Etruria, centuries before the foundation of Rome, which had slowly got wrong by nine or ten days, exactly as the Julian Kalendar, in later times, *did* get wrong, till in the infancy of the Roman State King Numa, according to tradition, issued an edition of it, some features of which have lasted till now, and which bears eloquent witness against a superstition by which modern Europe has been obsessed. It would almost seem to have become a fixed belief to-day among the white races that when the world was created January 1st was, by Divine ordinance, appointed to be New Year's Day! Whereas January 1st for New Year's Day is, in fact, a fond thing, recently accepted, founded on no certain astronomical principle, but rather repugnant to the scientific mind—and I may add, to the Christian mind also.

The Romans were, like the English, a practical conquering people. If they had been blessed with a cumbersome system of weights and measures like our own, and if the Greeks had evolved a clear and consistent one like the Metric system, we may be certain that rather than make the effort to adopt that simple and easy method, the Romans would still have clung to their own laborious and inconsistent scheme. Their mind was not scientific, and their Kalendar was, in later days, an appalling jumble. What with their Kalends, Nones and Ides in every month, their years *many* days too short, their extra months frequently intercalated by incompetent and corrupt officials, it must have been as difficult to know whereabouts in the year they were, as to do arithmetic with Roman numerals! Yet our Kalendar is built on that of Rome, not on that of the clearer-headed Greeks.

We owe to Numa a continual reminder of our perversity in making January the first month of our year. He gave to his seventh month the accurate description "September." We make it our ninth month, and still call it "September"; and so with October, November and December. He began his year with March; and how near to, or how far from, the Vernal Equinox that may have been in his day it is impossible now to say. By degrees *names* for the months took the place of *numbers*, and in the days of Julius Cesar, "March," "April," "May," and "June," had supplanted the first four numbers. Then came Quintilis, Sextilis, and so on to December, with two names, January and February, to finish.

During the latter days of the Roman Republic the Kalendar was drifting into more and more hopeless confusion. The 1st of March had got to be in early winter! and in 46 B.C. Julius Caesar, now become absolute ruler, took the Kalendar in hand. He had the sense to employ the brains of the Greek Sosigenes, and the power to enforce his conclusions. To restore the original standard, between 80 and 90 extra days were added to that year, which had 445 days, and was known, not unjustly, as the Year of Confusion!!

To Sosigenes we owe the introduction of Leap Year. He had learned that the length of the year was very nearly 365½ days. So, by giving 365 days to the year, with the provision that every fourth year should have 366, he adjusted the days to the solar year with very fair accuracy, and we owe him a deep debt of gratitude. He seems to have known that his adjustment was not quite perfect, and that in the future some correction would be necessary, but with the means at his disposal he did all that was then possible.

He also arranged the lengths of his months on a sensible consistent plan. To March he gave 31 days, to April 30, to May 31, to June 30, and so on alternately; but his final month, February, could only in Leap Year enjoy its full 30, having in ordinary years to be content with 29. Julius Caesar changed the name of the fifth month Quintilis, calling it "July" after himself, and the new Julian Kalendar came into force in the year 45 B.C.

But this easily-remembered and consistent arrangement was badly marred, some twenty years later, by the vanity of Augustus, who named the sixth month, Sextilis, after himself—"August"; and, not content to have his month any shorter than that of his Uncle Julius, decreed 31 days to August, shifting the thirty-ones and the thirties of the next four months, and robbing poor February of yet another day!

These foolish alterations in a wise original we still retain.

Common sense would seem to require that the extra day of the Leap Year should be at the end of the twelfth month. To have it, as we do, at the end of the *second* month, is a manifest absurdity. But it is no easy matter to make out how January 1 got to be treated as New Year's Day. Possibly it was so treated at first for *some* purposes only; just as we make our financial year begin in April, our agricultural year at Michaelmas, although our Kalendar year begins with January.

But, as a matter of fact, both before and after the Christian era there were many, bewilderingly many, different dates in use as New Year's Days. One of these, of wide use during a long period, reckoned the new year to begin near to Michaelmas.

The Christian Church looked with suspicion for fifteen centuries on January 1 for New Year's Day as of Pagan origin, and sought after something to correspond better with the Jewish month "Nisan." "This month shall be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you." Even so, there were many varying usages in Christian countries, yet it may be broadly stated that, up to 1582, Lady Day became *more and more* the New Year's Day of Christendom.

The Julian Kalendar involved error as to the length of the solar year to the extent of three days in four centuries, so that in the 16th century the error had got to be no less than ten days. Observing ecclesiastics, Roger Bacon for one, had discovered the increasing error, but they were before their time.

In 1582, however, Pope Gregory XIII. was in a position to follow the example of Julius Caesar. He called to his aid the best scientific brains of his day—this time mainly Italian brains—got rid of the ten days' error by jumping from October 4 to October 15, ruled that in future the last year of each century should not be a leap year unless the number of the century were divisible by 4. Thus 1600 was to be a Leap Year, but 1700, 1800, 1900 were not to be so.

1600 was a Leap Year, and so the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian Kalandars, which now began to be called "New Style" and "Old Style," continued to be ten days until 1700, and then became 11.

Italy, France, Spain and Portugal adopted the Gregorian Kalendar immediately; within five years most of Western Europe, including some Protestant States, Prussia and Holland, had accepted it. England was, alas! the very last to submit to astronomical truth! Not till 1752 did she fall into line, and then not wisely. For the jump of eleven days was made in September, from the 4th to the 16th, much to the perplexity and wrath of the multitudes, who thought that their lives were being shortened! Mobs paraded the streets, shouting, "Give us our eleven days." That perturbation was soon over, but September was the very worst month in which to make the change. For it was just before Michaelmas rents were due! So it was conceded that the rents need not be paid till October 11. A reasonable provision for that one year. But it was allowed to stand permanently! And we have been saddled ever since with such misleading terms as Old Michaelmas Day, Old Christmas Day; and hence it is that the financial year of the English State ends with April 5. It came from the English dislike of doing anything with logical completeness.

With the Gregorian Kalendar came also the adoption of January 1 for New Year's Day. Till 1752 the New Year in England had begun with Lady Day. A look at the Old Register in almost any one of our villages, at the years before and after 1752, is enough to prove this conclusively.

Awkward, no doubt, to have a year beginning inside a month, or rather to have a month running into two years! Yet the year was right, or nearly so. It was the *months* that were wrong. The Julian reformation of the Kalendar had done its work thoroughly, and did as much as could then be done. The Gregorian reform was not thorough, and scrapped what was nearly right, the year, and perpetuated what was certainly wrong, the monthly arrangements. When there *had* to be a complete upset of the general ideas, it would have been hardly more difficult to carry the thing right through, than to leave it half done. England in 1752 did but fall into line with the rest of Europe, and could do nothing else.

But there has always been a tendency in Italy to hark back to Pagan Rome. It was seen in Rienzi; it is seen in Mussolini to-day; and it was so in 1582. The Pagan spirit of the Renaissance, the artistic scepticism of Leo X., had left their mark in Italy, and this may have had a great deal to do with re-establishing January 1 as New Year's Day.

The dates of the four solar epochs in the year 1923 were March 21, June 22, September 24, December 22. They are subject to a slight variation.

Now it is evident that the old Christian Quarter Days were very much nearer to the Solar Epochs than are January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1. They *may* have been an attempt, and for what we call the Dark Ages an exceedingly good attempt to regulate the four quarters of the year in accordance with the four Solar Epochs.

A great opportunity was lost when Gregory XIII. did *not* adjust his months to the Solar Kalendar. That harking back to Pagan Rome meant the survival of the unfittest!

Yet the ideal civil Kalendar, suitable to the whole civilized world, Christian and non-Christian, is bound to work from the summer and winter Solstices, and not from dates ten days too late. It *will* come in due time, unless our whole modern civilization perishes, as did those of the former ages.

I said that England was the last of the Western European nations to adopt the Gregorian Kalendar. Yet in Italy itself one city stood out even longer. Venice stoutly maintained the Julian Kalendar—old style—till 1797; influenced, of course, by its intercourse with the Eastern Mediterranean.

For the Orthodox Eastern Church, fallen from the high political estate it had held in 1054—the year of the Great Schism; prostrate under the Turk ever since 1453, still held tenaciously to its ancient rules. In the days of her distress the attitude of Rome had been that of a cruel stepmother, and the old disputes were more embittered

than ever. The Greek found the domination of the Italian more evil than that of the Turk, and he had but too much experience of each. No great wonder that the Eastern Church would not so much as look at the Gregorian corrections, and went on as before by "Old Style," ten days wrong up to 1700, eleven days wrong in the 18th century, twelve days wrong in the 19th century, so that when I lived in Greece, 1870 to 1875, we were keeping Epiphany on the day that the Greeks kept Christmas. All our letters had to be double dated. Since 1900 the error has been thirteen days.

In 1582 Russia did not count; but during the 18th century she became the overwhelmingly predominant member of the Eastern Church. The quick-witted Greeks *might* have abandoned Old Style long ago, perceiving that that was a purely astronomical question, not an ecclesiastical one at all; but the Russians were not willing to change. The Czar could, perhaps, have effected the change in 1900, but that golden opportunity was lost.

New, in the days of common calamity for all the nationalities of the Orthodox Church, the question has again been raised in real earnest. Serbians, Bulgarians, Roumanians and Greeks made haste to agree, each by its own State action, several months ago, to adopt New Style for civil purposes.

A Pan-Orthodox Congress at Constantinople in May last officially accepted New Style, on behalf of the Church, *subject* to agreement in the several countries, and the change *was* to have taken effect on October 1.

The dates in East and in West were to be henceforward the same. We should keep Christmas together, and all the other fixed Feasts that we have in common. Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the Feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, and now we may add those of S. Mary Magdalene and the Transfiguration. These are rather Commemorations than Anniversaries.

But what of the movable Feasts? East and West have all along had the same rule to determine the Paschal Moon. But if our own Paschal Moon came on any date prior to April 2 in the last century, or to April 3 in this, it was not yet March 21 by Old Style.

That meant that the Easterns had to wait for the *next* full moon, and so our Easters had to be four weeks apart, and it might even be five. Thus, in 1871, East and West were keeping Easter together on April 9; but in 1872 our Paschal Moon came in March, so our Easter was on March 31, and that of the Greeks on April 28.

But when once the Eastern Church has adopted New Style our Paschal Moons will always be the same.

It is no wonder that people have jumped to the conclusion that our *Easters* also will always be the same; and that therefore there will be a higher probability that a Christendom united on this point, may go yet further to agree to a fixed Easter.

But here is a great mistake. Though the Eastern Rule for determining the Paschal Moon is the same as the Western, theirs for fixing Easter Day is different in an important particular from ours.

They have, over and above our rule, a special stipulation that the Christian Passover must not coincide with that of the Jews. When it would do so, Easter Sunday must be put a week later. And this was ordained, not for the first time, by no less authority than that of the First Œcumenical Council, that of Nicæa in 325.

So it happened in 1873; our Easter, April 13, theirs, April 20. So again in 1874; ours on April 5, theirs on April 12.

The *Παράκλησις* published in 1870 for the Eastern Church, covering 68 years, 1870-1937, shows our Easters falling together 20 times, and 30 times differing by one week. Had New Style been adopted in 1870, our Easters would have fallen together 34 times in that period, and 34 times would have been one week apart. But if we had then adopted April 9 or the following Sunday for a Fixed Easter, then our Easters would have coincided only 9 times in those 68 years.

This is not a question for the Astronomer at all, but for the historian and the ecclesiastic.

Is then the Eastern Church *likely* to alter its ancient historical rule for determining Easter Day?

That Pan-Orthodox Congress at Constantinople had before it many questions of Reform, some *very sweeping*. The acceptance of the Gregorian Kalendar was a foregone conclusion, and was carried through, though only as a *recommendation*, at once. But on the others, the historical, the ecclesiastical, questions there was, there *had* to be, deliberation. Everything had to be referred back to the Church authorities of the several countries. It may take years, it *ought* to take years, to come to conclusions which will command unanimous acceptance. We English, in peace and safety at home, have already spent 17 years in seeking for some Prayer-Book Revision which shall command general assent, and that for English-speaking people only.

How much more must the Eastern Church, under terrors of massacre, of relentless persecution, almost of annihilation, require time over any measure which will affect so many *races*!

It will be remembered how, at the instigation of the Turkish authorities, a mob of the vilest scum of the rabble of Constantinople broke into the seat of the Patriarchate, the Phanar, and attempted to carry off the Patriarch Meletios. How Meletios managed to telephone to the English authorities, who sent help just in time to prevent his abduction, either by the mob, or by a bland Turkish official who had a motor in readiness to convey him—whither?

How that was the end of the Congress: how Meletios was no longer safe in Constantinople: how thankful we were to hear later that he had arrived safely at Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain, at once the Sanctuary and the Citadel of the Orthodox Church.

Yet even *at* the Congress some dissentient voices were raised, especially from Palestine, where the rivalry, hostility indeed, between West and East, Latin and Greek, has always been most acute.

In 1922 there was a Meeting at Rome of the International Astronomical Union, to consider the Ideal Kalendar of the future, which has already been mentioned. In August, 1923, there was sitting at Geneva a Conference in connection with the League of Nations, also considering Kalendar questions.

That it might be able to deal also with the *Easter* question three Representatives were sent from the Eastern, the Latin, and the Anglican Churches. These were Professor Eginitis, Director of the Observatory at Athens, an Astronomer; Father Gianfranceschi, of the Vatican; and the Rev. Theodore Phillips, Rector of Headley, Surrey, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Phillips is also an eminent astronomer.

Astronomically, therefore, they were very strong, but historical investigation hardly came within their province: and they were content to go slowly. Their discussion was of an explorative nature, to find out what was possible or desirable.

They had before them a proposal for a Kalendar Reform which "should place January 1 on the day now actually occupied by December 22," *i.e.*, make the year begin with the winter solstice, as Julius Cæsar possibly, and Gregory XIII. certainly, might have done.

Of this Ideal Kalendar no more need now be said.

But how is the proposal for fixed Easter likely to be received in the East? The change from Old Style to New, if presented quite by itself, might have had some chance. If once adopted, and *if* the precise date for the change were sensibly chosen, making the jump, say, in October, as Gregory XIII. did in 1582, so that people should have got used to the change well before Christmas, then in a very little time the multitude would have forgotten that there had been a change! Christmas Day would still be called December 25.

Then one first step to a highly desirable accord between East and West would

have been taken. Then the way would have been paved for the ideal civil Kalendar.

But remembering our own past, how it took us 170 years to become reconciled to that same change, we ought to be the *last* to complain if the oriental Christians do not at once open their mouths to swallow a somewhat unintelligible pill.

And if the one really desirable alteration is saddled with the odium of a violent change in the historical and ecclesiastical province, in a matter that has nothing to do with astronomy, what can be expected to come of it? From within the Anglican and Roman Communions a very strong opposition to a Fixed Easter may be looked for. The Eastern Church is even less likely to approve it.

The much-hoped-for and simple change from Old Style to New has not yet been accepted *in fact* by any portion of the Orthodox Church. Too much is being attempted at once. The desirable reform will be prejudiced by being identified with a Fixed Easter.

The Anglo-Orthodox Entente will be endangered. Who but ourselves will be accused of having set this dangerous ball rolling? Till now the Easterns have understood that we have inherited from the Latins the rule that allows Christians to keep Passover simultaneously with Jews, and they have not held us responsible for it. And as to "Old" and "New" Style, they have been perfectly aware that "New" was right; so there again they had no complaint against us.

But if they have to charge us, and that justly, with being the prime movers in a gratuitous disturbance of the ancient system, and that for reasons of quite secondary and wholly mundane character, they may rightly hold us responsible; and so, for the first time, a difference of *our own making* will have arisen between them and ourselves.

Those who most reverence Good Friday and Easter look upon the Jewish and Christian Passovers as parts of one Divinely ordered scheme, whereby the true significance of the former, though veiled from the Jews through all the centuries up to the fulfilment in Christ, became manifest in the latter, not by a series of chance coincidences, but as so designed from the beginning in the counsel of God.

No opinion has been expressed in these pages for or against that Latin rule which allows the Jewish and Christian Passovers to be kept simultaneously. The Orthodox rule, while distinguishing the one from the other, at all events maintains their connection. A Fixed Easter would go far to destroy it.

Another mischief even worse may follow. In the Eastern Church there has always been a small pro-Roman wing, and it has never been too scrupulous. In the days of our Charles I. it intrigued against the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, because of his negotiations with Archbishop Laud, and persuaded the Sultan Amurath IV. to order his execution. It is always ready to denounce any overtures to the Anglican Church as necessarily involving the negations of Calvinism; and there is always a large body of sincere and scrupulously Orthodox believers who are ready to take alarm, and really not without some reason.

Among the Romans not all are like the noble Cardinal Mercier, whose generosity to Orthodox students was recorded in the *CHRISTIAN EAST* for November. But we have no right to complain if other Romans do all they can to prevent any concordat between the Easterns and ourselves. To such a Fixed Easter will be a veritable Trump Card, which they will know but too well how to play.

A "Fixed Easter" will do nothing to forward, but may do much to hinder the Reunion of Christendom.

THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

BY THE REV. CANON E. F. BROWN OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY MISSION.

IT is rather a sad reflection that Christianity in India dates, if not from the time of the Apostles, at any rate from the third century onward. A definite date is given by Eusebius who says that Pantenus went there in 189, and found traces of a previous visit from the Apostle Bartholomew. The Christians of Malabar, however, claim St. Thomas as the founder of their Church. Volumes have been written on this question, and in the absence of decisive evidence it must remain open, but he would be a brave man who would venture to express a doubt in Malabar itself. The absence of a genius for history, characteristic of the Hindu—perhaps it is due to the white ant—is shared by their Christian neighbours, and the result is that no history of this Church before the sixteenth century has been written, and if written it has not survived. Consequently we have to be satisfied with such occasional gleams of light as are now and then cast on it from external sources.

One of these gleams is of special interest for Englishmen. The Saxon Chronicle and William of Malmesbury both state that King Alfred sent an embassy to the shrine of St. Thomas in India. Unfortunately they do not say definitely whether the embassy arrived. It is, however, of good omen that our great and large-hearted king should have wished a thousand years ago to get into touch with these Christians of the East, and the Church of England may thus claim to have a traditional friendship with that of India.

These scattered notices lead up to the fact that in the sixteenth century the Church in Malabar had an established position of its own, but that it had completely ceased to be a missionary body. This was due to the peculiarly Indian institution of Caste. The Christians had won from the Hindus recognition of their status as a high-caste Society, and wherever that claim is made it follows of necessity that no one from outside can be admitted to the body. In the first instance the claim seems to have been grudgingly admitted by the Hindus, but had they foreseen its effect in paralysing all efforts at expansion, they would have been only too eager to admit it. As one looks back upon its result it suggests an acuteness which is literally diabolic. The present writer once paid a visit to Malabar and fell one day into conversation with some fishermen—low-caste people—coming up from the sea. After talking to them for some time he asked them whether they did not wish to become Christians like their neighbours. They replied that they wished it very much, but those neighbours would never allow it.

The term "Syrian" requires explaining. The Church is entirely composed of natives of India of the Malayalam race—a race which has close affinities with the Tamils of India and the Telugus of eastern and central India. But they owe allegiance to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and their Service Order and Bible are all in Syriac—a language which their clergy have painfully to acquire in order, it would seem, to cause their services to be not understood of the people.

The conquests of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century resulted in the Church being brought under the dominion of Rome. This was formally effected at the Synod of Diamhes in 1599, but fifty-four years later, when the Portuguese power had begun to weaken, a considerable body again seceded and are henceforth known as the Jacobite Syrians. Whether they are really Jacobite in doctrine is a question which ought to be decided by experts. At any rate, they are in communion with the Armenian and Coptic Churches, which are generally looked upon as belonging to that section of the Eastern Church and about whom the same question may arise.

In the early part of the nineteenth century a very gallant attempt was made by the Church Missionary Society—then recently founded, to bring help to this small isolated body of Christians,* in the hope that the Syrians, when educated and inspired, would become the best of missionaries to their own countrymen. At first this was intended to be simply a "Mission of help," animated by the same spirit as that which in later years has influenced the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians; but, as time went on, the missionaries—all the more because they were men of the greatest energy and devotion—could not help emphasising their own Protestant principles, and the Syrians, while they gratefully accepted help in education, church-building and Scripture-translation, were not at all disposed to welcome any changes in doctrine. Consequently, after the first few years of happy co-operation misunderstandings began to grow up, and in 1836 there came a formal separation. The missionaries turned to the out-castes whom the Syrians had always neglected, and found in them a very fruitful and encouraging mission field.

A certain number of Syrians joined the Anglican Church, though this was not encouraged, and a larger number formed a separate body, with a Bishop of their own, more or less accepting Protestant opinion. These are known as the Mar Thomas Syrians, and are gaining a good reputation for missionary work.

This brings us to the present day, and before we go further it will be necessary to inflict on our readers a few statistics. Unfortunately

*The first missionary landed at Cochin in May 1816, and when we remember that Waterloo had only been fought in the previous year, we shall better appreciate the courage which could start a new mission at such a time.

the Census taken for 1921 has not yet been published, and I can only give the somewhat vague numbers gathered some years ago. But it is certain that the Christians form at least a quarter of the population of these two small States—Travancore and Cochin, and their number is nearly a million. Unhappily they are divided into four separate bodies. Firstly, there is the main body which claims to represent unchanged the ancient Church. They are sometimes known as the Orthodox Syrians; the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, who is the head of their Church, lives at Mardin in Syria. These number perhaps a quarter of a million. Then there are the Romo-Syrians, the descendants of those who were brought into subjection by Rome in the sixteenth century. This is probably the most numerous body of the four. Thirdly, there is a secession from the Jacobites who have come under Protestant influences, and are known as the Mar Thomas Syrians. And lastly there is a small body which seceded from Rome in 1880 and obtained a Bishop from those Assyrian Christians to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury sent his mission. Their metropolitan, Mar Timotheus, is now paying a visit to England.

It is with the first of these four communities that we of the Oxford Mission have had most to do. In 1913 they invited us to send delegates to their students' conference and to hold a Retreat for their priests, and every year since then the invitation has been repeated and, whenever possible, accepted. In all these conferences our object has been to recall them to what seems to be their manifest destiny—that of becoming the nucleus of a genuinely Indian Church. If, casting aside the age-long tyranny of caste, they will step forward as the natural missionaries to their fellow-countrymen, it may still be given to St. Thomas to fulfil his apostolate in India.

But for the last thirteen years there has been another deadly hindrance. The Church has been divided not on any doctrinal question but on one of property. The Patriarch of Antioch, urged on by the Turkish Government of which he was a subject, made a claim to all the treasures of the church in order that he might satisfy the demands of his Mohammedan masters, and while the more educated members of the Church felt that this demand should be resisted the conservative mass of the people were willing to yield. Hence an all but interminable lawsuit, during which many of the churches have been closed because the people of the place could not agree to which party they should belong. Now at last this wretched schism is ended and a happy reunion is taking place. There is a new Patriarch who takes a large and generous view of his duties, and both parties are content to forgive and forget. Henceforth there need be nothing to prevent the Church from going forward to fulfil its missionary task, for which its leaders are determined to equip it.

ATHENS LETTER.

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCH OF HELLAS.

POLITICAL have overshadowed ecclesiastical events in Greece in the last eighteen months. When you are conducting a revolution—which you may be conducting, on the whole, very well, but do not seem able to bring to an end—there is not much time for anybody in authority to turn his attention to “Church questions.” For the moment, the “Church question” that most concerns the “man in the street” is the certainly rather bewildering position of Christmas just now. The State calendar, as may be known, has been altered to correspond with that prevailing in the West, but that of the Church has been left alone. It is not that anyone has any objection to the reform, but simply that not all the fourteen federated churches that make up the orthodox communion have been able to get the thing done and, till all have agreed, we remain *ne infecta*. Wherefore, though the year of grace 1924 has now begun, the feast of Christmas, 1923, has not been celebrated yet, and it would seem that that year has to do without any (in which case, ought it to be counted as *annus Domini* at all?), while 1924 will, to all appearance, have two. Somewhere about January 8th, 1924, the Christmas of 1923 will be coming on, and the confusion about that great festival, always great enough for the Westerner who is not accustomed to deal with three Christmas days (Western, Orthodox and Armenian) will this year be worse confounded than ever!

Let us hope, however, that it will be for the last time. There is now (and let us be thankful for the fact) a Patriarch in Constantinople duly elected and enthroned, for the self-sacrifice of a great Bishop and the “patience of the saints” exemplified in a martyr church seem to have prevailed over intrigues that one may fairly describe as diabolical, and there ought now to be no difficulty in the accomplishment of what is a mere piece of routine ecclesiastical business, though one which has to be duly and formally done.

Meantime, the Church in Hellas, too, is showing an interesting development, and one that may be of great importance to her in time to come. A reform analogous to that effected by the “Life and Liberty Movement” in England has come to pass here.

Hitherto, by a law dating from 1830, and therefore from the early days of the organisation of the kingdom of Greece, the government of the Church has been vested in a small body known as the “Sacred” or sometimes the “Sojourning” Synod.

This body was not, to speak correctly, a “synod” at all. It was a small committee of Bishops, five to eight in number, of which the Metropolitan of Athens was president, and in which he was expected to act.

The Bishops who composed the body being nominated by the Government, and removable from it—though not, of course, from their episcopal rank at pleasure,—were seldom inclined to do anything more than the mere routine work of the Church; while Parliament and the Government of the land, though benevolent enough (for Dissent in Greece is a negligible quantity, and the Political Dissenter is, perhaps, the only ill that has been spared the land) had neither time nor capacity to take up Church questions. In this, as we in England know, they are at least not exceptional.

Thus the Church of Hellas began to find herself, like the Anglican Church, in great need of a conservative reform, and yet with no machinery at hand for undertaking it. No ancient abuse that was represented by any vested interest, lacked power to call up enough conservative inertia to prevent any improvement, or to block any proposal of reform.

Now at last the Government has decided to allow the Church the power and opportunity of doing for itself what all see ought to be done, but which an over-



Ανθώνιος Μητροπολίτης ἑξ Κιέβ
καὶ τῆς Ῥωσίας.

1923

THE METROPOLITAN ANTHONY OF KIEV.

"My life's goal is attained. We have a Patriarch. Now I can die in peace."
Extract from a letter, dated October, 1917, to Bishop Metrophany, from the
Metropolitan Anthony.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

WE pique ourselves on the appropriateness of the portraits of distinguished Eastern hierarchs and theologians with which we have presented our readers as frontispieces during the past three years. In every case they have served in some measure to change a familiar name into a personality and to help Anglicans to visualize those leaders of Eastern Christianity who are making history. Thus we have already reproduced photos of a dozen such "men of the hour" as the Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios, the Catholicos Sahag, the Metropolitan Chrysostom of Athens, the Patriarch Damianos, etc., etc. In this issue we are happy to give that of one whose name has been very much before the British public these two years past. Whatever friend or foe may say of him, there can be no doubt but that the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev is a man who counts. If you open Mr. McCullagh's skilful propagandist panegyric of the Polish Papal Colony in Russia and depreciation of the native Christianity of that martyred country, *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity in Russia*, or Père M. d'Herbigny's even more subtly malignant *L'Anglicanisme et l'Orthodoxie gréco-slave*, you will find the Metropolitan well written down. Farm Street is shrewd enough to foresee its obstacles, though, as the *Church Times* once put it, it generally copies the bird that by fluttering its wing too much shows the nester where its eggs are. No greater testimony to the Metropolitan's influence could be rendered than is given by the Jesuit's anxiety to convince us that he neither has nor ought to have any. On the other hand, in the Orthodox World itself, there can be no doubt but that few men count for more than the Metropolitan. Read *Gregorios Palamas*, the official magazine of the Antiochene Patriarchate, the *Alexandrine Pantenos*, or any other of an autokephalous Orthodox Church, and you will certainly find mention of him. As to whether he be right or wrong, is not the business of an Anglican, but there is no doubt but that he is the centre and the forefront to the opposition to the

VOL. V.

change of the Kalendar and the other reforms recommended by the Constantinople Pan-Orthodox Conference of last May and to the person of the ex-Patriarch Meletios. Further, while he is friendly to us Anglicans, he represents the most conservative and cautious school of Orthodox Theology. Thus, when he writes to the *Church Times* to say that for his own part, granted it were to be received as *de jure ecclesiastico* and not as *de jure divino*, he would be prepared to invest the Pope with a dazzling Supremacy that might well satisfy any pretension, the merest tyro may be sure that he is not acting the opportunist but is speaking as one who has behind him all the centuries of reasoned and safeguarded Orthodox Theology. *Ruat cælum, sed fiat justitia.* As Gennadios Scholarios, and the Greeks of the year 1453, went into a Gehenna of Oppression rather than accept the Papal interpretation of the ambiguous ambipedipulating formularies with which Joseph II. reckoned that he had tricked poor unlettered Pope Eugenius IV. at Florence-Ferrara in 1439, so the Metropolitan in this Year of Grace 1924, would sooner see the Bolshevik triumphant in his terroristic usurpation of the government of his beloved native land, or Mustapha Kemal thrice worthy of the title of the Ghazi—i.e., of the hero who, aided by the apathy of Europe and the treachery of the *libre penseur* France of M. Poincaré, sacked Smyrna, martyred its "Angel," extirpated Christianity from Asia Minor and quenched the light of the Lamps of the Pauline and Johannine Churches—destroy the *omphalos* of the Orthodox World, the Œcumenical Patriarchate, rather than compromise in an iota that Orthodox Faith and its principles which have been passed down to the present day without "addition, subtraction or alteration" from the times of the Christ and His Apostles. So also, when, as the result of scientific investigation, he states, as he stated in the compelling question which he recently propounded in the Belgrad *Novoe Vedomosti*, the inevitability of the proposition that in the event of Reunion, the Orthodox Churches must accept Anglican Bishops, Priests and Deacons in their Orders, he is not, as Father Michel d'Herbigny and the other successors of the late Dr. A. Fortescue would have the world believe, cutting his cloth to suit his customer, but is expressing the matured opinion of one who is a theologian in the most meticulous sense of that often exploited term and who would die rather than adapt the expression of his conviction to the passing exigencies of the opportunism of the day.

We take this biographical sketch from the *Tserkovniya Viedemosti* of Karłowicz for 15/28 August, 1923: "The Metropolitan Anthony, who before becoming a monk was known as Alexios Chranovitsky, was born 17 March, 1863. After the conclusion of his course at the Fifth Petrograd Gymnasium in 1881, he studied at the Petrograd Spiritual Academy and on the completion of its curriculum in 1885,

changed his name to Anthony in honour of Saint Anthony Remlyanin, the miracle-worker, of Novgorod. On the 15 August in the same year he was appointed a salaried teacher, and in September assistant inspector, of the Academy. In 1886 he was transferred at his own request to the Seminary of Kholm as lecturer and, after the lapse of a further year, was appointed Professor by the Council of the Petrograd Academy with the Chair of Old Testament History, defending his Magisterial thesis three months later, the subject being "Psychological Data in regard to the Exercise of Free-will and Moral Responsibility," which ran to three editions. He next filled the position of Rector of the Petrograd Spiritual Academy with the rank of Archimandrite, and then successively that of Rector of the Moscow and Kazan Spiritual Academies. Having been consecrated Bishop in 1897 while still Rector of the Kazan Academy, he was appointed diocesan of Ufa in 1900, was transferred to the see of Volhynia in 1902, and in 1906 was raised to the dignity of Archbishop and nominated a member of the Imperial Council. In 1910 the Œcumenical Patriarch made him his legate for Galicia and Carpathian Russia, which office he retained when he became Metropolitan of Kiev. In 1912 he was nominated a permanent member of the Sacred Governing Synod, and in 1914 was translated to the see of Kharkov.

The Metropolitan had previously been elected to the management of more than one institution of historical importance. Thus in 1897 he had been made President of the Pan-Russian Missionary Association at Kazan and in 1908 President of the similar Association at Kiev. It was on his initiative that in 1911 a set of statutes for the control of Ecclesiastical Educational Institutions was worked out by a Commission in which he took part, and approved by the Synod and the Emperor. Honorary membership of the four Spiritual Academies was also conferred upon him. In 1913, with the approval of the Holy Synod, he was advanced to the Doctorate of Divinity by the Council of the Spiritual Academy of Kazan.

On learning, March 4, 1917, of the Tsar's abdication, the Metropolitan at once informed his clergy in synod that he purposed resignation, and sent a letter to that effect to the Holy Synod. His intention had been to reside at the monastery of Svyatogor, but the revolutionary Committee of Kharkov protested against his presence at a distance of only 120 versts—about 80 miles—and he was compelled to change his choice to the Balaam Monastery, where he had taken the habit exactly 32 years before, entering it on the 11 May, 1915, only after having used the strongest words to press his request for permission upon the Holy Synod, which desired to keep him in active service and had refused its consent. In August of the same year he took part in the All-Russian Church Council as delegate of the

Association of the Monasteries of Russia. The election of a new Archbishop of Kharkov taking place at that time, he was re-elected to the see by an overwhelming majority—420 out of 460—and on his arrival at that city was received by the people as in triumph.

In the All-Russian Church Council the Metropolitan was the originator as well as the chief champion of the reconstitution of the Patriarchate for Russia, a measure accepted by the Council only after a prolonged conflict. The Metropolitan in fact had pressed for the convention of an All-Russian Church Council at an earlier period of his career, *e.g.*, as far back as the sessions of the Holy Synod between 1904–1911, in which he took part. Thus, when the Metropolitan Anthony of Petrograd withdrew on the receipt of a rescript rejecting the project from K. P. Pobiedonostiev, he took charge of the presentation of a memorandum in which the Holy Synod petitioned unanimously for the convention of such a Council and the reconstitution of the Patriarchate. Three candidates were selected for the Patriarchal Throne, the first being the then Archbishop Anthony, the second Archbishop Arsenios of Novgorod and the third the Metropolitan Tikhon of Moscow. The final choice was made by lot and fell upon the Metropolitan Tikhon.

A few days after his election the Patriarch in his Synod advanced Archbishop Anthony and four other archbishops to the rank of Metropolitan.

In May, 1918, the Kiev Diocesan Synod and subsequently the All-Ukrainian Church Synod elected the Metropolitan to the Throne of Kiev and Galicia, which dignity carried with it permanent membership of the Patriarchal Synod.

The Metropolitan, however, was unable to remain longer than six months in Kiev. Petliur, the creature of the Jesuits, made a forcible entry into the town, effected his arrest and that of the Metropolitan Evlogios and sent them under escort to the Galician town of Buchan, where both bishops, and with them subsequently Bishop Nichodim, the Archimandrite Vitalios of Pochaev and the Priest-Monk Tikhon (Sharapov) were interned in an Uniate Monastery.

On the occupation of Buchan by the Poles, the imprisoned Archbishops petitioned the Polish Government for their full restoration to the exercise of their episcopal function—in Galicia in the first instance, and then in the country districts of Volhynia. But instead of the granting of that most lawful and reasonable request, the three bishops were again arrested and packed off, through streaming rain, in open farm waggons to a suburb of Cracow, where they were kept in stringent confinement in the Latin Monastery of the Kamedulites.

They were, however, released in August, 1919, on the intervention

of the Entente, and made their way back to Russia through Roumania, Constantinople and Novorossia.

The Metropolitan Anthony spent the next two months in Kiev, but the city was occupied by the Bolsheviks during his absence at Novoherkassk as the representative of the Presiding Court for the trial of a certain Bishop. In consequence he was obliged to accompany the Volunteer Army to the South-East, where on account of the departure of the local bishops he administered for a time the dioceses, first of Kuban and then of the Black Sea. He quitted those towns on the day of the Bolsheviks' entry into them, leaving Novorossia on March 13. From Novorossia he travelled with the Army to the Crimea, whence the Greeks deported him to Athens, inducing him to go aboard their steamer in order to conduct a Service on the Liberation of Constantinople and the Setting up the Cross over St. Sophia. Afterwards they confessed that they had tricked him in order to deport him to Athens. The Bolshevik bombardment of the city had then commenced. So the Metropolitan submitted to fortune.

At Athens, where he stayed only three weeks, he enjoyed the warm hospitality of the Metropolitan, the present Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios. Proceeding to Mount Athos, he then entered the Monastery of Panteleimon, where he hoped to end his days, but on September 6 received a telegraphic invitation from General Vrangeli to return to Russia to reconstitute the Church in the Crimea which had not submitted to the Bolsheviks.

He saw no probability of the Volunteer Army's making good, but, judging that to refuse the call would be a shameful dereliction, started at once for the Crimea. Forty days after his arrival, however, its evacuation by Vrangeli's army left him no choice but to go with it to Constantinople, where he made application for permission to return to Mount Athos. Receiving a refusal from the Greeks of Athos, he availed himself of a thrice repeated invitation from the Patriarch Dmitri of Servia where he arrived on February 14, 1921.

It will be well to give a summary of the learned works of the Metropolitan, many of which were printed first in magazines and were published in a collection, the first edition appearing in 1906, the second in 1911. Among them the more noteworthy are his Lectures on Pastoral Theology, his Expositions of the Capital Doctrines of the Faith (the Trinity, Redemption, etc.), his polemics with Soloviev, L. Tolstoy, the Stundists, Uniates, certain Old Believers and other heretics, his Tract on the Anglican Episcopate, and especially his Treatise on "Christ the Saviour and the Jewish Revolution" and his "Dictionary of the Works of Dostoievsky," which latter has been translated into French, besides many others which have been translated into English, French, German, Greek

Of the 3,000 and more sermons of the Metropolitan Anthony that which attracted the most attention was one delivered at the Isaac Cathedral in Petrograd in February, 1905, in which he declared that if the autocracy were overthrown Russia would not last as a single great Empire for twenty years, but would split up into little fragments. In that case, the preacher averred, the further consequence would ensue that she would fall under the rod of men who hated her people and who would begin by forbidding the Teaching of God's Law in her schools and would go on to destroy her fanes, to tear the bodies of her Saints from their shrines and to place them in anatomical museums. That, he said, is what our simulated friends expect with impatience while our implacable enemies of Western Europe with the avidity of hawks wait until, when those things are brought to pass, they may gather and descend upon our Fatherland and turn it into a second India.

That Sermon was reported in "Tserkovniya Viedemosti" at the time and was subsequently included in the preacher's collected works.

The Bishop's words have proved prophetic. He was mistaken only in the period of time which he designated. Only twelve years after that sermon, his prophecy was fulfilled.

THE METROPOLITAN AND ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

So late as last August the Metropolitan Anthony ordained a French Canadian, a M. Côté, who many years ago received deacon's orders from an Anglican bishop and had been long associated with the Russians in Palestine. In so ordaining him he ordained him deacon as well as priest. We can quite imagine the Editor of the *Tablet*, or even Father Woodlock, S.J., chuckling and taking up pen and paper on reading this. An Anglican Deacon reordained by the Orthodox! What an indiscretion of the *Christian East* to publish the fact!! Here's conclusive evidence that the Russian Church "rejects" Anglican Ordinations. Of course it does nothing of the kind. The mistake under which the late Dr. Fortescue laboured, and which is perpetuated seemingly among his colleagues of Henrietta Street, is the imagining that the Orthodox have accepted the developments of Western Theology. They appear incapable of realising that Orthodox Outlook and Practice are regulated by principles which belong to a period before the germs of those developments existed. If they could grasp that fact, what is now a chaos to them would become logical and precise. Thus the Orthodox have no cut-and-dried obligation to pronounce that some Orders are valid *per se* and that others are not. They are not confronted with the necessity of "acceptance" or "rejection." In the case of "heterodox"

ordinations, such as Roman or Anglican, they are free to accept them or, even though they possess all the outward marks of the Apostolic Succession, to refuse to do so. Rejection is not a synonym to them as to the Papalist, for non-acceptance. Thus within the past century the Œcumenical Patriarchate itself rebaptized, reconfirmed, and reordained a Papalist Bishop in all three grades. Reception of adherents to Orthodoxy in their Orders or their reordination is to the Orthodox a matter in which the Church is at liberty as a wise steward to exercise discretion or economy. That that happens to be the explanation of the Metropolitan Anthony's action in the case of M. Côté is more than an obvious deduction. One of our editors chanced to be in Belgrad a few days after the event and addressed a respectful enquiry to the Metropolitan himself, who replied at once that, since the Russian Patriarch had not pronounced on Anglican Ordinations, he felt bound not to create a precedent and that, though Roman Orders possessed the outward marks of Apostolic Succession, he should reordain any Roman priest or bishop who came to him, even the Pope himself. For his own part he had judged that Anglican Ordinations were at least as valid as those of the Papal Obedience. Since then he has published his opinion in trenchant form in an article in the Belgrad *Novoye Vremya*, which concluded with these words: "Would it be possible in the event of their Reunion with the Church to refuse the Anglican Episcopate that which was conceded to the Nestorians and the Donatists by the Council of Carthage and by Basil the Great—that is to say, reception into unity by the Third Rite and with Recognition in their existing Order?"

For Ministers of bodies the Baptism of which does not present the possibility of acceptance, the Orthodox use the "First Rite," which includes Baptism. For Ministers of bodies the Baptism of which presents the possibility of acceptance but which have no sufficient marks of Apostolic Succession, they use the "Second Rite," which includes Chrismation and Ordination. The "Third Rite," which includes only the renunciation of error, is used for Ministers whose Baptism and Ordination are acceptable.

A PERSONAL IMPRESSION OF THE METROPOLITAN.

The Editor to whom we refer above gives his impression of the Metropolitan Anthony as follows: "Of middle height, clear-skinned and robust for all his years and their experience, the Metropolitan is a scholar and a refined gentleman *au bout d'ongle*. Possessed of a quiet and pretty sense of humour, rich in knowledge of the world and of men, he makes a singularly agreeable and instructive companion. Moreover, he is simplicity itself and refuses to allow those whom he honours with his society, to treat him (even though they

cannot forget the fact) as the great man and highly placed ecclesiastic that he is. Though he is essentially a man of affairs and might well have been for his skill in reading men and situations a mediæval cardinal, he is heart and soul a monk. At Karlowicz he haunts the Cathedral. He was at the 4.30 a.m. office no less regularly than the mid-day. Assuredly it is not affectation which makes him express a passionate desire for the life of prayer and seclusion of Mount Athos as his dearest wish. None the less I have enjoyed few more pleasant or profitable evenings than those in which at the Serbian Patriarchate he admitted me to long *têtes à têtes*."

THE METROPOLITAN ANTHONY AND THE LIVING CHURCH.

Bolshevik, Polish and Uniate propaganda conspire to represent the Patriarch Tikhon, in the words of Capt. McCullagh, as a "weak man." To judge by the failure of their attacks on the Russian Church none of them have found him so. But even if their wish has been father to their thought in regard to the Patriarch, they will not venture to accuse the Metropolitan Anthony of weakness. He has been the active centre of the Russian exiles and, as Head of the extra-Russian Synod for Europe, has shown a stern front under often the most difficult conditions these four years past to all three of them. A type of his action may be found in this brisk correspondence between himself and Evdokim, "Metropolitan of Odessa," at present the chief leader of the Bolshevik Living Church Administration. The letters are illustrative of much and we think the space spent on their reprinting in full well used.

THE HOLY SYNOD OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. PRESIDENT. SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1923. No. 136. TO THE FORMER METROPOLITAN OF KIEV, ANTHONY CHRAPOVITZKY.

With a feeling of deep affliction and in accordance with the duty of service for the purpose of avoiding greater trouble to you and those about you, I am compelled to inform you that by the Council of 1923, and with the consultation of 67 Bishops, you were deprived of holy dignity and of every right to administer Russian Churches, even outside of Russia.

I strongly advise you to obey me, because I do not want to say anything unpleasant to you. The former Patriarch Tikhon, having understood his complete entanglement, made to the Holy Synod his statement about reconciliation with the clergy and the people who separated from him. The Commission, composed both of his and of our representatives, by the mouth even of his ardent defender, Bishop Ilarion, pronounced this decision concerning him: "To resign his full power, to retire to a monastery and to await the trial of the Council of Bishops." This resolution was put into his hands. There is no other solution and cannot be.

I would like to ask all of you to bring to the Council of Bishops statements concerning the re-examination of your work. By God's help I hope that this work will be re-examined and considered favourably for you. Think well concerning yourself. What are you awaiting there? All is over for ever. Therefore we must work amidst new conditions of life. I must tell you honestly that our Government is struggling not with the Church, but with the counter-revolution and with counter-

revolutionaries and with the conscienceless exploitation of the ignorant masses; but what Government in all the world is not ready to struggle with such conditions? I raised the Church life in Nijni-Novgorod to an altitude such as it did not know in the Czar's time. I saved all the 32 monasteries and was not subject to any disagreeableness on the part of the civil powers. Please understand, I did not sell any Church property, I did not give up a single iota, I was simply honest and loyal in my attitude to the civil authorities.

I now know very definitely that there is a possibility even for the re-examination of laws regarding the relationship of the Church and State, because the present laws were made during the days of the great counter-revolutionary activity of our clergy against our civil authorities.

Our country is being rebuilt very rapidly; amazing, hot and feverish activity is going on everywhere. In the course of the next three years it will be difficult to recognize our country, owing to the prosperity and power which it will attain. Foreigners who have come to Russia agree to this.

You know the situation of Church affairs in Russia from the letters of the Holy Synod to the Eastern Patriarchs and to the Russian people. Give attention only to the fact that both these documents were written a month ago. Life has moved forward very rapidly during this time and a great many things are changing for the better. Once again I would ask you to consider my letter carefully, free from every "Ideology" which has hitherto prevented you from a simple, clear, unprejudiced understanding of things. A right consideration of this letter will bring nothing but good to you and to God's Church.

Your obedient and devoted servant,

EVDOKIM,

Metropolitan of Odessa and Cherson.

The following answer was sent by the Metropolitan Antonios: TO THE ONE WHO CALLS HIMSELF METROPOLITAN EVDOKIM, BUT WHO REALLY IS VASSILI IVANOVITCH MESCHERSKY:

In answer to your impertinent letter I send you the resolution of the Russian Orthodox Synod (with jurisdiction outside of Russia) from which it is clearly seen that you and your companions, because of the crimes which you have committed, as evident breakers and destroyers of the Canons of the Church, already in virtue of your works themselves, and deprived of holy dignity and, according to the 15th Canon of the Sixth General Council, are totally stripped of priesthood, that is to say, you can never be restored to your former holy dignity and, beginning from the 23rd of May, 1923, you with all your followers are excommunicated from the Holy Church by the Council of the Russian Hierarchy outside of Russia.

You admonish me to forsake my ideology and to become convinced that all is over. Yes, for you all is over, God's existence, the immortality of man's soul and the future beyond the trial of the grave, is over for you, but I am keeping true to the old ideology to which you also formerly adhered, namely, "I believe in the One God, Father Almighty, etc.," and I refuse to take the Utilitarian point of view. For this reason I am little interested in the question as to whether the Jewish Government of Russia will be changed or not, and I will not adhere to your "sly church." Of course you lie regarding the repentance of the Patriarch and of Bishop Ilarion in your Church. Likewise, you lie in regard to all that you say in your letter, and if the Patriarch should adhere to the Living Church which now has married bishops who are not bishops and twice married priests who are false priests, I imitate the example of St. Maxim, Confessor of the Faith, who, having been cast into prison and severely tormented, and having known that all the four bishops and the Emperor had joined the Monothelites and taken sacrament, cried, "If all the world takes the sacrament with them, I alone will not partake of the sacrament!"

Of course, for you it is now very difficult not to give up all your former holy convictions in every step of your life. Having lovers and illegitimate children, you are necessarily compelled constantly to look about you and to seek to escape detection, dismissal and poverty.

But be sure that the only way to save your soul from eternal perdition as well as that of your companions—heretics and Separatists, is to tear off your bishop's vestments and cassock, to wear your priestly underrobes and a leather belt, and to enter the Orthodox monastery as a penitent lay-brother. Then a stone of painful remorse will fall from your heart and to you, through penitent tears, will be opened the door through which came the Gospel robber, who sinned less than you. He entered first, but may God permit you through tearful repentance to enter, even though it be one of the last.

The last lie of your letter and of your miserable and illegal assemblies which you held is the justification of your government, as if it were struggling not with the Church but with the counter-revolution. How disloyal you are to conscience when you speak so about the government which closed the Ouspensky Cathedral, destroyed the Holy Relics, permitted the publishing of the newspaper *Without God* and organized comic religious processions!

And is it possible that you do not understand that foreigners and even little children do not believe these dishonest and foolish justifications? All the world knows already that Bolshevism is primarily a malicious enemy of the faith of Christ. Moreover, foreigners interested in the Russian Church a long time ago read my published letters to the effect that your false council of impostors held in Moscow has the same meaning as the strident voices of several market women, and even less than these, if the women are Orthodox and not Separatists like you yourself and your miserable and illegal assembly.

Repent! the span of our life is short indeed, and though you are my pupil and, alas, though you took the veil from me, you are almost 55 years old and because of your feebleness you cannot live a long time; and on the Judgment Day neither Jews nor nihilistic priests will support you.

Your well-wisher,
ANTONIOS,
Metropolitan of Kiev.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

Our latest news from Constantinople shows that things remain in suspense. The Angora Government has neither shown further hostility to the Phanar nor has it entered into relations with it. It has simply ignored it, the general explanation probably being that it waits the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty and the subsequent reopening of full relations with Europe before deciding its course. Apart from that, however, its hands are sufficiently full with the opposition which its abolition of the Khalifate has generated abroad and its handling of the conservative Moslem element throughout Turkey has consolidated at home. There are signs, indeed, that the Bolshevik members of the *Mejlis*, the majority of whom are not Turks but Russian Tartars, and who number about a score, have made a bold bid to create an open rupture between the Moslem Religion and the New Turkey. The secularization of the State is the instrument and the confiscation of the vast property of the *Evkaf*,

on religious foundations, the inducement by which they are at work. It is not impossible that if Kemal were overthrown or (for the Ghazi is a man of violent moods) swung in one of his fits of impulse to the Soviet side, that we might witness an Angoran War against Religion of the *Bezbojnik* pattern. To say the least, the *Ulemas* are uneasy, alarmed and nervously anxious as to the future, while the Indian Moslem, who saved Mustapha Kemal in 1921 by his diversion, is openly indignant at the jettisoning of that Khalifate which he declared necessary for the existence of Islam. We have no space, however, here to expatiate on the general situation in Turkey, but note that "Papa" Eftim has initiated a series of criminal libel actions against the Patriarch and the Metropolitans of the Synod for unfrocking him, and in one of them has already gained a Pyrrhic victory to the tune of what in London would be a farthing damages.

A threat from Angora has compelled the Patriarchate to cease to use the Stavropegion, the double-headed eagle, for its crest. Current certificates, *e.g.*, for marriage, being on paper already in hand, have a Greek Cross superimposed on the ancient emblem of the Byzantine Caesars. We trust the eclipse will not be permanent.

THE CHANGE OF KALENDAR.

We confess that the forecast in our last issue was mistaken. The Constantinople Patriarchate and with it the Churches of Greece, Serbia and Roumania adopted the New Kalendar on March 10th. We have no information as to what has happened in Russia or the other three Patriarchates or Cyprus.

THE "VELEHGRAD CONFERENCE."

The *Tablet* having stated that a Conference between representative Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians will take place next July at Velehgrad, in Czecho-Slovakia, we have made enquiry and find that no Orthodox Church will be represented at any such gathering. If held, the Conference will be attended chiefly by Latins and Uniates and will be directed by Mgr. Shepitsky, who is in charge of the Uniate campaign in White Russia and the lands adjacent, and Father d'Herbigny, the Director of the Papal Oriental Institute of Rome. Its scope will be the study of the best presentment of the Papal Claims to the Russian Church with a view to its uniatization. We would it were otherwise.

MAR TIMOTHEOS.

The sorrows and the betrayal of Britain's smallest ally, the Assyrian Church and nation, brought some of us this good. While Mar Timotheos, Metropolitan of Malabar, was staying in the quiet, gentle hospitality of the Cowley Fathers in Westminster, we were able—a rare privilege nowadays—to assist at his Celebration of the Gurbana and to practise our slow lips in the beautiful tongue which

was our Lord's vernacular and threatens soon to cease to be spoken except as a souvenir. We were never more ashamed, however, than when we bade the Metropolitan good-bye at Waterloo as he started to keep Easter in Chicago, where there is a little congregation of Assyrians and a church—there is none in Europe—with the Rev. G. Azoo as priest. Mar Timotheos is, of course, a pure Syrian. How he came to be sent to India may be read below in Mr. Hunt's article. We hope soon to publish his Mappaq b'Rucha, *i.e.*, apology against the charge of Christological heresy, in an early issue. We fear that he left England heart-sick with disappointment at the fending from pillar to post which he had experienced. He was here to plead that Great Britain, which summoned the people of Mar Shimun to help her in 1916, must either guarantee the survivors in their own land to the north of Iraq, or if she will not do that, must find a "homeland" for them in America or Australia, where they can live their Syrian life and preserve their nation and Church. Impossible though it seems, that demand has not been granted. The tragedy is that the so-called Chaldæans, *i.e.*, a small fraction of the nation which became Uniate in the 18th century, have not only remained unharmed by the Turk as a reward for keeping out of the War, but have possessed themselves of some of the villages belonging to the majority who were our eager allies. Of the latter about 30,000 are with Lady Sarma and her nephew, the present Mar Shimun, a lad of 16, near Mosul. Another 50,000 are scattered over the face of the earth. If they cannot return to their native homes or do not receive fresh lands where they may find rest for their souls in the fashion of their fathers, then the survivors will settle down in America and so on, and a generation hence their language, religion, race and patriotism will be only a memory. Meanwhile this letter shows that they are in grave danger and very indignant at the attempt to fob them off with the League of Nations as a substitute for the British guarantee given them in 1915.

If Great Britain will withdraw from this country (*i.e.*, Iraq), then we will not remain. What has been done by the League of Nations? It will treat us as it treated the Armenians. The League of Nations is a cradle of death to the small nations. The great Governments want to free themselves from the responsibilities and promises given to the small nations in the time of the war. If Great Britain withdraws, can the poor Assyrians maintain any self-government in the midst of Islam? Arab, on one side, Kurd, Turk, and Persian on the other sides . . . Turkish troops are increasing in number on the Jezirah side. The Kurds are more openly saying that Mosul will go to Turkey. The Arabs, too, are not quite so well pleased with the British as reports tell us.

The Christians of Mardin are driven out. The Jacobite Patriarch has been divested of his position.

If the Kemalist forces cross over to this side they will not ask the League of Nations as to what to do but they will do as they did in Smyrna under the nose of the League of Nations.

Britannia is responsible for us.

MAR SHIMUN.

Mar Shimun himself is the nephew of the last Mar Shimun, who died in 1919 of consumption aggravated by the dangers and hardships of the trek which followed the Turkish invasion of his country in 1918. The story of his brother's murder by the Kurd Simko and the trek may be read in his sister, Lady Surma's "Assyrian Church Customs"—a wonderfully human and valuable document, published by the Faith Press. The present Mar Shimun is, of course, the civil as well as the ecclesiastical head of his people—there was talk in 1919 of separating the functions, *i.e.*, of choosing another Patriarch and letting the lad be only the Prince of his people, but nothing was done. In consequence he was consecrated Bishop. He is, of course, a "Nazarite," and not only cannot marry but must not eat flesh or drink wine. Report says that he wished to go to an English school, an obvious impossibility for a Bishop. We hope to see him by-and-by in London.

As we go to Press we have bad news of the Turks' treatment of the unhappy Jacobites.

GREEK VERSION OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

The Greek translation of our Prayer Book adds another to the long list of services—among them the inception of the *Christian East* in 1920—rendered to our movement by S.P.C.K., which kindly placed a couple of dozen copies at our disposal for circulation in the Near East. Among those that have written enthusiastic acknowledgments are the Œcumenical Patriarch Gregory, who begs that Russian, Serb, Roumanian and Arab versions should also be prepared; the Patriarch Meletios, who wrote cheerily from his solitary hospice of Mylopotamos at Mount Athos; the Patriarch Damianos, the Archbishop of Cyprus, who alone signs in purple ink—why will not the British Government snub the Quai d'Orsay and restore the island to its Motherland?—Professor Ispir of Bucharest who, by the way, was in England in March for the World Alliance; the Metropolitan Chrysostom of Athens, and the Metropolitan of Durazzo, a stout Constantinople friend of the Anglo-Orthodox entente.

MEETING OF PRELATES IN JERUSALEM.

The Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev is now in Jerusalem, for which city he left Belgrad on April 2nd, 1915, having a great send-off at the station from the Patriarch Dmitri and the Serb Church as well as from the colony of Russian exiles. As the Patriarch Photios is due in the Holy Land before Whitsuntide, an important meeting of the three prelates seems probable.

THE PATRIARCH TIKHON.

The following contravenes the interested pessimistic reports which have been rashly credited by some usually well informed papers:

"The Patriarch has recovered from his recent kidney trouble, an illness which was never so serious as stated in some organs of the Press. It is true that he suffers occasionally from fainting fits, but they pass quickly, and he both transacts business and conducts religious services. When he does the latter, the churches cannot hold the huge congregations which assemble. The Central Executive Committee has quashed the proceedings instituted by the Bolsheviks not only against the Patriarch but also against the Metropolitan Arsenios and Mr. V. Guriev, who is in charge of the Holy Synod. In its decision it referred to the prelates by their secular names and styled the Church 'the so-called Orthodox Church.' The Metropolitan Sergios was released from prison in January and went to reside at Nishni-Novgorod, but came to Moscow in March, where the agents of the Bolsheviks suggested that he should form a new Church which might embrace all the different sections. While he was in Moscow, however, he assisted at the Patriarch's Liturgy, having first made a public act of penitence for his dealings with the Living Church, the Superior Control of which he had recognised in 1922. In conditions of striking solemnity he knelt, dressed in the robe of a simple monk, before the Patriarch, who received him, raised him up, blessed him and put the Klopuk on him again. Eye-witnesses describe his thus doing penance in the sight of the multitude as worthy of the earliest days of the Church and as an extraordinarily moving scene. . . . The Patriarch and his Synod are at work preparing for the convocation of a Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, which apparently will be held this year. His Beatitude is a strong advocate of the holding such a Council to deal with the strengthening of the organisation of the Church with the problem of the Kalendar. The Council will also consider the relations of Russians abroad to the Church at home. The persecution of the Orthodox Church goes on as before, but fear of angering the populace constrains the Bolsheviks in many places to carry it on in disguised fashions. The Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory has been recognised by the Patriarch who, however, has refused on account of the opposition of the people to accept the New Kalendar."—*Tserkovniya Viedomosti*, April 15th-28th.

BISHOP GIBSON. R.I.P.

The death of Dr. E. C. Gibson, late Bishop of Gloucester, on March 9th, will cause genuine regret not only to us Anglicans but to the many Orthodox prelates with whom he came in contact. Dr. Gibson took the keenest interest in Eastern Christianity and, busy though he was, grudged no demand on his time to serve our movement. For example, he was Chairman of the Committee of the 1920 Lambeth Conference which received and conferred with the Constantinople Delegation. Also, he rarely missed a session of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee. That none of the journalistic notices of his death referred to this phase of his activity was partly because he was above everything averse from publicity and partly because his work touched so many spheres. Nevertheless we may be pardoned for thinking that it was as important as any that he enterprised. We shall miss his wise counsel and burning though quiet enthusiasm. R.I.P.

BISHOP NICHOLAI.

Our long-trying and dear friend Bishop Nikolai Velimirovic has been for some months back in his own out-of-the-way and rather wild—be it confessed—diocese of Ochrida, down in the romantic and beautiful South-West corner of Serbia. Needless to say, he rejoices that at last the insistence which kept him at Belgrad has been relaxed and that he is free to be a Bishop rather than an administrator. We should love to see him with the simple folk whom he loves so well.

PERSONAL NOTES AND HAPPENINGS.

The Rev. F. N. Heazell, Vicar of St. Michael's, Croydon, has succeeded the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton as Secretary of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee. He gives his services gratis.

One and all of us were delighted at the appointment of the Rev. Dr. G. K. A. Bell to the Deanery of Canterbury. What Dr. Bell has been to us these past ten years of his Chaplaincy to his Grace of Canterbury will never be written. We understand that he will in no way be lost to us. We could not spare him. He has in preparation for publication a volume, to be issued by the Oxford Press, of official documents dealing with the Reunion Movements initiated by the Lambeth Conference of 1920.

We record with satisfaction that one of our editors, the Rev. J. A. Douglas, was among those honoured by the University of Athens with a Doctorate of Philosophy in commemoration of the Byron Centenary in April.

The anniversary of the A. and E.A. will be marked on Nov. 11 this year by a Solemn Evensong in the Russian Church of St. Philip and by a Liturgy in the Greek Church of St. Sophia, Moscow Road.

Commander H. C. Luke, who has served as Deputy Governor of Jerusalem since the War, has accepted an important official position in Sierra Leone. While we congratulate him and the Colony, we grieve for our movement. To detail all his activities would need a volume. *Inter alia*, he has been one of the two Commissioners charged with nursing the finances of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, and the report he issued with his colleague, Sir Anton Bertram, is far and away the best historical sketch of the Patriarchate in any western language. Indeed, he has done our cause almost as much good service by his writings as by his activity, *e.g.*, he contributed a charming leader page article to *The Times* of April 16th on Holy Week in Jerusalem. We are confident, that if for a time he is away from the Near East, he will not sin against the light by withholding his pen. He has been added to the Archbishop's E.C.C.

We understand that Professor Bulgakov, the distinguished Russian theologian, will visit England this summer.

We congratulate the Proto Deacon of the Russian Parish of London, Father Theokritov, on the birth of his third son.

The Metropolitan Evlogios has nominated Father Timotheiev to be his special representative to deal with the Anglican Church.

Father Gavin, the author of that best book of its kind in English, "Aspects of Modern Greek Orthodox Theology" (Mowbray), has accepted a Professorship at New York Central Seminary.

Mar Timotheos writes that he had over 300 communicants in Chicago at Easter.

Dr. Emhardt, the "Official Representative" of the American Church towards the Churches of Europe, arrived in London on May 3rd, after a four months' tour in the Near East.

The Kahana (priest) Vahan Khoyan has taken charge of St. Sarkhi's, Iverna Gardens, W., by instruction of the Catholics of Etchmiadzin.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

To the best of their ability and in the limit of their space the Editors will endeavour to answer enquiries addressed to them.

1. *Is the Orthodox Church tied to a literal interpretation of Holy Scripture?*—No. You will find abundant quotations showing that Orthodox Theologians are prepared to accept demonstrated results of criticism, in Father Gavin's article in the *Christian East*, December, 1922.

2. *Do the Orthodox reserve in one kind?*—No. Their canon law is very stringent. The priest who consecrates must sprinkle the "Lamb" to be reserved with drops of the consecrated species of wine from a spoon.

3. *Are the Armenians really heretical?*—The Armenians have rejected the Council of Chalcedon and its formula of "Two Natures." But the technical Greek theological terms had no exact equivalents in Armenian and the Armenian terms used to translate them did not correspond. It is certain that many Armenian writers did enunciate Monophysism, but there seems good reason to hold that Armenian Christological theology to-day is consistent with that of Orthodoxy and with our own.

4. *What is the difference between a Patriarchate and another Church?*—Of a Patriarchate the Patriarch is the ruler and the symbolical head. The Synod of his subordinate bishops are there to advise and counsel him according to the canon law. In another Church, e.g., in Athens, the Synod is the ruling body and the presiding bishop is simply its president and chief executive official.

5. *Is the Church of Finland autocephalous?*—No. Up till the War Finland formed part of the Russian Patriarchate and by canon law no autocephalous Church can be formed without the consent of the Church from which it is to be separated. The Patriarch Tikhon has given the Church of Finland, as those of Georgia, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, autonomy, but they are not autocephalous because he has not abdicated ultimate jurisdiction over them. When he does so, if the Ecumenical Patriarchate recognises them, they will rank as autocephalous Churches, i.e., be under no exterior jurisdiction whatever. But recognition by Constantinople would be insufficient without his consent.

PAPAL ROME AND THE ORTHODOX EAST.

Notes upon the Article published under this heading in the "*Christian East*" for February, 1924, and written by Monsignor P. Batiffol.

By THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP CHARLES GORE, D.D.

Monsignor Batiffol's article to which this is a "reply" appeared in the February, 1924, "*Christian East*." Our next issue will contain Professor Glubokovsky's "reply," and the subsequent issue, if he thinks fit, will contain Mgr. Batiffol's final word and, in any case, a summary of the symposium by Mr. Hakluyt Egerton.

I HAVE been asked to comment upon Mgr. Batiffol's comments upon Professor Glubokovsky's reply to an article of Mgr. Batiffol, entitled *Catholiques anglicains et Catholiques romains*, which was itself a reply to a sermon of mine. I admit that I do so unwillingly. The points in controversy are so old. The interchange of controversial conclusions seems to go on for ever without any issue. It would seem as if something deeper than historical considerations really determines our respective convictions. Still there are some changes in the atmosphere of the discussion.

The historical French School, in which Duchesne's name is the most brilliant, but of which Mgr. Batiffol is the most distinguished living representative, has made a difference in the controversy by the large interpretation which it gives to the idea of development in the doctrine of the Church, an idea which involves peculiar difficulties of its own, but which enables those Roman Catholics who adhere to it to recognise that the doctrine of papal supremacy was not developed in the early centuries—that it was there only in germ; and on the other hand there is among some Protestant writers, and among us Anglicans, a fuller realisation that the development of the Papacy was for the West in some sense *providential*—however much the purpose of Providence has been, here as elsewhere, misused by its human instruments.

The position occupied by Heiler in Germany—a convert from Rome to Lutheranism—who yet writes to convince his fellow Protestants of the necessity of historical Catholicism and of the spiritual glory of the Roman Church—represents a somewhat new form of antagonism—antagonism which is quite consistent with an even deep appreciation. Learned Protestantism has never been so much and so sympathetically interested in Catholicism as it is to-day.

Nevertheless the old points of controversy cannot be got out of the way.¹

¹ In these remarks I think it more respectful to Professor Glubokovsky and to Mgr. Batiffol not to interfere in their arguments with one another in detail. The Professor is replying as well as I.

NOTE BY EDITOR.—The *Christian East* has received a detailed article from Professor Glubokovsky who at present is resident in Bulgaria, which arrived too late for translation and insertion in this issue, but which will appear in its August number.

I.

We cannot get rid of the controversy on the ground of Scripture. Every one must admit that Rome has captured the imagination on behalf of its grandiose interpretation of "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." A similar victory over the imagination was won by Luther in his interpretation of St. Paul, or to give a more recent example, by the Darwinian doctrine of Development in the form in which it professed to destroy the idea of the Fall of Man, and to substitute for it the idea of an inevitable upward progress from animalism to increasing rationality. But these victories over the imagination are not always permanent. They yield to disillusionment. That has been in the last case the most powerful solvent. But also criticism, where it is well grounded and persistent, tells in the long run. Thus, in spite of Luther, St. Paul is commonly regarded by the "critics" as the real founder of Catholicism. Thus also the rest of the New Testament, when carefully examined, and especially the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, constitute formidable obstacle to the Papal interpretation of the Petrine text.

Nothing, it seems to me, can be more certain than that St. Paul recognised no spiritual authority on earth superior to that of the Apostles—to that authority of which he was so fully conscious in himself—and that he admits no real difference of dignity or of office between the Apostles. And if St. Peter wrote from Rome to the Pauline Churches of Asia, whether after St. Paul's death or no, is it not almost inconceivable that he should not have given some hint of the peculiar and paramount vocation of himself and his successors at Rome in the whole Catholic Church, if he had been conscious of it? Could he have been content to describe himself as "a fellow elder and witness of the sufferings of Christ"? Or does the doctrine of development admit of the supposition that St. Peter was unconscious of the meaning of Christ's "prophecy" of the papacy which only later history was to disclose?¹

¹ Mgr. Batiffol makes a curious remark on the interpretation which, he believes, history gives to the Petrine text. "We will not," he says (p. 35) "build the institution of the monarchical episcopate on the texts of the New Testament which speak of the *ἐπισκοπος* of the apostolic age, but the monarchical episcopate has its anticipation and justification in these texts. It is the same with the apostolic privilege claimed and exercised by the Popes. It is in accordance with the primacy of the Apostle Peter which is an anticipation of it and authorises it."

I think this is a really bad argument. I do not think any anticipation and authorisation of the monarchical episcopate can be found in the presbyter-bishops of the New Testament. If the monarchical episcopate is to find its authorisation there, it

II.

For we must challenge the Roman maintainers of the doctrine of development to explain themselves. Rome in its official documents ignores any real development. The constitution "*Pastor æternus*," issued by Pius IX., as the outcome of the Vatican Council and with its approbation, culminates in the tremendous definition that it is a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra* . . . is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be provided for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the Church"; and it also declared that, in so defining, the Pope was "faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian Faith." Leo XIII. in the *Satis cognitum* writes wholly in this sense.¹ Cardinal Newman, when he was modifying his earlier idea of the development of doctrine in the Church, declared that it was a matter beyond doubt—which only needed stating *pro majori cautela*—"that all the doctrines of the Church were there from the time of the Apostles; that they were ever in their substance what they are now." You may say then that in the original tradition they were *implicit* and not *explicit*, but only in the sense that, though the Church was conscious of them in substance, they had not been brought out into a distinct or formulated shape.

It was in this sense that the first Christian Church believed implicitly in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in virtue of its belief in the threefold Name of God—the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost—but had not formulated the doctrine. This is the idea of development held by Vincent of Lerins. It is the ancient idea. It is quite intelligible. It appears to be still the official Roman idea.

is because it would appear that the presbyter-bishops never were the highest order in the Church: but that over them from the first were either the apostolic founders of the churches, or apostolic rulers of a single church, like St. James at Jerusalem, or apostolic legates like Timothy and Titus, who appear to bridge the interval between the death of the apostles and the universal institution of moniscopacy. On the other hand, I should contend that there is no evidence for, and indeed conclusive evidence against, the existence of any kind of authority or office (as distinct from honorary precedence) higher than belonged to each apostle, or to the apostolic college acting together. And there is no trace that the leadership of Peter, any more than the leadership of Paul, was meant to be perpetuated in his successors.

¹ The Vatican decree represents the *vetus et constans omnium sæculorum asserta fides*.

But to bring the modern Roman dogmas, and especially those concerning the papacy under this formula is a hopeless task. It is as plain as day that the East had no idea of a central authority divinely instituted; and that the General Councils expressed a quite different conception of the final seat of church authority. And St. Irenæus' celebrated phrase about the "superior pre-eminence" of the Roman Church, whatever the ambiguity of the Latin translation, at any rate grounds the special position of the Roman Church in the maintenance of the tradition on something wholly different to the Petrine privilege surviving in the Bishops of Rome. He grounds it on the central position of the metropolitan see which caused it to be visited by men from all quarters, so that it became what no other Church was, a depository not of a merely local tradition but of the tradition of all parts of the world. The dogma concerning the Pope expressed in *Pastor æternus* was the culmination of a real development which gained ascendancy in the West, largely by the help of false documents, but also by the urgency of human need, in which we must see a providential purpose. But the development of the institution was made to rest upon a doctrine which was indeed already fairly well developed in the Fifth Century in Rome and which thence forward found very little to contend against in the West; but which was unknown in the Apostolic tradition as Origen enumerates its elements, and as the great Greek Fathers knew it in the East,¹ or Irenæus and Tertullian in the West; and which is fundamentally inconsistent with Cyprian's theory and practice.

We do ask Mgr. Batiffol to explain more precisely what he means by the development of doctrine and what is involved in his setting aside of Vincent of Lerins' theory as inadequate.

III.

The doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope *jure divino* and (finally) of his infallibility was a Western development; and in rejecting it the Easterns were not rejecting anything which they had previously received. There are certain standing proofs of this proposition which cannot, we think, be overthrown.

As to infallibility such a standing proof is the condemnation of Pope Honorius as a Monothelite heretic by the Sixth and Seventh Œcumenical Councils.

This condemnation could not have been passed without elaborate explanations, if the idea of papal infallibility had in any way been reckoned as part of the faith. That would be admitted. For the

¹ For the Greek-speaking Church of the Fourth Century, as Duchesne said, "the Papacy, such as the West knew it later on, was still to be born."

doctrine of papal infallibility was not at that time developed even in the West.

But is the same proposition true as regards papal supremacy *jure divino*? Of this one crucial proof is the 28th canon of Chalcedon, taken together with the sixth canon of Nicæa and the third of Constantinople. These surely demonstrate that the primacy of Rome was, in the mind of the East, based upon the secular position of Rome and was a matter of ecclesiastical arrangement. It was on these grounds that it was proposed to give to Constantinople a position second to, but similar to, that of old Rome. And this was decreed by the Fourth Œcumenical Council following the Second. It is pleaded by Mgr. Batiffol, as by others, that the Fathers of Chalcedon made the canon subject to the assent of the Pope. So they did in words—"as a matter of pure ceremony," Duchesne says. For in spite of the vigorous protests of Leo and his successors, the canon took effect and was reaffirmed in the Quinisext Council in *Trullo*. But it might very naturally have been held by the Easterns with more sincerity that so important a change in the relative positions of great sees ought only to be made subject to the assent of that which was confessedly the first see. That however is not the point. The point is that the language in which the precedence of Rome is recognised is quite incompatible with the conception of a *jus divinum* inherent in the see. And we think that Mgr. Batiffol is quite unsuccessful in removing this impression.

And in what he says about the appeals of Eastern bishops to Rome he seems to me to ignore that when we first hear of an appeal to Rome as a part of the recognised practice in the West—that is at the Council of Sardica—it appears as something which the Church found it expedient to grant, not as something which the Roman Church possessed by divine right. Even if all that Mgr. Batiffol says about these appeals were admitted, it does not at all follow that they are based on any recognition of a *jus divinum*.

Nor do I think that the Monseigneur's use of the acceptance of the formula of Hormisdas by John of Constantinople is quite fair. John—a poor weak man—did accept it under severe Imperial pressure. But in accepting it he prefaced it with a statement which evacuated it of its Roman meaning. He somehow identified his own see with the Roman see, so as to admit of the position that he was accepting nothing as belonging to Hormisdas which he himself did not share. Moreover, numbers of Eastern bishops were admitted to the communion of Rome without signing anything except a statement of the orthodox faith.¹

¹ See on this matter Father Puller's *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, pp. 399 ff. and 421 ff.

No doubt, hard-pressed individuals among the Easterns made from time to time concessions couched in language pleasing to Roman ears. But I do not think that anything can explain away the facts which make it certain that no *de jure divino* supremacy of Rome had ever been accepted in the East generally.

* * * *

These remarks on the Monsignor's paper are far from covering all the ground. But an Anglican has the consolation of feeling that we have two books which do cover the whole ground—laboriously and accurately—Fr. Puller's *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* (Longman) and Denny's *Papalism* (Rivington). On these we may well be content to rest our case.

LA REUNION DES EGLISES EN ROUMANIE.

BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE JULES SCRIBAN OF BUCHAREST.

JUSQU'A la grande guerre, toutes les Eglises ont vécu dans une "splendid isolation" qui n'était pas du tout splendide. Et non seulement dans les branches séparées du christianisme, mais au sein même de la même Eglise, comme notre Eglise Orthodoxe, l'absence de toute relation entre les filles d'une seule mère était à déplorer.

Néanmoins, à côté de toutes les mauvaises suites de la guerre, en voilà une bonne : ceux qui marchaient dans les ténèbres ont vu une grande lumière (Esaie 9, 1). Les Eglises, qui ne se souciaient plus d'être une forte collaboration vers la réalisation du Royaume de Dieu, ont senti l'appel des temps et ont commencé le mouvement vers la réintégration de ce christianisme trop éparpillé.

C'était une grande responsabilité qui pesait sur elles : celle de l'absence de l'harmonie et par conséquent de l'activité en commun pour évangéliser le monde. Elles ne pouvaient attendre autre chose qu'à toute ombre de prestige, si elles continuaient à vivre comme par le passé, c'est-à-dire comme des corps isolés ne voulant rien savoir l'une de l'autre. Leur indifférence vers leur rôle commun dans le monde était leur propre condamnation. Est-ce que Jésus n'avait pas dit : *Allez et instruisez toutes les nations !* Donc le problème du christianisme étant universel, n'était-il pas une attitude contraire à ce rôle que de ne pas vivre que d'une vie isolée et sans intérêt pour le christianisme d'ailleurs ?

Il a été le grand mérite des Eglises d'Amérique d'avoir pris l'initiative pour la réintégration du christianisme, par les visites que les évêques de l'Eglise épiscopale des Etats-Unis ont faites en 1919 dans tous les pays chrétiens pour renouer des relations oubliées depuis longtemps. Le Mouvement de la *World Conference for Faith and Order* est un grand effort vers le rétablissement d'un état normal parmi les Eglises, car l'état actuel ne peut pas être ce qu'il devrait être au milieu d'un christianisme sentant un peu plus fortement sa responsabilité pour les âmes devenues sauvages. Aussi, il faut apprécier comme méritant tous les éloges la démarche de l'Eglise épiscopale d'Angleterre d'entrer dans des relations suivies avec l'Eglise Orthodoxe et d'avoir institué un comité, ayant à sa tête l'érudit et vénérable Evêque *Charles Gore*, expressément chargé de cultiver ces relations, pouvant ensuite arriver aux plus heureuses perspectives pour l'avenir des deux Eglises : Orthodoxe et Anglicane.

Je crois que les deux évêques anglicans qui nous ont visités, Sa Sainteté Mons. *John Greig*, évêque de Gibraltar, au mois de novembre 1922, et Sa Sainteté l'Evêque *Charles Gore* l'année dernière au mois d'avril, ont pu se convaincre avec combien de plaisir l'Orient Orthodoxe voit se resserrer les liaisons avec les Eglises chrétiennes, en commençant avec la Grande et Puissante Eglise d'Angleterre qui vraiment est la première avec laquelle on puisse de notre part reconstruire le bloc du christianisme.

Peut-être qu'en Roumanie ils ont pu sentir tout cela moins qu'ailleurs. Toutefois nous autres, quelques théologiens de l'Eglise Orthodoxe de Roumanie, nous rendant compte de ce que nos relations avec l'Eglise Anglicane ont d'importance pour l'avenir du christianisme, nous faisons des efforts, tant par notre presse que par les revues ecclésiastiques, pour faire pénétrer cette idée dans la conscience publique, pour éveiller l'attention et rendre sympathique et intelligible l'idée des relations toujours plus suivies entre nos Eglises. C'est pourquoi il est bien possible qu'à l'avenir l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine passe au premier plan pour mener à bonne fin les relations avec l'Eglise Anglicane, que nous attendons toujours plus vives et fréquentes.

Nous nous rendons compte de la responsabilité de l'Eglise de Roumanie. Elle est maintenant la plus nombreuse Eglise Orthodoxe, avec plus de 12,000,000 d'orthodoxes. Et loin de penser à avoir une sorte de primauté sur les autres Eglises Orthodoxes, elle doit pourtant prendre sur elle de porter le drapeau du christianisme au moment où notre sœur, la Grande Eglise de Russie, ne peut plus bouger. Non pour dominer, mais bien pour servir, nous voulons que notre Eglise prenne plus fortement dans ses mains les brides du christianisme dans cet Orient tellement bouleversé et malheureux. Donc c'est de notre part qu'on devrait répondre le plus vivement

aux efforts répétés de l'Eglise Anglicane pour nous reconstituer en un seul tronc chrétien.

C'est ce que nous tâchons de faire maintenant ici et c'est ce que je veux qu'on sache au sein de l'Eglise d'Angleterre, pour que ses grandes personnalités et la Grande Figure de l'Archevêque de Canterbury apprennent que leurs vaillantes voix trouvent un grand retentissement chez nous et qu'ils n'attendront pas longtemps jusqu'à ce qu'ils entendent d'autres voix que la mienne. Mais la mienne aussi n'est pas trop tard.

THE WAR AGAINST RELIGION IN GEORGIA.

GEORGIA obtained her independence in 1917 and was recognised as a sovereign State by the Treaty of Versailles, being admitted to the League of Nations. Prince Soumbatoff, who is still resident in London, was received as her minister at the Court of St. James. In 1921, however, the Bolsheviks invaded the country and set up a Soviet Government of the Moscow pattern but with a Georgian personnel. In 1922 these were found insufficiently pliable and were largely replaced by Jews, and Russians. Soviet Georgia, though theoretically independent, is, like Soviet Armenia, a puppet State, not only tied by stringent treaties to the suzerainty of Moscow but in fact ruled from thence. The fate of the country since 1921 has been much the same as that experienced by Russia between 1917 and 1922. There has been a similar Red Terror with wholesale *battues* followed by an organised attempt to destroy the Orthodox Georgian Church, which, like that of Russia, retains the passionate love of the great majority of the nation. It would seem, indeed, as if *mutatis mutandis* the Moscow authorities were so well satisfied with the tragedy enacted in Russia that, famine and all, they had determined to reproduce its phases on the ancient and civilized people of the unhappy little State. A perusal of the appended extract from the Tiflis *Communist* will show anyone who has followed events in Russia the warranty for this observation.

Georgia, however, is almost a closed country to Europe, and it is probable that the trial of the Catholicos would have passed unnoticed in the West, and certain that it would have been followed by his murder and that of his fellow bishops and priests, if the *Times* had not commenced a vigorous campaign and the rest of the European Press, with the American, had not joined it—and also if the Moscow Soviet's recognition of Mr. MacDonald had not made it particularly anxious to placate British opinion.

In fact, and as a matter of course, the Catholicos and those with him were condemned in March, but the sentence was to seven years' imprisonment and not to death. That was a savage enough snarl. None the less, the Georgian Community in London and Paris received it as a son receives the medico's diagnosis that his father's painful sickness has ceased to be dangerous. The Catholicos' appeal to the League which bulked so largely in his indictment, appeared in our May, 1923, number, under the title of the *Bitter Cry of the Georgian Catholicos*.

The silence of the League of Nations in the case of Georgia is paralleled by its impotence in the cases of Greece, Armenia and the Assyrians. That it will admit Soviet Russia to its membership without justice being done should be inconceivable, but appears probable.

The *Communist* (published in Tiflis), organ of the Soviet authorities, of February 1st, 1924 (No. 28) contained the following:—

"THE HOLY COUNTER-REVOLUTION."

(ACT OF ACCUSATION.)

"The Trial of Catholicos Ambrosius and His Council."

In the second half of February the trial of Catholicos Ambrosius (whose lay name is Besarion Khelaia) is to take place. Not only the Catholicos, but also the members of his Council—Kalistrate Tzintzadze, Joseph Mirianishvili, Maroz Tkemaladze, Nicoloz Tavdgiridze, Archimandrit Djaparidze, Dimitri Lazarashvili, Joseph Capanadze, Nicoloz Ardjevanidze and Anton Totibadze are accused.

THE ACCUSATION.

The Appeal sent to the Conference of Genoa.

In February, 1922, the Catholicos and his Council drew up and forwarded an Appeal to the Genoa Conference. The object of this Appeal was to obtain armed intervention of foreign Powers in the internal affairs of the Georgian Republic. This Appeal contained the false counter-revolutionary statement that the foreign oppressors, the Russian invaders, approached the frontiers of Georgia and "on 25th February, 1921, when Georgia had shed her last blood in this uneven struggle, was obliged to submit to the heavy yoke of shameful slavery." It was also said in this Appeal that "they robbed the Georgian people and carried away its wealth."

The hiding of the treasures of the Sion and Mtzhket Cathedral.

When in 1921 the Menshevik Government fled, the treasures of Sion and Mtzhket Cathedrals, which were declared National property, were carried off to Kutais and buried beneath the balcony of the Bishop's house. The treasures were carried off and hidden by Archimandrite Djaparidze; in this he was aided by Lazarishvili, Kapanadze Tkemaladze and Tzintzadze. Catholicos Ambrosius and Metropolitan Nazarios are accused on the grounds of having known that the precious objects had been brought to Kutais and concealed and not having given information.

The obstruction shown to the Clerical Commission (Soviet) which had to take over the Military Cathedral.

The Catholicos Ambrosius, Tkemaladze, Tzintzadze, Tavdgiridze, Ardjevanidze and Totibadze refused on the 10th of January, 1923, to comply with the order to hand over the Military Cathedral, neither did they send their representatives to the Clerical Commission, which had to make the inventory of the objects of the Cult.

The concealment of precious objects of the Didube Cathedral.

Joseph Marianashvili concealed in the Didube Cathedral 30 pounds of Church treasures and did not give them up to the Government Commission for the Relief of the Famine. These treasures were not entered in the inventory.

Moreover, a number of priests were accused of inaccurate accounts, as found by the inspection of the Clerical Commission. Joseph Capanadze is accused of having carried and delivered the Appeal of the Catholicos and his Council to the Genoa Conference.

Then follows the text of the Appeal by the Catholicos to the Genoa Conference, and it is stated that the preliminary investigation proved the text to be genuine and written in Catholicos' own handwriting.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND SOUTH-INDIAN "SYRIAN" CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. W. S. HUNT, OF THE C.M.S.

THE people often called by Anglican writers the "Thomas Christians," and by themselves "Syrian Christians," who live in south-western India between latitude 9 and 11, number about a million souls, a quarter of the Christians of India, and are divided ecclesiastically into the following groups:—

1. Syro-Catholics (Romo-Syrians).
2. Orthodox Syrians (Jacobites).
3. Members of the Mar Thoma Church.
4. Syro-Chaldeans (Nestorians).

There are also those sometimes called "Syro-Anglicans."

The groups are placed in order according to their numerical strength, and are given their *official* designations with, in brackets, the names by which they are usually known. But, as mentioned above, all ordinarily call themselves, and are called by others, simply "Syrians"—occasionally "Nazrāni," their ancient name.

Groups 2 and 4 are, it will be noted, extensions of "separated" Eastern Churches, and No. 1, of the Roman Catholic Church, constituting a Uniat Church. No. 2 are not, of course, in communion

with the Orthodox Eastern Church, but are under the (Monophysite) Patriarch of Antioch. Their local head is their metrān (Metropolitan of Malabar) and their diocese the Diocese of Malankara. No. 3 are sometimes referred to as the Reformed Syrians, a name that they don't like. They are an autonomous Church, their ecclesiastical head is the Most Rev. Titus Mar Thoma, styled Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Church of Malabar. The local head of Group No. 4 is the Most Rev. Mar Timotheus, Metropolitan of India, now in England*. No. 1 use a Syriac liturgy; No. 2 use the Syriac liturgy of St. James; No. 3 the same expurgated; No. 4 that of All the Apostles. Syriac is the liturgical language of all; but most sections now use their vernacular (Malayālam) very largely in their Services. All but No. 4 have bishops of their own race. Mar Timotheus is a native of Kurdistan. And among the Jacobite bishops are two or three natives of Syria.

All the "Syrians" are by race Indians, of the same stock as their Hindu neighbours.† All, except the Romo-Syrians, and possibly Syro-Chaldeans, intermarry, the bride joining her husband's Church. "Syrians" seldom marry non-Syrian Christians.

All believe that St. Thomas the Apostle came to their land and made many converts, of whom they are the descendants, ordained clergy, organised the Church, and was martyred near Madras in A.D. 65; and that in 345 another Thomas, a merchant, brought a large company of Christians from Persia and Mesopotamia, including a bishop and priests sent by the East Syrian Patriarch, who reinforced and revived their then languishing Church. This is not the place to discuss this tradition, or how it is (the first part of it) to be reconciled with the story in the *Acts of Thomas* of the Apostle's evangelisation of an "India" governed by a Parthian king who reigned in Cabul. But it has been thought that in the second part, that about the reinforcements, we may have history; that the South-Indian Church may have been the product of the missionary activity of the East Syrian (Assyrian) Church which regarded St. Thomas as its founder. If the date may be accepted (it is not by some), that was before the East Syrian Church identified itself with the cause of Nestorius.

Such meagre scraps of evidence as there are seem to show the Indian Church's dependence upon the East Syrian Church up to the sixteenth century. This, however, is contested by Groups 1,

*The Indian headquarters of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are in the State of Travancore, of No. 4 in that of Cochin. There is a small diocese in British Malabar (that of Anyūr) in communion with No. 3.

†There are, however, certain families known as "Southists" who believe that their ancestors came from Mesopotamia in the fourth century and that their people have always intermarried, never married Indians. And there are others whose forbears, in more recent centuries, came with bishops sent by the Patriarch and who married Syro-Indians wives and settled in the land. Old-fashioned people like to consider themselves Syrian by race. The younger educated men and women, affected by the wave of nationalism, are often fervently Indian.

2 and 3. In the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Alexandrian, touching at Ceylon, heard of Christians in South India receiving bishops from Persia, and the Christians themselves have, in one of their churches, an eighth-century monument with a Persian (Pehlavi) inscription. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, in the thirteenth century, described St. Thomas's shrine near Madras; the Apostle's body had long before been conveyed from "India" to Edessa, the East Syrian Church's earliest centre. Franciscan and Dominican fathers, in the following centuries, visited the shrine and found there, one of them says, "Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics." Another (Jordanus) says that, with his brethren, he "won over to the faith ten thousand schismatics and unbelievers," the former no doubt Thomas Christians.

Then came the Portuguese, early in the sixteenth century, and began to build up their Eastern Empire. The Christians welcomed them and they, after long striving, at the end of the century, compelled them to submit to Rome. All the Syriac manuscripts they could find they burnt, but the Christians were allowed to retain their old liturgy, purged of Nestorianism and Romanised. An Anglican, Michael Geddes, Chancellor of Sarum, who had been a chaplain attached to our embassy in Lisbon, wrote a history of these proceedings from Portuguese sources and it was published in London in 1694* by which time the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese from South-west India and turned all European ecclesiastics out of the country. Later, however, they suffered certain (non-Portuguese) Carmelites to enter. Those of the Christians who disliked Roman rule and Western ways sent appeals for help to the heads of the Eastern Churches, Nestorian, Jacobite and Coptic, which resulted in the coming of a bishop from Antioch. Through his influence a number of congregations became Jacobite, hardly aware probably of their Christological *volte-face*. The others remained loyal to Rome.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, when the States of Travancore and Cochin came under British protection and English people began to interest themselves in the Syrians, they were thus divided—into Romans and Jacobites, the former calling themselves the "old," and the latter being called by them the "new," party. Nestorians were, apparently, non-existent, though a Nestorian bishop had lived in Travancore from 1708 to 1730. (The present Syro-Chaldeans date only from the last decade of last century, up to which time they were Romo-Syrians.)

We now come to the relations between the Anglican Church and the Syrians. In 1725 the members of the Danish mission in Tranque-

*He enumerated fifteen "doctrines wherein the Church of Malabar agrees with the Church of England and differs from the Church of Rome." This refers to the Malabar Church before the coming of the Portuguese, of course.

bar tried to get into touch with the latter. It seems to have been at the instigation either of the S.P.G. or S.P.C.K. that this was done. Those societies, first the former and then the latter, helped to finance the Danish mission. In 1811 the S.P.C.K. asked the missionaries "whether it would not be possible to obtain workers from the Thomas Christians." The missionaries thought it would be inadvisable and reminded the society how their predecessors, in 1725, "by the advice of their friends in Europe," had "endeavoured to make acquaintance with the dignitaries and clergy of the St. Thomas, or Syrian, Christians . . . and to unite them with the Protestant Church, or at least to bring them to agree in doctrine with Protestants . . . but they were at last obliged to give up all hopes of such a union." The missionaries gave reasons for this and for not employing them as workers, e.g., because they adhered to doctrines that "militate against" several of the Thirty-nine Articles, "because they would demand of us to conform to *their* persuasion and ritual instead of conforming themselves to that of the Church of England," etc., etc. This reference to the Articles and to the Church of England suggests that the friends who had advised them to approach the Syrians had been Anglicans, presumably those with whom they corresponded, the Society that helped them.

It may have been a book published in 1811 that prompted the S.P.C.K.'s inquiry in that year, as it may have been Geddes' book that prompted that in 1725. The former was written by a chaplain in Bengal, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who had been down to Travancore in 1806 and had conferred with various leading Jacobites. Their metropolitan gave him a written statement to the effect that "a union with the Church of England, or at least such a connection as would appear to both Churches practicable and expedient, would be a happy event."* The Syrians were then in a depressed condition, after all the turmoil and fightings of the eighteenth century, but were respected by their Hindu neighbours. Their Church was described as "ignorant and formal and dead." No bishop, or communication, had come from Antioch for more than fifty years; indeed, Buchanan seemed to think that the link with Antioch was on the point of snapping and the Patriarchate itself on the verge of extinction, and the Syrians consequently "in a state to become what we choose to make them." Their Monophysism he believed to be merely nominal. In this he was confirmed by a more important person, the first Anglican bishop in India, Dr. Middleton, who paid three visits to Travancore for the express purpose of making "a minute and careful investigation of the Syrian Church." He wrote

*Another chaplain, the Rev. R. H. Kerr, of Madras, visited the Syrians just before Buchanan did. He felt that "to unite them to the Church of England would be a most noble work." Buchanan at first shared this view, but afterwards held "an official union" to be impracticable—for political reasons.

after his second visit, in 1816, (the second in that year; he was consecrated in 1814), "Whether they will ever be brought to symbolise exactly with the Church of England is very doubtful, but there can be no doubt that they are prepared for an intimate and friendly communion with us," and after his third visit, in 1821, "There is no visible approximation to the Church of England, and . . . if ever there should be, it will be communicated to the bishop of that Church in India."

(To be completed in next issue).

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM.

WE expect to be able to give an account of the Pilgrimage, which started from London on April 28, in our next issue. Meanwhile we print here the important addresses presented to the Patriarchs Photios and Damianos, to which reference has been made in the splendid reports which, by its enterprise, the *Church Times* has already published.

TO HIS BEATITUDE PHOTIOS, POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA,
JUDGE OF THE ŒCUMENICAL COURT.

We, Roscoe Lord Bishop of Nassau, and Ernest Lord Bishop of Nebraska, by the Grace of God being Bishops of His Holy Church in England and being now on Pilgrimage with priests and faithful laity of the particular Holy Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland, to that Holy Land in which our Most Blessed Lord and Saviour assumed human flesh and, becoming man even as we, accomplished our salvation, and pausing on our journey to visit and to pray within this world-famous city of Alexandria wherein the ever-Blessed Evangelist and Martyr St. Mark set up his Apostolic Throne, and from which throughout the vicissitudes of history and the tragedies of the ages as from a lighthouse the true and all-saving light of the Gospel has ever shone forth upon the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ and upon all mankind, guiding them in the way of life and a lantern pointing them on the path of that Right and Orthodox Faith which was once and for all delivered to the Saints, seize the occasion to address ourselves to your Holiness, the successor of the Blessed Evangelist, of the most Holy Athanasios, the most wise Cyril, and of that long list of martyrs, confessors, doctors and saintly Patriarchs who have occupied the renowned throne of the Pope and Patriarch, and to assure you of the good will and staunch affection which is felt for your Holiness alike by ourselves and by our brethren in Great Britain.

Whatever schisms have been made in the seamless robe of Christ, we would ask your Holiness to believe that the particular autocephalous Churches of our land and nation have never been wilfully separated from the Holy Orthodox Church of the East. Rather we would say that in the workings of history and through the great distances of space our forefathers were hardly aware of the needs and lives of their Eastern brethren. They knew of the valiant and noble martyrdom which the Greek race was suffering for the Cross and Name of our Lord Christ at the cruel hands of the Turks, but the world in which they lived was far from the theatre of warfare. Whenever, however, they came in touch with the Holy Church of the East they were won to the greatest admiration not only for its witness to the Cross but also for its constancy to the Faith of the Seven Holy Œcumenical Councils, and to gratitude for the zeal with which it has been inspired by God to preserve that Faith without

Thus we remember with pride and satisfaction that as far back as the early 16th century your Holiness' predecessor, Kritopoulos Metrophanes, was an honoured friend of the then Archbishop of Canterbury and a welcome visitor to our land when he came as a student to reside at our University at Oxford, nor can we forget that the Codex Alexandrinus, which is among the most treasured and sacred keimelia of our race, was a gift of brotherly love from the city which was made a fountain of Biblical exposition by the great Pantænos.

In our own days the lessening of distance, the labours of many lovers of Christ, both Orthodox and Anglican, and, above all, the comradeship in suffering for the right, in labour for liberty and progress and in the long struggle of the Great War, have brought the Orthodox nations of the East into closer touch with the British Churches and have taught us to know each other. That near acquaintance has added fuel to the eager zeal of those of each communion who have consecrated themselves to further the realisation of the prayer of the Great High Priest for the full unity in the life of His Spirit, of His Holy Body, the One Church.

That your Holiness shares our ardent longing for that end we are well assured. That it may be accomplished in our own day may be more than we are right to hope, but that in God's providence and time it will be accomplished by the prayer, the labour and the love of men of goodwill we cannot doubt without sinning against the Holy Spirit. We therefore ask your Holiness to pray for God's blessing on those theologians of both Churches who by incessant toil are endeavouring to establish that full and complete dogmatic agreement between the Anglican and Eastern Churches without which Intercommunion is impossible. As an earnest of our mind we venture to place in your hands a copy of a Declaration of Faith signed by our famous theologian and Bishop, Dr. Gore, 3,000 Anglican bishops and priests, as an exposition of what they hold to be the official teaching of the Anglican Church. It is true that among us there are other voices, but we believe that this document represents the historic witness of our Communion both for the past and for the present.

We venture also, as an evidence of the most Christian and kind advance made to us on the part of the Orthodox hierarchs, to hand your Holiness a recent personal declaration as to Anglican Ordinations made by that wise and careful theologian and champion of Orthodoxy, Anthony, the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Kiev and President of the Russian Synod at Karlowitz, after his study of the question in collaboration with the eminent lay theologian Professor Glubokovsky.

And, in conclusion, in thanking your Holiness for this most kind reception which you have vouchsafed to us, we ask you to pray, that guided by God we may rightly worship at the most sacred shrines of our Holy Religion, and drawing fresh spiritual life from our pilgrimage thereto, may return to our own country in peace and salvation of soul and body, washed, cheered, and refreshed, there to labour for the preparation of this world to be the Kingdom of Christ, and in all things to bear and to do His Blessed Will, and to rejoice in the comfort of His Spirit, and in our fellowship with His Saints here in this world and in His Glorious Paradise hereafter.

And so we pray Him, to hearken to the humble prayers which we join to the Intercessions of the most Holy Mother of God and of all the Saints, to hold your Holiness, your flock, the whole Orthodox Church and all Christians in His keeping until the day of His appearing.

TO HIS BEATITUDE DAMIANOS, THE LORD PATRIARCH OF THE HOLY
CITY JERUSALEM AND OF THE PROMISED LAND.

We, Roscoe Lord Bishop of Nassau, and Ernest Lord Bishop of Nebraska, together with priests and faithful laity of His Holy Church in communion with His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who have been blessed by Almighty God to visit as humble but devout pilgrims, the most Holy and Adorable Places where the Word, the Eternal Son, having taken flesh of His Blessed Mother by the operation of the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, was born, was crucified, died, was buried and

rose again for our salvation and for that of all mankind, rejoice to express to Your Beatitude the great respect, affection, goodwill and gratitude which are felt, as by ourselves, so throughout not only the particular Churches of Great Britain and Ireland, but also all the branches of the Anglican Communion overseas towards the Holy Church of Zion, the ancient and worthy Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre and to your Beatitude, the successor of the Holy Apostle James, the Brother of our Blessed Lord, as the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Mother of all Churches and the President of that Confraternity.

In the age of the Seven Persecutions of the Cross, as if to safeguard them from desecration at the heathen hand of Old Rome, the Divine Providence suffered the Holy Places not only to be covered with a veil of earth but even to be profaned by the setting up upon them of the images of Pagan Gods.

But after that the Triumph of the Labarum at the Milvian Bridge had given peace to the Church and the Heathendom of Rome had become Christendom, then, while the noble Christ-loving Emperor Constantine, whom we, with you, reverence as Isapostolic, busied himself with the calling of the First Œcumenical Council, with the building of the New Rome and with the first founding of that Great Church of St. Sophia, which we mourn to know is still in bondage, his Holy Mother Helena, who, like her son, is therefore to be accounted Isapostolic, hastened to this Holy City, the Mother of all the Churches, and in order that the Crown might be set upon the Conversion of the Œcumenical World to the Gospel, sought diligently to find the Holy Places of the Passion of our Lord.

Her faith was rewarded, and when the earth had been removed from the spot made known to her by a vision, there were revealed not only the Most Holy Cave of the Sepulchre, Gethsemane and awful Golgotha but also the True Cross and the other Instruments of the Crucifixion.

The companion in the search of the Isapostolic Empress was your Beatitude's predecessor, Makarios, of most blessed memory, and when at her son's entreaty she resolved to raise a Temple to enshrine those most sacred places, it was to him that she and her son entrusted the building of the world-famous Church of the Anastasis and the Presidency of the Confraternity which they established as its lawful guardian. Throughout the ages that most weighty and holy trust has been exercised by your predecessors, the successors of St. Makarios, with the greatest fidelity. Never has it been used for selfish ends, but always as for the Christian world. Thus you and your predecessors have never failed to extend warm Christian hospitality to pilgrims from the West and to others who were not of the Orthodox Church. Your door has been closed to none, even though they reviled you.

Further, we Anglicans recognise that the faithfulness of your Confraternity to its great trust, its devoted and loving care of the glorious shrines which it has raised upon the Holy Places and the unflinching and generous charity with which it receives and has ever received all pilgrims who desire to worship within them has justified and vindicated its world-approved right to be the guardian of Mount Calvary and of the Cave of Bethlehem.

As, therefore, we move from point to point and find healing and refreshment for our souls and bodies from the virtue of the Holy Places, we shall render thanks to the Giver of all good things for the existence of your Confraternity and shall pray for its continued well-being and protection from every aggression.

And, further, we would express to your Beatitude the thankfulness and admiration with which we who dwell in the safe Home of Christian Liberty are inspired by the Faith and Witness of the Church of Zion, under bitter oppression and infidel tyranny, to the Faith of the Gospel.

It is with the sympathy of brothers that we glory in and are encouraged by the fact that neither persecution nor temptation to purchase earthly security at the price of the betrayal of the Truth have been strong enough to win the Orthodox Church to apostasy, by compromise upon the Catholic Faith as she believes it to have been

delivered by the Christ to His Apostles, to have been enshrined in Sacred Scripture and the Writings of the Fathers, to have been defined by those Pillars of the Truth, the Seven Œcumenical Councils, and to have been passed down to her in the Living Tradition of the Saints. With that Faith, as we understand it, and, as for example, we read its exposition in the Confession of the Patriarch Dositheos and the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem, we are in substantial agreement and we look forward in confident hope to the speedy coming of that happy day when the Theologians and Hierarchs of our respective Communion shall have reached that complete and full doctrinal accord which is the necessary condition of our Reunion.

We realize with thanksgiving to the One God and Father of us all that the fruition of that great dream has been largely hastened by the decision of your Holiness surrounded by the Synod of this famous Patriarchate and in company with the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Cyprus, to acknowledge the validity of Anglican Ordinations as on a parity with those of Rome and of other Churches which you receive as possessing the requisite marks of Apostolic Succession.

Finally we desire to tender to your Beatitude our heartfelt congratulation on the celebration of your Jubilee last year, and to express our deep sense of the services which in your long Ministry you have rendered not only to the Church of Zion and to the Orthodox Churches but also to the cause of Christianity.

That the good God in His loving kindness may grant you yet further years of beneficent rule over your people is our sincere prayer and will be echoed by our fellow Anglicans and all Christians.

We ask you to pray for our safe return to our homes, and that, enriched by the blessings showered upon us in this pilgrimage to the Holy Land, we may be fruitful in good works for the Faith and People of the Church of our Lord.

AMERICAN LETTER.

WITH more than three millions of people in America from Eastern Orthodox countries, their relation to the Episcopal Church is a more acute problem than it is in any other sphere of the Anglican Communion. Archbishop Theodore and the Crusades gave contact, and since the Reformation there have been many devout students labouring with great patience to establish a common meeting ground.

The American Church in the middle of the last century sent Bishop Southgate as a missionary to the Near East. A school was founded in Athens, but after a careful survey and spending some time in residence in Constantinople, he returned home. He reported that he found a church fully organised with its own bishops occupying the field and he would not be a party to setting up a schism. He therefore resigned and became Rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston. Many American bishops have studied carefully the Eastern Church and visited practically every portion of the field. The late Bishop Hale of Cairo, Illinois, made it his life study. The late Bishop Grafton of Fond du Lac was in constant communication with the authorities, and his visit to Russia in 1903 seemed to open the door for more definite negotiations. The year after his death the General Convention in 1913, sitting in New York, appointed a joint Commission to confer with the authorities of the Eastern Orthodox

and Old Catholic Churches. In America the latter Church, with one Bishop and two Bishops-elect, has had a checkered career that would make a separate story.

The Orthodox Church began in America with its mission to the Aleutian Islands and Alaska before that territory was purchased by the United States. The Bishop of Alaska and Aleut later transferred his residence to San Francisco. Then, with the immigration of large numbers of Slavic peoples and other members of the Orthodox Church from the Near East to Eastern America, the Episcopal seat was moved to New York.

Patriarch Tikhon was its first incumbent. It was he who moved the Cathedral from San Francisco to New York City. He was succeeded by Archbishop Platon, who later returned to Russia and became Metropolitan of Odessa until the Bolshevik upheaval, when he returned to New York and is again occupying the Cathedral.

By right of precedence the Russian Church would seem to have the responsibility of leadership, and did so until the War. But with her income lost, her property threatened, and many of her people seeking employment as Poles, in order to avoid the implications of Bolshevism if admitting that they were Russian, the lot of the Russian Church in America is a most difficult one. Associated with the Russian Archbishop is the Syrian Bishop, who has a large flock to whom he ministers. There is also the Bishop in charge of the Uniat Congregations in America; they are composed of a large group that was supposed to be under the Roman Church. But Rome was either unable or unwilling to fulfil her European Agreements. The Bishop therefore withdrew from Roman affiliation and joined the Russian Church and the clergy and the people have very largely followed his example, or sought admission to the Episcopal Church.

The Greek Church now has more than half a million adherents in America, and there are one hundred and seventy organised congregations with many smaller groups largely unshepherded.

During the war the Metropolitan of Athens came to America and arranged for the ministrations of many Priests and the appointment of a Bishop. At that time all the Greeks outside the homeland, with the exception of Trieste and Venice, were under the Governing Synod of Athens. After the war and the election of Archbishop Meletios as Patriarch Meletios IV., the missionary care of Greeks in foreign lands was assumed by the Holy Governing Synod of Constantinople. Alexander Rodostolou was then appointed Archbishop of North and South America in charge of all Greeks directly under the Patriarch of Constantinople. His position now seems to be one of pre-eminence amongst the Orthodox in America, and two Suffragan Bishops have been provided for him, one in Chicago and the other in Boston.

But changes come rapidly in America and we seem to reflect

the conditions in each country from which our people come. The living Church of Russia, supported by the Bolshevik government, has sent a mission to America and by a legal process has tied up all the property of the Orthodox Russian Church. For the second time Greek Royalists have sent to America a Bishop to represent their cause and another schism seems imminent that may represent one-sixth of the Greek population.

At a recent meeting of the Commission the following resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote :—

RESOLVED, that we express our sympathy to the Patriarch of Moscow, Tikhon, and our hope that the Russian Church in America may remain true to the traditions for which the Patriarch has suffered.

RESOLVED, that this meeting send fraternal greetings to Archbishop Platon and Archbishop Alexander, assuring them of our affectionate interest and sympathy in the many perplexities that confront them in their work, and we pledge to them our cordial co-operation, and commend them to the support of our people.

During the past ten years the Commission of the Episcopal Church has been in frequent conferences with one or another of the Eastern Orthodox groups and its members have made a number of visits to the Near East. During the summer of 1920 its chairman, the Bishop of Harrisburg, with other members of the Commission, visited Constantinople. After a number of conferences with the Holy Governing Synod the following Concordat was solemnly agreed to as a working hypothesis in our missionary fields and as a step toward unity and permanent intercommunion. The Concordat was approved by the House of Bishops sitting in General Convention at Portland, Oregon, in October, 1922.

Terms of Agreement between Eastern Orthodox, Old Catholic, and Anglican Churches, proposed as basis of Restoration of Corporate Unity and Intercommunion.

In general, we accept with common mind the traditional and ecumenically received Faith, Ministry, and Sacramental Order of the historic Catholic Church; acknowledging, however, that, subject to the requirement that these vital things should be carefully preserved and administered without alteration or compromise, each particular autonomous part of the Catholic Church has authority to regulate its own internal government, ritual, and spiritual discipline in adjustment to its peculiar racial, national, and modern conditions and circumstances. In particular :—

(a) We accept the authority of the Catholic Church over all the faithful to teach what is necessary to be believed and practised for salvation, and to enforce by spiritual means such holy discipline as may be required for the protection of the Church's Faith and Order, and for the guidance of souls in the way of eternal life.

(b) We accept the canonical Scriptures as being the veritable Word of God as given for the upbuilding of believers in the faith which they have received from Christ through His Church, and as confirming and illustrating all doctrine and practice which is generally necessary to be believed and fulfilled for salvation. In controversies as to the meaning of Holy Scripture we accept the Catholic Faith as affording a true summary of the fundamental and divinely inspired teaching which is progressively unfolded in the successive parts of the Bible.

(c) We accept the Nicene Creed, the decrees of Faith put forth by ecumenically accepted General Councils, and the Sacraments as means of grace.

Questions having arisen in connection with these matters, we agree to accept the mutual explanations as sufficient, until such time as the questions referred to can be determined by a truly œcumenical Council.

Impelled by consideration of the Saviour's prayer for the visible unity of all those who should believe in Him, by recognition of the present work of the Holy Spirit in many lands for the fulfilment of this prayer, and by realisation that the saving and sanctifying mission of the Church must be seriously hampered so long as its shameful divisions continue, we have agreed to the statements and the explanations given as affording a reasonable and sound basis of mutual recognition and intercommunion, and one which involves no surrender or compromise of the things given us by the Lord to preserve and administer for the benefit of souls.

In accordance with the preceding agreements we do solemnly declare our acceptance of the sacramental acts each of the other and that they are true and valid, and, holding fast the truth once delivered to the Saints, we pronounce that intercommunion is desirable and authorised for all our members wherever and whenever it is deemed convenient and practicable by the proper local ecclesiastical authorities.

These agreements were signed by :

(1) Bishop Herzog at a meeting of the Council of his Church in Berne, as representing the Swiss Old Catholics.

(2) In the Russian Church at Athens by Metropolitan Platon, Russian Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa.

(3) After a two days' discussion by Metropolitan Meletios and the Holy Synod of Greece with our Commission, a special committee of three, appointed for the purpose, reported in writing that the Concordat and Agreements were "very satisfactory."

(4) A week later, Archbishop Dorotheos, acting Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Holy Synod, after a two days' meeting passed

unanimously a formal resolution stating, "Therefore we beg to state by decision of the Holy Synod, we accept the said proposal with willingness and readily concede to it," and affixed the great seal of the Patriarchate to their statement, with an authorised translation from the Greek into English.

(5) On the same day the Armenian Patriarch of Turkey, the Most Rev. Zaveen, and the Very Rev. Kazazian, Vicar of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was on a visit to Constantinople, both signed the Agreements and Concordat in the presence of each other.

(6) Services of Thanksgiving and Rejoicing were held in the Greek Cathedral in Athens; the Russian Church in the same city; in the Armenian Cathedral in Constantinople; and in St. George's in Phanaar, the Church of the Ecumenical Patriarch.

(7) The newly elected Metropolitan of Rumania in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Bucharest, wrote as follows: "I foresee with pleasure that we shall be able to work together on the basis of those principles that are common to all Christianity, in order to contribute to the universal brotherhood through Evangelical Love," and held a service of friendly congratulation in his archiepiscopal chapel.

J.C.

ATHENS LETTER.

THE Church of Hellas is now getting into its stride under the new conditions of government, with its new and "real" synod at work on the measures that are before it. Generally, the opinion is that, though the new body has no doubt plenty of problems before it, and will have many a difficulty to face, yet it is a distinct improvement on what was the rule in old days.

One need not take too seriously the declarations that the old "permanent synod" was an unauthorised importation from "Protestant" sources. If it was derived from anywhere, it would seem to be from the very similar "synod" at Constantinople, which was evolved as the readiest way of governing the Church without arousing Ottoman suspicions. Nor is an accusation of the crime of being "unprimitive and uncanonical" a very serious one.

Men who know history know that no Church, whether its centre be at Rome, Canterbury, or Constantinople, administers itself in primitive style, and that the only question in such a case must be, "does the system work well?" As a matter of fact, the old "permanent synod" did not work well. It was too much afraid of rousing prejudice, to venture on even the most necessary practical

reforms, and far too liable to be under the political influences of the hour. In a country where "the spoils to the victors" is an understood principle of politics, it was very easy to remove several bishops from the little administrative synod, and send them back to their dioceses, while others of the "right political" complexion were substituted.

Now the Church is allowed a synod in which all bishops sit as of right, and from which any member of the body can only be excluded for definite reasons and after fair trial. This is the instrument for the self-government of the Church, under the supervision of the State. It is true that a royal commissioner (epitropos) sits in the body, as in the General Assembly of the Kirk at Edinburgh, though it may be that by the time these lines appear in print, the epithet "royal" will have ceased to apply in Greece! If, however, this functionary does not appear for any reason, the business of the synod proceeds notwithstanding, which was not the case of old. In fact, one of the readiest ways of preventing the synod from proceeding on any contentious business was to procure a diplomatic indisposition in the Commissioner!

A long list of matters, on which practical reform is a necessity, has been presented to the synod, and the first of these has now been cleared satisfactorily out of the way. The "Western Calendar" has been formally adopted and is now in force. It may perhaps be worth noting that this change has been adopted, in the "ultra-conservative and superstition-ridden East," with a conspicuous absence of all the trouble that attended it, in practical and common-sense England. We have had no riots here, with rioters demanding "give us back our eleven days! We are not going to die eleven days sooner to please the Pope!" Eastern and Western Christmas will in future fall on the same day, though we presume that the Armenian Church will continue its peculiar practice of observing only "the feast of the Manifestation" on January 6th. One result of this will be that, in the year of grace 1924, we in Greece are likely to have two Christmases, one having been observed on January 7th by the State Calendar, and another, we hope, on December 25th, by the Calendar both of Church and State!

Some day, perhaps, Easter may be kept by all Churches on the same day also, but that has not been achieved as yet. There are so many pitfalls in the calculation of the Great Feast! Is it not recorded how, even in the fifth century, a worthy monk left Alexandria as soon as Easter was over, and the fast done, and arrived at Rome to find that, by some confusion in the calculation, they were still in the middle of their Lent there!

For reasons that we confess to be beyond us, Orthodox Easter falls this year on April 27th, a week later than ours, and incidentally

on one of the days on which, according to our rule, "Easter cannot possibly fall"! Apparently nothing but the agreement of all authorities on some fixed and arbitrary Easter can avoid these confusions, and for that a meeting will be a necessity. Possibly if such high potentates as the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Ecumenical Patriarch, were to meet at some neutral watering-place (we suggest Monte Carlo, as being outside the spiritual influence of all three!) they would find no difficulty in coming to a working understanding!

Other matters that are now before the synod include the drawing up of regulations for regular preaching, by both monks and parish priests. This duty, with its concomitant of proper religious instruction for the laity, has admittedly been neglected in the past, though there have been brilliant personal exceptions to that rule. Among these we may mention the priest Markopoulos, commemorated elsewhere in this magazine, whose early death is a heavy loss to the spiritual life of Athens.

The education of the people implies the education of the clergy, and this is another care of the synod. The question of the organisation of a higher Theological College, in addition to the one at Rhizariion, in Athens, is now being considered, and as the Metropolitan Chrysostom was himself head of the Rhizariion School before consecration, he approaches the matter with full personal experience.

One political question had to be faced—the matter of the anathema on Venizelos. This was pronounced, as readers may remember, with full pomp and ceremony at the time of the exile of that statesman during the war. It was an impropriety past question, for the man was not even accused of being a heretic, or conspicuous evil-liver, and it was an undisguised attempt to use religion as a political lever. English people in Athens at the time were at a loss whether to be more indignant at the fact, or interested in the primitive—not to say neolithic—character of the rite, and they were not in the least appeased by the explanation proffered by the then Metropolitan, "the soldiers told me that they would burn the Cathedral if I did not pronounce it." Some even spoke of a great artistic opportunity being missed, as well as a great moral one! Now, however, the anathema has been regularly declared "void and therefore non-existent." This has avoided the rather awkward question of any removal of it.

A problem for the future in Greece is, how can the monasteries in the country be best fitted into the scheme of a modern Church. It may surprise an English reader to be told that the number of monasteries in this small country is 156, even if we leave out Mount Athos, with its twenty large and hundreds of small foundations. The number of monks is not very great, but one house alone—Megas-

pelæon—has 100 monks, and the average is about ten. Here again, we leave Athos out of the reckoning. The problem, how to fit conservative foundations like these into a self-reforming Church is a difficult one. We know how disastrously we cut the knot in our time! Let us wish the Greeks better counsel in their efforts to untie it!

Dissent is, in Greece, almost a negligible factor, but there is a small "Greek Protestant" body in Athens, and some of its leaders have a high social position. There is also the Roman body, both Latin and Uniat. The relations of the Orthodox with these "heterodox" Churches is one that is supervised by the State, which is as well; one would not like to trust Greek ecclesiastics with power to persecute, for they feel too keenly about such matters.

The problem of episcopal elections in the future is a thorny subject, and one that may perhaps cause difficulty. Hitherto, Bishops have been practically nominated by the State, though the "permanent synod" has a right of suggestions. In future, the Episcopal Synod is to be nearly a co-optative body, for, in a vacancy, it will suggest three names to the State (electing those three names freely), and the choice will be made from among them. There is a possibility of difficulty here, for one cannot help thinking that if the Episcopate in England had been co-optative, say in the sixties and seventies of the last century, some strange results might have followed! It is, however, easier to see dangers than to suggest a better course, for election by the laity of the diocese (though plainly primitive) is not likely to work well in Greece, where the dirty trail of politics is so apt to spread itself over all things! Here, as elsewhere, there is no absolute rule, and no method free from its dangers. "Whate'er is best administered is best."

Church courts are another question, and here a merely temporary solution has been adopted. The old Perpetual Synod could depose bishops at will, and sometimes did so for purely political reasons. In future, cases are to be tried, either by a committee of the Synod, or by the whole synod acting as such. It is admitted that further regulation is needed here, and that one of the needs is a regular code of canons. Those of the Orthodox Church are not, perhaps, quite in so anarchic and confused a condition as are our own, but they are quite enough confused to make a new edition a necessity, and this is now in the capable hands of Dr. Alivazato, Procurator to the Synod.

Altogether, the spectacle of a national Church undertaking the work of canonical self-reform is one to which no Anglican will refuse his full sympathy, and the Church of England—whose members, as admittedly foreign guests in Greece, are not included in the "heterodox" Churches referred to above—may join with the Churches of

Antioch, Jerusalem and Rumania, in sending their congratulations and good wishes to the Hellenic Church in their important work.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL ON THE SLAV UNIATES—A BIG STICK.

Encyclical Letter of Pius XI. on the occasion of the Third Centenary of St. Josaphat, Martyr, Archbishop of Polotsk. Burns & Oates. 1924.

We confess to having hoped much from this unhappy document, but to having hoped unreasonably. We looked for a word of kindness to the suffering Russian Church. We did not despair even of finding in it a word of appreciation of its witness for Christ against its atheist persecutors. On the contrary, we found in it nothing but a sharp and peremptory reassertion of the Papal Claims and an instigation to the proselytiser to reap the maximum from whatever opportunity the attack of the Soviet Government upon Orthodox Russia may have opened to the Uniate.

As we have said, our expectation was unreasonable, for the very title of this Encyclical should have warned us that even though it were styled an *eirenikon* it must be a pronouncement of the nature of the "big stick." There are two sides to most questions, and all that the Pope says of the personal holiness and devotion of Archbishop Josaphat may be quite true. But to the mind of the Orthodox, he stands for the initiation of that sixteenth-century campaign for the uniatization of the Slav Church which relied largely on the remorseless aid of the secular power of the Polish Roman Catholic Kingdom and which was comparable to that which is now enterprised under the leadership of the Uniate Archbishop Shepitsky in collaboration with the revived Polish State, and which is reputed to be directed by Père M. d'Herbigny, the Director of the *Instituto Pontificale Orientale* of Rome.

As such Archbishop Josaphat stands to the Russian mind as the negation of the "supra-nationalism" which should be the mark of the Church and as an apostate persecutor of his nation and its historic Church. The issue of this Encyclical has therefore been received by the Orthodox, not as a call to Reunion, but as a redeclaration of war à l'outrance and as the prelude to an intensification of the campaign against the Russian Church which—*vide* the statements of Mgr. Cieplak and his Latin Polish colleagues recorded by Capt. McCullagh in his last book—the Bolshevik Terror invited the Papal missionary to begin in 1917.

Examine this Encyclical how we may, we can form no other conclusion of its tenor. As to how the Russian views it we may form an estimate from the wide circulation of the subjoined letter, brought by the Russian Orthodox Press from the limbo in which we would fain that the whole history of Archbishop Josaphat might rest, which was addressed to Archbishop Josaphat by Leo Sapega, the Lithuanian Chancellor of his day, and bears date March 12th, 1622, *i.e.*, a few months only before he was killed (November 12th, 1623) by the Russians of Viterbsk, whom he was engaged in converting forcibly to Papalism, and runs:—

Most Reverend Archbishop,

I was reluctant to enter into controversy with your Grace, but seeing how obstinately you maintain your opinion and that no refutation can move you from it, I now find myself forced against my will to answer your ill-judged letter. It is true that I myself gave close attention to the Unia, and to abandon it would not have been reasonable, but it never entered my head that your Grace would decide to bring people

into it by such forceful means.¹ The Most High invites all to come to Him gently. To drag slaves to Him He neither permits nor accepts. Moreover, by this senseless use of violence you have embittered the Russian subjects of our King and have turned them into rebels against him. It is difficult for you to deny this, for there are written complaints forwarded to the Polish officials and to the Grand Duke of Lithuania.

Are you really unaware of the discontent of the people and of their declaration that they would sooner go under bondage to the Turk than be persecuted for their Faith and Worship in the cause of the Pope?

You sneer arrogantly at us that we politicians trouble ourselves about the fate of these people. I may tell you then that not only do we politicians care about them, but the State itself cares about them, for it gains more from their willing obedience than from your forced Uniatism.

Therefore you must limit your use of physical force in what you conceive to be your duty as a bishop to what is conformable to the King's law and the mind of the State, seeing that your present abuse of it is contrary to the public peace and the common weal, and borders on high treason. If you attempted to act thus high-handedly in Rome or in Venice, you would soon be taught to show respect to the common law of the State.

You write to me of your zeal for the Faith and of your will to bring the heretic to Reunion.

Indeed, it is most right that you should care greatly for their conversion and should strive that there should be One Fold and One Shepherd; but you should act with common sense and with an appeal to the heart—a method which is particularly needful in our own country.

Terrorism will not serve!

For success our zeal and efforts must be actuated by the Law of Love, as St. Paul puts it. And it is evident how much violence has caused you to fail and has stirred up the very people whom you might have won over to hate you and that for which you labour.

You say that you must follow the Holy Bishops in suppressing heresy. Assuredly it is right to follow Bishops such as Chrysostom, but you should follow them in kindness, in long suffering, in holiness and in good example. Read the lives of the Bishops and of Chrysostom. You will find in them no mention of dragging before courts, of bans, of scourgings, of torture, of persecution, of the depriving well-meaning men of life and so forth. You will find only that which promotes the Glory of God, which edifies mankind and which knits men together in love.

Contrast that with what your Grace is doing. The tribunals, the town halls, the courts of capital offence, the prisons are full of victims whose only offence is that they err in their religion.

You contend that you desire to destroy those who oppose the Unia.

You are ready even to cut off their heads. You should not act so towards them. The Lord has said, *Vengeance is mine. I will repay.*

Read the Writings of the Church.

How many disciples of the Christ have suffered torture and martyrdom?

Where in Holy Scripture can you find a denunciation of Nero or of Diocletian?—

¹ Till now there are preserved in the Polotsk Museum the instruments of torture used by Archbishop Josaphat upon the Orthodox who refused to deny their Faith, e.g., (1) iron gloves, (2) leather thongs, (3) iron fetters. Russians who adhered to Orthodoxy were condemned to 15 strokes by order of Archbishop Josaphat Kuntsevich. They were struck on the cheek with the iron gloves and thrown into prison bound with the iron fetters. The immediate cause of the revolt of the people of Vitebsk was the doing to death in that fashion of an Orthodox priest at the command of the Archbishop. On the spot where this martyrdom took place a Church was built and dedicated to St. Elijah—the tercentenary being kept this year. See Ivan Dolgov's *Man of Polotsk*.

the sole expression is of rejoicing that the disciples are found worthy to suffer for the Name of Christ.

You write further that criticisms are heard in the Diet not only of the Unia but of the Papal hierarchy of the Latin kind.

Who has caused them? Yourself, when you close the people's churches, force them to die without the comfort of religion and persecute them bitterly.

In this you deny the King's justice of toleration and abuse his name. Thus you bring upon the State the charge of oppressing the consciences of its innocent subjects.

Further, you continue to maintain that those who reject the Unia should be driven from their homes and banished the land. May such an outrage never be perpetrated!

The Holy Roman Faith has long been established in these provinces, and so long as we Latins were alone in our devotion and obedience to the Holy Father we were respected by and at peace with our compatriots, but since we have taken to ourselves our Uniate partner we have suffered from dissension and cruel scandals. It would be better, it would seem, that we had done with him, for never has such injury been done to us as by this Unia.

You will to close forcibly and to seal up the heretics' churches? That in itself is a violation of brotherly charity. But show us, your Grace, the person whom you have converted by these methods of austerity.

You cannot. On the contrary you have lost those who once rendered you obedience in Polotsk.

You have turned sheep into goats. You have brought ruin upon the State. You have involved every Papalist in danger.

Instead of joy your seductive Unia has caused us bitter grief. Disquietude, the ill-repute of the persecutor, vexation, these are the fruit, of your violent Unia.

If (which God forbid) the country should be shaken (and you have paved the way for that) I know not what would become of your vaunted Unia.

Therefore by the King's command I order that the Churches in Moghilev be unsealed and restored to the people that they may celebrate their rites in their own way. And if this be not carried out I myself by the King's authority will see it done. Jews and Tartars are not prohibited from having their synagogues and mosques. Yet you seal up Christian Churches because the people will not accept the Roman rule. Our strongholds, Novgorod, Seversk, Starodub, Kozelsk, and many other places are lost to us, thanks to the Unia, which is also the chief cause why the people of Moscow shun the Prince, as is evident from the letters of the grandees and other Russians sent from the Grand Duchy.

We will not have this Unia, which has done us much harm already, work our final ruin.

Having stated in answer to your letter my full views, I ask you to spare me further controversy.

Of the most high I implore for you a spirit of meekness and love towards your neighbour.
LEO SAPEGA, Chancellor of Lithuania.

Archbishop Josaphat was assassinated soon after the receipt of this letter. Our Roman brethren may defend him against the narrow bigotry and harsh persecution with which he was charged in it. But they cannot contend that an appeal for Reunion issued as a memorial of him can be taken by the Orthodox as other than a threat.

DR. A. FORTESCUE'S "UNIATES."

The Uniate Eastern Churches. By Dr. Adrian Fortescue. Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1923.

The preface to Dr. Adrian Fortescue's Handbook on the Orthodox Eastern Church, 1907, promised the compilation of a similar volume, dealing not only with the *Lesser*

Eastern Churches, i.e., the so-called Nestorian Church of Persia, and the "Monophysite" Churches of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia, but also—he was, of course, a Roman Catholic—with "our much neglected brethren, the Uniates."

That undertaking was redeemed in 1913 by the issue of the author's *Lesser Eastern Churches*, but, perhaps because in the meantime he had realised that all the varying Uniates¹ could not be treated logically within the same covers as the non-Byzantine Churches of the East, perhaps because of space, but more probably because—for first and last the writings of Dr. Fortescue were polemic and propagandist—he had envisaged a new function which the Uniate could fulfil in the campaign for the subjugation of the East, he had enlarged his scheme, and, omitting reference to them in his second volume, proposed to add a third and separate volume upon Uniates of all kinds.

The completion of the trilogy, however, appears to have been too much for his powers, and the task was never completed.

Except for the case of the Italian, the Maronite, the Chaldee and, perhaps, the Melkite, the wealth of literature which is accessible, especially in Encyclopædiæ for the compilation of a book on the Orthodox or the "Lesser Churches" of the East, is non-existent in the case of the Uniates.

In consequence, though the *Lesser Eastern Churches* was published as far back as 1913, only a fragment of the third volume, and that the part which required less research, was ready when death overtook the author last year.

This fragment Dr. Fortescue's old colleague at Ware and literary executor, Father Smith, who was given plenipotentiary powers of decision as to whether he would use it as material for an exhaustive treatise or publish it as left by its compiler, decided rightly to issue as it came into his hands.

The fragment so printed consists of an essay in general on those now almost extinct Byzantines, of Italy here styled "Italo-Greeks," who accepted the Papal jurisdiction, of an account of the Maronites, which is sufficiently exhaustive, and of a less adequate sketch of the Melkites, i.e., that very small section of the Orthodox of Syria and Egypt who in the eighteenth century seceded to Papalism.

Seeing, however, that the Slav Uniates, who factually are the more important, and that the Maronite, Armenian and Chaldee Uniates, who historically are the more significant, are not dealt with in this book, it may well be reckoned a pity that Dr. Smith adhered to the more resounding and ambitious, though misleading, title, and published it as a description of *The Uniate Churches*.

In saying that Father Smith was undoubtedly right to publish the fragment as he found it, we are writing dispassionately.

Be it said to our shame that, except for Dr. Fortescue's books, there exists no compendious description of Eastern Christianity in the English language. None the less the ordinary British reader will obtain a far better impression of what the Eastern Churches are, and of that for which they stand, from the meagre literature which is available than from Dr. Fortescue's books.

That may read as sharp saying, but we do not think that an academic, as contrasted with a polemicist, Roman Catholic would dissent from it.

Dr. Fortescue had read widely, had travelled a little, and was possessed of scholarship fully sufficient to have produced valuable contributions to British knowledge of Eastern Christianity. He was also a competent liturgiologist and had some acquaintance with ancient Greek and Arabic. If he did not know modern Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Ge'ez, Syriac or any Slav tongue, there were plenty of books in Latin, German, French and Italian which he could and did read.

If men less well equipped and less enthusiastic have succeeded where he failed, it is because, first and last, he was a propagandist.

¹ However infinitesimal, a Uniate Church has been set up as an "opposite number" to every historic Eastern Church.

Since scientific historical investigation is in honour necessarily limited for the Roman Catholic, he was bound to make a *petitio principii* in matters such as the existence of the Papal claims in the first seven centuries and the awareness of the Easterns of that existence. For example, the published volumes of Dr. Aurelio Palmieri's *Theologica Orthodoxa*—a stupendous and stimulating work which cries to be turned into English—are written with that presumption. None the less we feel grateful to the author. He never rasps us; for his invariable object is to instruct his reader and to advance fair controversy.

Dr. Fortescue, however, writes always as one whose prime concern is to keep the Anglican from liking the Orthodox and the Orthodox from liking the Anglican. It is his function to convince them that they can never come together and that, if they did, they would be sorry. He is the literary preceptor of Père Michel d'Herbigny, of Father Woodlock, and of the skirmishers of Farm Street.

At times, as when he perorates in his *Lesser Eastern Churches* with a splendid tribute to the faithfulness of the Oriental Christian under persecution, we realise what service he might have rendered to Christendom and indeed to the cause he had most at heart, if he had controlled his *odium theologicum*. But if occasionally his pen be a dove's quill, there is always vitriol in his pigment, and in fact his lack of restraint and lavish use of sneering invective evacuates his writings of much of their value even as mere propaganda.

It may be conceded, indeed, that the use of such a method has some pragmatic vindication in the penny tract which aims at the acolyte, the lady-worker, and the weak-kneed ritualistic curate, nor, if he had confined himself to that type of literature, should we have thought it necessary to have noticed him. But he was a man, as we have said, of gifts. His books have obtained some vogue. And while that lasts it is inevitable, however, that, highly distasteful though the task has become, we should draw attention not only to their tone and temper, but also to their misrepresentation of the position of the Orthodox Church and the Separated Churches of the East.

Though the present volume does not present the same scope as its predecessors, it contains insolences, alike to the Orthodox and to the Anglican, which parallel the vulgar abuse of the Bishop of Guiana on p. 335 of the *Lesser Churches* or the bitter gibe—was there ever anything more nauseatingly indecent?—at the Orthodox of Constantinople who in 1453 rejected the Unia: "They . . . had said: Rather the Sultan's turban than the Pope's tiara; and they have had their wish."—*Orth. East. Church*, p. 218.

Thus (p. 215) it tells us that "Totungi, having learned the right sort of patter for his audience . . . received Communion in an Anglican Church. Great was the joy of the Anglicans at this reunion of Christendom."

There are many such gems of discourtesy in the book, of which, seeing that it is posthumous, Father Smith would have done well to purge it.

The virulence which marked Dr. Fortescue's writings is not, however, the chief cause of our regret that they are sometimes recommended by Anglicans as text books of Eastern Christianity.

A distinguished Russian historian once compared them to the account which a mediæval Chinaman visiting contemporary Europe might give of its life and conditions. The comparison is approved by two considerations.

(1) To the end Dr. Fortescue would persist in talking about the Orthodox as if the same stiff, juridical, quasi scholastic method of Theological Thought which dominates the Latin, dominated them. It is probable that he really could not understand that the Greek Fathers of the first nine centuries disliked syllogisms and that Orthodox theologians are representative of them. The failure was due most likely to a genuine intellectual myopia which refused to perceive that what was plain to him might be rejected by someone else, but it was due also to the practical need of

the propagandist. The Easterns had to be represented as rebels against the Pope, and for that end it was necessary to exhibit them as having once accepted those principles which they themselves aver to be innovations but which the Papalist must at all costs maintain to have been general, if only in embryo, in the Ecumenic mentality of the Undivided Church.

The result is that anyone who gets his first impression of Eastern Christianity from Dr. Fortescue is liable to contract an obliquity of mental vision which will prevent him permanently from seeing things as they are.

(2) Dr. Fortescue was no doubt also tied by his premises less than by his propagandist necessity to maintain a certain presentation of history which would unsuit the Eastern. "An appeal to history is treason." But in his zeal he writes history as a bitter partisan. Compare for example Mgr. Batiffol's charming article in our issue of last month with Dr. Fortescue's virulent abuse of the Patriarchs Photios and Cerularios in *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, pp. 156-173 and 174-198.

Be it remembered that these two Patriarchs are included in the Orthodox hagiology and are the protagonists of Orthodox resistance to the Papacy.

That a twentieth-century Roman Catholic, professing to write a scientific account of Orthodoxy—and to no small extent (there's the pity!) equipped for the task—should copy the nasty habit of personal invective which characterised the libellists of the eleventh century and was preferred by the lampoonists of mediæval Latin monasticism to serious argument, is lamentable in the extreme. Everything horrid that has been invented about Cerularios and most that has been said against Photios is amassed by Dr. Fortescue and recorded as at least possibly true.

What would the Roman Catholic say if an Anglican who had undertaken to describe the Papal System to the Russians wrote *mutatis mutandis* as follows (pp. 190 and 158, *Orth. East. Church*) of Gregory VIII. or Leo XIII.: "But the unblushing (Cerularios) had many more lies to tell," and "First he (Photios) sulked; then he played the martyr, and finally used the words that our Lord had spoken at his trial, making a comparison that was simply blasphemous"?

Though these purple patches of "going for the other fellow's attorney" should serve to safeguard the intelligent reader from paying attention to the subtler misrepresentation of the Eastern case, it is surprising how even Anglican writers such as Dr. Langford James (art. Great Schism) in his valuable *Dictionary of the Eastern Orthodox Church* should have been affected by it.

And yet in its silences it is daring in the extreme. Who, for example, could read pp. 172-198 of the *Orth. East. Church*, especially the bold statement (p. 197), "In 1053 Michael Cerularius suddenly, for no reason whatever except apparently for some private scheme of ambition, declares war against Rome and the Latin West," and still imagine that for over 100 years the Papacy had been engaged in forcibly detaching Sicily and Southern Italy from their existing ecclesiastical and secular centre, Constantinople?

And yet even in Gibbon, who wrote long before scientific study of Byzantine history began, the fact that that forcible proselytisation produced Cerularios' indictment of Rome and so gave excuse for the excommunication of Constantinople by the Papacy, is clearly indicated.

The history of the whole period, it is true, needs to be written in the light of the many documents now available, and of the investigations of Diehl and others of the modern school of Byzantine study.

But that Dr. Fortescue was aware that there is another side to the case and did not lay the guilt of the Great Schism upon Cerularios' ambition in ignorance of the possibility of Papal aggression having furnished alternative causes will be plain to anyone who reads *The Uniates*, pp. 88-99.

Viewed from the Eastern standpoint Europe between the sixth and eleventh centuries was still theoretically part of the Ecumenical dominion. The Western

lands were factually outside the rule of the Caesar, but they were within his proper legitimate jurisdiction. Old Rome was more or less in the same plight. When his word ran in it, then its Bishop accepted his normal and splendid but constitutional position in the Church. When it did not, then as finally when the rival Carolingian Cæsardom was set up in 801, he advanced innovating and greater claims. Thus Old Rome was the centre of, and the North of Italy belonged to, a new system which was breaking free from and was inimical to the ancient Ecumenical order. It was palpable that, unless the impossible, as we now realise it to have been, happened and the Caesar's rule universal was reasserted effectively, sooner or later that would happen which did happen and the West would reject him finally by setting up a rival Western exclusive Christendom. Therefore, from at least the reign of Constantine Pogonatos, the Emperors set themselves deliberately and successfully to detach the South of Italy, which in every other matter, secular and cultural, had Constantinople for its metropolis ecclesiastically from Old Rome, which was now no longer a centre of Ecumenical life but was becoming simply a Western capital.

The power of the Lombard and Norman swords enabled the Bishops of Rome to undo this work after its almost complete accomplishment.

That, from Dr. Fortescue's point of view, is obvious, but he should not hide the fact that from the Eastern standpoint they were not only wrong but were abetting Islam, the common minant enemy. As Cerularios saw things, all jurisdiction was derived through the Church, which could, if practical considerations required, withdraw territory from the Patriarchates, Rome included, which she herself had set up.

That Cerularios alone could have produced the Schism is patently impossible in itself, and that he was no more than the natural instrument and agent of the inevitable protest of the East, has been always the contention of the Orthodox.

Though it was long delayed, a stand against Papal aggression and invitation had to be made, and he was the man who in the end was forced by the persecution of the Byzantine Church in South Italy to make it.

We spoke above of the propagandist gain which the treating of the Uniates as a co-ordinated whole and not merely, as historically they are, as breaks-off from the various historic Churches of the East, appears to have presented itself to Dr. Fortescue after his first volume had been issued.

That gain would seem to be this.

The Uniates, as they regard themselves and as they are usually regarded rightly, are groups which have seceded from the various Eastern Churches, Orthodox and otherwise, and have been received corporately into union with the Papacy, but have been allowed to retain their rites slightly altered in the vernacular, and their ecclesiastical customs such as the marriage of their clergy in their entirety.

In fact, until a century ago they were unco-ordinated fragments ruled in delegation from the Vatican, and were often treated there as undesirable if necessary instruments of proselytisation.

In *The Uniates* Dr. Fortescue lifts them from this category and makes them an unity.

As he presents them, the position is inverted. They have begun to be the representatives of the historic Catholic Churches of the East and possess continuity with those Churches from ancient times.

Thus he writes: "At one time it must have seemed as if the Catholic Eastern Patriarchates had finally disappeared, leaving only Latins as the whole Catholic Church. Happily that never happened." (p. 5).

There is a myth in germ!

Except for the scanty survivors of the South Italians who on Dr. Fortescue's showing had never been out of Union with the Pope, there were no Uniates until the Maronites and a few Armenians accepted the will of their Latin masters, the Crusaders. The rest have all come into being in modern times, as the result of political pressure such as was applied in Galicia and White Russia by the Poles and the Hapsburgs, through the inducement of the privileges which French and Austrian protection brought them in the Ottoman dominions or as a consequence of unhappy and painful dissensions among Easterns themselves, and in no case as the fruit of theological consideration.

In fact, there is no continuity whatever between the modern Uniate Churches and ancient Churches which Dr. Fortescue suggests that they represent; the claims which he elaborates; for example that Bishop Cyril, the unsuccessful candidate for the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in 1724, carried with him the succession to that Throne, or that the Chaldee Patriarch did the same with that of Seleucia Ctesiphon, being as unconvincing as they are amazing.

If, however, Anglicans could be induced to see the Uniates as a solid and historic counterpart to historic Eastern Christianity, it is manifest that propaganda would be served in Great Britain. And if the Uniates themselves could be induced to think of themselves as an unity it would greatly enhance their value as the flying column of the Papacy in the East.

Hinc illa propaganda.

J.A.D.

A DEDICATION SERVICE.

On Sunday, March 23rd, 1924, at the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the village of Preston, in the county of Rutland, were re-dedicated some portions of marble mosaic brought from the ruined church of St. John-in-the-Studio at Constantinople, and also a 17th-century alms-box which was bought in the Turkish bazaars at Constantinople, having been looted from a church in Smyrna.

The dedication took place during Evensong. The Psalms chosen were the 148th and the 150th; the first Lesson was Wisdom of Solomon, ch. iii., v. 1 to the end of v. 10, and the second Lesson was Revelation, ch. 1, v. 9, 10, 11, and ch. ii., v. 8, 9, 10 (read consecutively); the Hymns included "Now thank we all our God," "Praise, my soul, the King of Heaven," and "The Church's one foundation."

After the second Lesson the Priest (the Rev. O. L. Fowke) moved to the chancel step, and dedicated the mosaic pavement with this Prayer:—

"Almighty God, we beseech Thee to sanctify and bless the marble mosaic which now forms part of the floor of this church, and which, having been originally dedicated to Thy Service in Constantinople, was desecrated by the Infidel for 440 years, and is now restored to Christian use in this church. Grant that all who see it may be filled with love for Thee and Thy Church as manifested to us in Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

After the service, an address on the history and present tragic condition of Christianity in the Near East was given by Mr. John Codrington, Coldstream Guards, who had been in the Allied Army of Occupation in Constantinople in 1922 and 1923, and who had brought the marble and the alms-box from there.

The Christian East

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE.

BY THE REV. G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM,

"VIVE le pèlerinage Anglo-Catholique, vive l'Angleterre!" cried the skipper of the good ship that brought us in safety to Jaffa. Except for one incident, to which I shall presently refer, the words of our Captain were repeated in one language or another throughout that wonderful and rightly merry month of May.

The setting out of an Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage seven years after the recovery of the Holy Land from the blight of Turkish misrule, and nearly seven hundred years after the last ill-fated Crusade, must naturally be an adventure of the greatest interest to all Christians, and more especially to members of the Church of England, which has so great a responsibility towards Palestine. Pilgrimages to-day, even in our dear prosaic old England, are not uncommon, but the pilgrimage of last May which had as its end and object devotion to the Holy Places, was one of paramount importance.

"May I assure the Pilgrims through you," wrote Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, "that their visit was very deeply appreciated by all classes and all sections of the community." The Venerable Stacy Waddy, Archdeacon of the Anglican Church in Palestine, in an interesting letter summing up the values of the pilgrimage, said: "It has shown this little world of Jerusalem, so small but so intensely representative and important, that the Church of England is a *big* thing; and that it does not only produce tourists, but people who come to say their prayers and offer their worship. You leave us enheartened and strengthened; and, we feel confident, enriched with friends, helpers and interpreters. Farewell, and come again." While Mgr. Timotheos Themelis, Archbishop of Jordan and formerly Secretary to the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in bidding us good-bye, added: "I hope there will be a pilgrimage like yours every year, for nothing can give greater help to the cause of Re-union."

The feelings of both Anglican and Eastern Christians in Palestine might be summed up in the words of yet one more letter: "We are all tremendously thankful for the Pilgrimage." Thus the verdict of those who were our hosts and gave us of their best: what the pilgrims themselves felt is made abundantly clear in the general desire for a second pilgrimage, so that others may also share their great privileges.

A dismissal service, unique in the annals of the Anglican Communion, was held on the eve of the pilgrimage at All Saints', Margaret Street, when the Bishop of Willesden blessed and distributed the Scallop Shells marked with a red cross, the emblem of St. George, while Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, hallowed the ikon of *repoussé* silver work, very beautiful and cunningly designed by Mr. Omar Ramsden, representing St. George and the Dragon, a gift to the Patriarch of Jerusalem for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Bishop of Nassau, president of the pilgrimage, sang the *Itinerarium*, and then the pilgrims themselves were blessed, first by the Greek Metropolitan and then by the Bishop of Willesden. The Bishop of Nebraska, representing the Episcopal Church of America, himself a pilgrim, was also present in the Sanctuary.

Six days later we steamed into the ancient harbour of Alexandria.

Of our voyage on the Mediterranean there is not much to relate, except that it was altogether unlike an ordinary sea-passage, as we were pilgrims, not tourists. The captain of our ship, the *Sphinx*, one of the more recently built boats of the Messageries Maritimes line—did his utmost to fall in with the wishes of the pilgrimage committee. Thus we were allowed to use the first-class music room for daily Masses, which were said every half-hour from 5.30 a.m. to 8 a.m., and an ante-room for Sacristy. Evensong was sung daily on one of the decks together with some favourite hymns, and then our President would give a short address in a voice that defied alike the wind and the waves. After dinner there was generally a lecture on some interesting topic connected with the Holy Land and Eastern Christendom in the great dining-room, which was always well attended by the pilgrims. Sunday was a glorious day: the sea was comparatively calm and matched the sky in that wonderful deep blue which one learns to expect on the Mediterranean. High Mass was sung by the Bishop of Nassau, and a short address given by the Bishop of Nebraska, both the captain and purser of the ship being in attendance.

The real business of the pilgrimage began at Alexandria, where we were greeted by perfect weather and glorious sunshine, the first visit to the East of most of the pilgrims. Here we had many duties to fulfil and therefore, soon after 9 a.m. the clerical members of the Pilgrimage proceeded in cars to the Anglican Church of St. Mark, where a welcome awaited us from the Chaplain, the Reverend W. Gladwyn Batty, who presented us to Dr. Gwynne, Anglican Bishop in Egypt. Then we donned academic robes, the Bishops in scarlet chimeres over their purple cassocks, and drove to the Orthodox Patriarchate, where, at the moment of our arrival, the bells broke out into a wonderful clatter of tuneless gaiety to welcome us. Unfortunately, the Patriarch was absent at Cairo, but we were received with real Eastern courtesy by his Vicar, the Metropolitan Theophanes Archbishop of Tripoli, a throng of Archimandrites and Priests in gorgeous array, and after we had all been duly censed and a Litany of intercession for the pilgrims had been sung, the Metropolitan proceeded to read in Greek an address of welcome duly interpreted by a layman standing at his side. (This address will be found in the Appendix.) At its conclusion, the Bishop of Nassau,

standing at a throne facing that of the Metropolitan, read the address, which was drawn up and engrossed on vellum in London before our departure, and a copy of it in Greek was handed to His Grace. This address was published in the last number of *CHRISTIAN EAST*, it also appeared in full in the *Egyptian Gazette*. After more singing and blessings and a further joyous outburst of bells we departed to pay a visit to the Copts.

At the Coptic Patriarchate we were received by the Patriarchal Vicar at the entrance of the great courtyard, and then, preceded by boys wearing great crowns of red plush trimmed with gold and carrying picturesque banners, singing lustily and without pause we entered the Church. Here again we were received with much enthusiasm and after being censed and blessed, an address was read by a Coptic priest and our Bishop asked to offer prayer, and then we adjourned in the accustomed manner to a large hall in the convent.

By the courtesy of Sir Henry Lunn the Committee were empowered to entertain at a public lunch some of the heads and leading ecclesiastics and laymen of the Church in Alexandria at the Hotel Majestic. About forty were present, and among the guests were the Metropolitan Theophanes Archbishop of Tripoli with two Greek Archimandrites, the Armenian Bishop, a Syrian Archimandrite, the Patriarchal Vicar of the Coptic Church with a priest and two laymen, the Anglican Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan, Archdeacon Palmer, the Bishop of Nebraska, the captain and purser of the *Sphinx*, the Bishop of Nassau presiding. Several speeches were made and toasts were given to the King of Egypt, the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, the Armenian Church, and to Sir Henry Lunn as host. The speeches all tended towards the subject of Re-union and there was much cordiality.

In the afternoon, in order to show our affection for, and sympathy with the Armenian Church, we attended a special service at the Armenian Convent, where we found everything ready for our reception. Here the President was met by the Vicar of the Armenian Bishop, invested with a cope and a great mitre much bejewelled, given a pastoral staff and a small hand cross, and then led to the High Altar, which he was invited to cense, and afterwards gave the pontifical blessing. At the conclusion of this short and picturesque ceremony we adjourned, *more solito*, to the Convent, where introductions were made and short speeches followed.

Next day, being the Greek festival of St. George, the President with his Chaplains, together with a number of pilgrims, attended the Orthodox Liturgy officially at the Greek Patriarchal Church. Later in the day we sailed for Port Said and on Thursday, May 8th, arrived at Jaffa in the early hours of a glorious morning.

Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, is not exactly the best of sea-ports for landing. There is no harbour worthy of the name, and the steamer remains on the high seas while little boats gather round in clusters to take off the passengers. Sometimes the sea is so rough that the transport is not effected without inconvenience. However, on this morning the sea was fairly calm and the pilgrims safely landed. On nearing the ancient city the pilgrims were amazed by its wonderful beauty,

ancient houses extending their terraces along the sides of a lofty hill covered with luxuriant vegetation. The pilgrim is always thrilled at the sight of Jaffa, for it is the entrance to the Holy Land.

On the landing stage we were met by the Archimandrite of the local Greek Church and Archdeacon Waddy, representing the Anglican Church in Palestine, and after saying our private prayers in the Greek Church and being photographed on the picturesque terrace overlooking the sea, we climbed the steep and narrow streets in the sun which was already beginning to make itself felt, past the traditional site of the House of Simon the Tanner to the C.M.S. Church, where *Te Deum* was sung with much enthusiasm.

On arrival at Jerusalem the pilgrims were met by representatives of the Anglican Cathedral and escorted at once to a spot where they had their first view of the Holy City; here we sang Psalms cxxi and cxxii, prayers of thanksgiving were offered, then the pilgrims were driven to their respective hostels, and many made use of the interval of rest by paying their first visit to Calvary and the Holy Tomb. The same afternoon the pilgrims visited the Mount of Olives and prayed in Gethsemane, and later attended a reception at St. George's. The Bishop, alas! was in bed with a high temperature; in fact, he was ill most of the time we were in Palestine, which prevented him from being present at several of the functions connected with the pilgrimage.

The reception was most interesting, especially as almost every Christian Church was represented. The Armenian Patriarch, a dignified and scholarly cleric, came in person and discoursed to all and sundry in fluent French. The Orthodox Patriarch was represented by our good friend the Archbishop of Jordan, Syrian, Coptic and Abyssinian clerics were all there, and even a Latin priest of English nationality. There were also the C.M.S. and L.J.S. missionaries and others whose religious convictions I fail to remember. The Governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, and Sir Gilbert Clayton, chief secretary to the High Commissioner were present, and the former, being well versed in Eastern languages, was most useful as interpreter.

The original Committee of the Pilgrimage was appointed by the Anglo-Catholic Congress in June, 1923, and consisted of Prebendary Mackay as President, the Revs. Arnold Pinchard, Maurice Child, and G. Napier Whittingham acting as unofficial secretary. Unfortunately, neither Prebendary Mackay nor Mr. Pinchard were able to come on the pilgrimage though both of them did much useful work for us in London; the Bishop of Nassau and Mr. Sidney Dark were therefore chosen to fill the vacant places, the former being appointed President. Two others were added later to the committee, namely, the Rev. Humphrey Whitby and Mr. Samuel Gurney. We were most fortunate in having the Bishop of Nassau as our president, his enthusiasm, tact and *bonhomie* making him a *persona grata* wherever he went. The Committee had no easy task and most of their time on board the *Sphinx* and during the evenings in Jerusalem was occupied in making necessary arrangements regarding the religious side of the Pilgrimage. Thanks to the efficiency of Sir Henry Lunn's representative, Colonel Fergusson, who acted as "conductor" throughout, and Mr. Tadros his Jerusalem agent, overworked

but courteous to all, the committee had but little concern in things material. One of the first acts of the committee in Jerusalem was to arrange for the saying of Mass in the Chapel of Abraham which adjoins Calvary, and in St. George's Cathedral. This was no easy matter, for naturally, all the forty-five priests desired to say Mass in the Holy City. Ultimately, with one priest in charge of each hostel, difficulties were overcome, and six Masses were said daily at the Chapel of Abraham and from eight to ten Masses at St. George's. I must add here how greatly we were indebted, both in this and other matters, to the clergy and laity of St. George's, for all the help they gave us.

It had been arranged that we should visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the day after our arrival, but as this was a Friday, which is always "washing-day" at that Church, plans had been altered and we drove in some sixty motors to the Basilica of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem, where we arrived shortly after 9.30 a.m. I relate these details for reasons that will appear obvious later on. The "Fiery Cross" borne by Fr. Millard, C.R., went before us; the Bishops of Nassau and Nebraska were clothed in scarlet chimere and rochet; the priests in cassocks, gowns, scarf and hood, and wearing the English cap. In the great courtyard in front of the Basilica we were received by Gregorios, Archbishop of Bethlehem and Guardian of the Holy Places, the Archbishop of Jordan, together with Archimandrites and monks of the Greek Convent. A large crowd of local Christians gathered round us, and we had to submit to a volley of "snapshots" from a veritable army of Kodaks. The usual presentations and salutations were then made, the crowd of pilgrims formed into orderly procession, and, headed by the Greek Archbishops who wore no vestments other than their black robes, with only the "enkolpion" to distinguish them from ordinary priests, we entered the most famous Basilica in the world. Thus we passed up the great nave to the pavement in front of the Ikonostasis, and in our progress we noticed the presence of a few Franciscans who were obviously interested. The Archbishop of Bethlehem, together with our Bishops and priests, then descended the steep steps to the Grotto of the Nativity, where, in front of the Altar erected over the famous silver star, he chanted the Litany of welcome to pilgrims. The Fiery Cross was laid on the Silver Star, which marks the place where the Babe of Bethlehem was born, and after this the priests filed by and kissed the Silver Star, and after them the laity. This ceremony lasted for close on two hours and, while the laity were making their devotions, accompanied by Fr. Maurice Child and Archdeacon Waddy, I entered the Latin Church of St. Catharine, a large edifice in the 17th century style, with the object of renewing the acquaintance of the Superior of the Franciscan Convent whom I had met on several occasions during my previous visit to the Holy Land. Unfortunately, the Franciscans were in anything but a friendly mood. I spoke to one and then to another and at last to a third, and each appeared to be more angry: the Superior was *occupato*, he would be *occupato* one hour hence, at noon he would be *occupato*, at dinner, and so on. The *adieux* were cold and barely polite. Little did we then suspect it, but at that very moment angry and violent protests on

the telephone were being made to the Governor of Jerusalem and to the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem. However, we could do no more, and therefore returned to the Basilica just in time to hear the Archimandrite Kyriakos, standing at the entrance of the Ikonostasis, deliver an address of welcome, to which the Bishop of Nassau made fitting reply. (The address will be found in the Appendix.)

After this we filed out of the Basilica into the courtyard bright with the midday sun, and here we sang such appropriate hymns as the *Adeste Fideles*, "Once in Royal David's city," the *Magnificat*, and then recited the Nicene Creed. But there was still one thing left for us to see—the wonderful view from the roof of the Convent of the little city and the fields of the shepherds. Far in the distance could be seen the blue mountains of Moab, and below them the Dead Sea. After many farewells and more salutations we drove back to Jerusalem in clouds of white dust, forgetting the discourtesy of the Latins, but full of enthusiasm for our Bethlehem hosts who had made the pilgrimage to this Holy Place such a living reality.

The Latins had been greatly intrigued about this pilgrimage from its inception, a well-known Cardinal had done much to prevent its fulfilment, the Latin Patriarch had written to the Governor of Jerusalem shortly before its arrival that he was doubtless aware of the coming of a Protestant pilgrimage, and that he (the Latin Patriarch) hoped that there would be no infringement of the *status quo*: to which the Governor made reply that he had not heard of a Protestant pilgrimage, but he knew that there would shortly arrive a pilgrimage of Anglicans. Later in the same day we heard that the Franciscans had hastened to acquaint Mgr. Barlassina, the Latin Patriarch, an ultramontane—and, as the Italians would say, *più papista del Papa*—by no means friendly to England, who at once sent a frenzied message to the Governor, to wit, that we had made a "ceremonial entry into the Basilica of Bethlehem," that our Bishops were clothed in pontifical garb, and that therefore there had been an infringement of the *status quo*, which to the Latin Patriarch is an article of almost equal importance to any in the *Credo*. Further, he requested that this "outrage" should not be repeated on our visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We had this information direct from the Governor, who also told us that Mgr. Barlassina, when paying him a visit the next day, asked what reparation the Governor intended making for the crime committed at Bethlehem.

It may be of interest here to note that an inspired article from the pen of an English Roman Catholic priest, resident at the Latin Patriarchate, appeared in the *Tablet* of May 31st, accusing the leaders of the pilgrimage of deceit and chicanery. It was stated that we had intended making a solemn entry into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in pontifical vestments, but owing to Latin protests we had changed our plans and visited the Basilica of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem instead. The writer, a gentleman of some imagination, went on to say: "The time was carefully chosen. It was the hour when the Franciscan fathers were at dinner, and no one to oppose their ingress. . . . In the Grotto of the Nativity a joint religious ceremony was held." (The italics are mine.) After what has been written above comment is needless.

One does not dine at 9.30 a.m., even in the East. The writer then becomes humorous, and this is the substance of his further remarks: "The Governor took decisive measures. He wrote to the head of the pilgrimage declaring such an act was an infringement of the *status quo*, and received from him an assurance that there would be no repetition of such an incident and that in the visit to the Holy Sepulchre no priestly or pontifical garments should be worn. This was a great blow (*sic*) to Anglican hopes. The spectacular was to count for a great deal and now that the crosier and mitre, the copes and 'convocation robes' had to be laid aside, what were they to do—what would the Greeks think if they went in ordinary clothes? Then, after discussing the matter until the late hours of the evening, it was decided to wear academic garments, but what a come-down! . . . And so on, *ad lib*, in the same vein. The whole of this delightful story is, unfortunately for the reputation of this good priest, a tissue of falsehoods. The Governor took no "decisive measures," and did not write to the head or to any other member of the pilgrimage, nor did he even suggest that there had been any infringement of the *status quo*. The Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, hearing of the Latin Patriarch's frenzied excitement, wrote to the Bishop of Nassau and suggested that, for the sake of peace, it would be better to follow his example and to go to the Holy Sepulchre in cassock and gown as the priests had done at Bethlehem. Two members of the pilgrimage called on the Governor without invitation, expressed their surprise at the strong feeling shown in the matter, and assured him that the pilgrims intended to avoid controversy at all costs. Also they informed him that no "pontifical or priestly garments" had been worn, nor had there ever been any intention to do so—the rochet and chimere of the Bishops being their ordinary walking dress.

The next day had been specially reserved for the reception of the pilgrimage at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The lay pilgrims met in the courtyard and the two Bishops and all the priests walked in procession through the crowded streets. In view of the Latin protests the Bishops wore their scarlet academic robes over their purple cassocks, and the priests also donned academic habit as at Bethlehem. The courtyard was crowded, the purple and scarlet of the Bishops and the various hoods worn by the priests produced a veritable riot of colour, the bright burning of the Eastern sun bringing out the colour scheme to even greater effect. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, His Beatitude Damianos, was represented by the Archbishop of Jordan, and many Archimandrites and priests were also there to welcome us. The pilgrims were photographed with the Orthodox Clergy, and then we all entered the Holy Church prostrating ourselves before the Stone of Anointing. Many Franciscans were watching us both within and without the Church, but there was no opposition or disturbance of any kind.

The pilgrims had already forgotten, if, indeed, they had even heard of the protests of yesterday, and all with one heart and mind were yearning to kneel at Calvary and kiss the Holy Tomb. The numbers being too great for us all to go together, we broke into three parties, the first being conducted by the Archbishop of Jordan, the

second by Archdeacon Waddy, and the third by myself. Two addresses were given to the pilgrims by the Archimandrite Kyriakos (both of which will be found in the Appendix), the first at Calvary, and the second outside the Holy Sepulchre itself. Then we made our way into the blazing courtyard again, where we discovered a friendly Franciscan ready to photograph us (who later remarked that if the gorgeous garments worn by the prelates were academic he would prefer ecclesiastical robes as being less ornate), then, preceded by several Kvas, we marched to the Patriarchate, where a choir dressed in white and violet gaily sang in Greek to welcome us. His Beatitude Damianos, a stately and dignified prelate of 79 years of age, was waiting to receive us in the great Throne Room. The Bishops and priests gathered round him while he addressed us in Greek, a translation being rendered by the Archimandrite Kyriakos (this address will be found in the Appendix). Then, after prayer, the Bishop of Nassau declaimed our address which had been drawn up in London, a Greek copy had previously been given to the Patriarch. The Ikon of St. George, the pilgrims' gift, was then presented to the Patriarch, who promised that it should be placed somewhere in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Each member of the pilgrimage filed past and was presented in turn to the Patriarch and received a souvenir book of views bound in olive wood. A few of us remained to lunch with His Beatitude, and were afterwards photographed with him in the garden of the Patriarchate.

The next day being Sunday, after hearing Mass in the Chapel of Abraham some pilgrims attended the Armenian Mass in the Holy Sepulchre celebrated by a Bishop in the presence of the Armenian Patriarch. Only a few yards distant the Copts were singing their Mass, and beyond them the Syrians, in their damp and gloomy little Chapel, were assisting at their simple and impressive Liturgy.

As a *beau geste*, and in order to show that we on our part had no mind for sectarian controversy, we requested the Anglican Bishop to ask the Latin Patriarch to receive us. To this Mgr. Barlassina agreed and so at 10 o'clock we went to pay a formal call, Bishops and priests vested as they had been on the visit to Bethlehem. At the Patriarchate the Kvas met us and escorted us to the Throne Room, where Mgr. Barlassina received us graciously, for Italians rarely, if indeed ever, forget their manners. Our President spoke of the objects of our pilgrimage, adding that we neither claimed nor demanded any rights and privileges in the Holy Places, but were thankful to accept what was offered us. In reply, Mgr. Barlassina made an indirect reference to his recent protest, and not quite tactfully criticized what he called the superstition of some of the Greek ceremonies. Controversial matters were then carefully avoided, the Latin Patriarch addressed the Bishops as "Monsignore" and the priests as "Father," but when asked to give his blessing replied, "Our Lord will bless you," and to the prelates, "We do not bless Bishops." However, he was quite courteous and sent a Latin priest and a Kvas to accompany us all the way back to the hotel.

The priest who wrote the article in the *Tablet* already referred to, stated that we "made an apology" for the Bethlehem incident. As a matter of fact, we made no reference to the subject. The same



Leaving Victoria

Visiting the Coptic Church, Alexandria



Mass at Tiberias



At the Metropolit: Nazareth



Archbp of Tendon & Bp of Nassau

We are indebted to Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd., and to some of the pilgrims for use of the photographs.

priest that evening preached in one of the Convent Churches on "The English schism."

The High Mass at St. George's was at 11 a.m., and therefore we had not much time to spare, and, to make things worse, the great Moslem feast of Nebi Musá, which was in full swing, greatly impeded our exit from the city. Just within the Jaffa Gate there was an amazing scene of wild dancing by Dervishes, and many of the Moslem pilgrims were brandishing swords. These are the people who form the great majority of the population of Palestine, over 500,000 in number, while the Christians do not exceed 65,000. One would have thought that the Latins might have employed their time better than in squabbling over the *status quo*, unless, indeed, they have lost all Apostolic fervour and regard the conversion of Moslems as hopeless! Thus did the Jews wrangle amongst themselves in A.D. 60, when Titus and his army were encamped around the Holy City.

The Bishop of Nassau was both celebrant and preacher at the High Mass at St. George's at which nearly all the pilgrims were present and many others including Sir Gilbert Clayton and Sir Ronald Storrs. The collection was given to the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund. In the late afternoon many pilgrims attended solemn evensong with sermon preached by the Rev. A. E. Cornibee, vicar of St. John's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and others made their first visit to Jericho, Jordan and the Dead Sea.

The following morning the President, together with the committee and other clerical members of the pilgrimage, paid a series of ceremonial visits, all of which had been arranged by Bishop MacInnes, who kindly sent a Syrian interpreter and his Kvas to conduct us. This latter was gaily dressed, and preceded us, beating silver staff upon the ground, sometimes using it to make way for us through the crowded streets. Our first call was on the Armenian Patriarch, who awaited us in the great saloon of the Patriarchate. Four years ago I had several conversations with the Vice-Patriarch Yighiche Tchilinguirian, there being no Patriarch at that time, who told me that at one time a large number of priests had been attached to the Convent, but so many were murdered during the war that only 15 then remained. He talked much about the Armenian Church, claiming it to be the most primitive of all Christian Churches, accepting no addition to the Faith after the Council of Constantinople. Also, it was the most liberal, for it accepted as Catholics the Greek and other Orthodox Churches of the East, the Latins and also the Anglicans. The charge made against the Armenians that they were still guilty of the Monophysite heresy was untrue, for they believed in the two natures of Christ united in one Person, and, as a matter of fact, the Church solemnly anathematized this heresy every year before Lent.

Accompanied by the priests of the Patriarchate, we visited the Church of St. James, the most beautiful church in Jerusalem, said to have been built on the spot of the martyrdom of the Saint. The interior is richly decorated with ivory and mother-of-pearl, the floor being covered with magnificent carpets. We venerated the tomb of St. James whose shrine is approached through priceless doors richly

inlaid with tortoise-shell and nacre. In the porch of the church are some curious bronze and wooden gongs of very ancient type, used to call the faithful to prayer. These are reminders of the terms of the treaty made with Christians when, in 637 A.D., Jerusalem surrendered to the Khalif Omar. The terms forbade Christians the use of bells outside their churches, but gongs were permitted. There is a style about all Armenian things, from their architecture to the conical head-dress of the clergy, representing, it is said, the cone of Mount Ararat, and a quaint mingling of ancient and modern. This is also evident in their services where Latin customs mingle with Greek, possibly because in their unfortunate history they have been exiled to so many different lands.

Our next visit was to the Syrian-Jacobites, or West Syrians, as they are sometimes called. We were conducted down a lane past the ruined building known as the Church of St. Thomas of the Germans, during the Crusades there was a "street of the Germans" where a hospital was founded in 1128 for the German pilgrims. The staff of this hospital formed the beginning of the Order of the Teutonic Knights during the siege of Acre in 1191. The Syrian Convent is close to the ruins of St. Thomas, and here the Syrian Bishop resides. At the entrance to the courtyard this prelate met us and we were led to the small saloon while Syrian boys chanted lustily a hymn of welcome. After some interesting conversation, which was made all the more easy by the presence of some Syrian youths belonging to St. George's, we visited the little church built on the traditional site of the house of Mary the Mother of John, whose surname was Mark. In the church there is a remarkable Madonna which the Syrians affirm was painted by St. Luke.

Thence to the Coptic Monastery, where the Abbot greeted us in a large and cool saloon. Conversation was not easy, but there was one priest who understood and spoke a little English. The Abbot was much pleased at our visit, and we on our side were glad to show our sympathy with him and his flock after the unchristian treatment recently meted out to them by the Latins in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Abbot had only recently been appointed, indeed since the Latin attack, and had made haste to call on the Latin Patriarch to see if it were possible to improve their relationship. The latter had not troubled to return or even acknowledge the Abbot's visit. Oh! for five minutes of St. Francis! One can imagine the kind of penance he would inflict on those who call themselves after his sweet name, and how he, the little poor man of Assisi, would have embraced the Coptic Abbot.

The morning quickly passed, and our Kvas was getting somewhat weary; but there was still one more call to pay, namely, on those tropical brethren of ours, the Abyssinians. Charming people and picturesque! The Abbot, who received us with a gesture of benevolence and good nature, was accompanied by a quaintly-costumed priest clothed chiefly in skins, who not infrequently went to sleep during the interview. We were told that he was a missionary who went everywhere preaching the Gospel. Here conversation was indeed difficult, but our President always indefatigable in spite of difficulties, plunged into an abstruse theological discussion on the Ecumenical Councils. But

the Abbot did manage to make us understand his very strong and whole-hearted desire for Re-union, which was just what we wanted to hear. Four years ago I attended the Abyssinian Easter Service, a ceremony which I shall always remember. It was held in their courtyard on the Dome of the Chapel of St. Helena, a spot that figures in many paintings and sketches. There they had erected a tent, at the entrance of which men were beating drums. Inside the tent was the Abbot with his priests all dressed in gorgeous array, and after a while they came out in procession. Very slowly they moved, or, to be more correct, swayed from side to side, singing the quaintest of tunes. Three times they perambulated the Dome, symbolically searching for the Body of Christ, but unable to discover where It was laid. The procession then returned to the tent and finished the service within.

On our way home through the crowded streets of the Christian quarter most of the bazaar sellers rose to their feet saluted our President and asked his blessing.

The Dominicans in Jerusalem give much help to those who wish to learn more about the ancient sites of historical, religious, or archaeological importance. In this way I got to know several members of the Order during my previous visit, especially Père Vincent, a man of great learning and with a knowledge of Jerusalem and its monuments probably unequalled in the city. The Bishop of Nassau and I paid this famous Dominican an unofficial visit and had a long and interesting talk with him. Père Vincent had no use whatever for controversy, being a man of much breadth of mind, and spoke mainly on Biblical criticism. The only controversial subject discussed was the site of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. According to the Franciscans, and also to the Orthodox Church, the little Chapel close to the Gate of St. Stephen marks the spot where St. Stephen was stoned. The Dominicans, on the other hand, claim that the martyrdom took place on the site now occupied by the modern Church of St. Stephen, and in the fifth century by a Basilica built by the Empress Eudocia.

We next paid a visit to Notre Dame de France, the Convent of the Assumptionists, the most imposing modern building outside the city walls, built originally for the great concourse of pilgrims from France that visited Jerusalem twice a year up to the beginning of the late war. This hostel I made my headquarters four years ago, and one can live there quite peaceably and not worried by persistent controversy. Amongst other visits that afternoon we called at the monastery of St. Salvatore, the headquarters of the Franciscans. Unfortunately, the Guardian was absent, but we were received by an old friend of mine, Père Ananie, who had shown me much courtesy on a previous occasion. We discussed with him the recent trouble between the Copts and the Latins, and suggested that the Latin Patriarch might have made a *beau geste* by returning the call of the new Coptic Abbot, without doing anything derogatory to his dignity. But the good padre could not see it in that light; the Copts were in the wrong, they were only tolerated in the Holy Sepulchre and must be made to keep their place. Once again the spirit of the *imperium Romanum*!

The Convent of St. Salvatore is an ancient building acquired by the

Franciscans after their expulsion from the Coenaculum. It contains a library, museum, orphanage and various shops, including a printing office. The parish church of St. Salvatore adjoins it and is attended by European and Arab Christians of the Latin rite.

On Tuesday the pilgrims having finished most of their corporate visits in Jerusalem, began to split up into smaller parties and make pilgrimages to various places outside the city, such as the famous Greek convent of Mar Saba, Ain Karim the birth-place of the Baptist, Jericho and the valley of Jordan.

We were obliged to divide into three parties for the pilgrimage to Nazareth and Galilee owing to the difficulties of accommodation. The first party left for Nazareth on Tuesday morning and was escorted by the Bishop of Nassau and the other five members of the committee. A visit was paid *en route* to Jacob's Well at Sychar, known as Bir Samariyeh or the Well of the Samaritan Woman. Here the Greeks are rebuilding an ancient Basilica over the Well, but at the present time are held up owing to lack of funds. As the American Church is raising money towards the restoration of the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin in the valley of Jehoshaphat, it would surely be a graceful action on the part of the Anglican Church to be responsible for the completion of the Church at Sychar. The Well, like Joseph's tomb close by, is held in veneration by Jew and Samaritan, Christian and Moslem, for its authenticity rests on unbroken tradition. Passing between the famous Mounts of Ebal and Gerizim we reached Nablous, the ancient Shechem, where the few remaining Samaritans dwell, numbering not more than one hundred and sixty. Hurrying through the spacious valley of Esdraelon, some twenty-four miles long, with splendid views of Mount Hermon and Mount Gilboah, we arrived about midday at Nazareth, where we found an Archimandrite from the Metropolitane waiting to welcome us.

After lunch, having donned our ceremonial habits, and conducted by the Archimandrite, we set out for the Greek Church of the Annunciation, where Cleopas, Metropolitan of Nazareth, greeted us. Introductions having been made, the Metropolitan invited the Bishop of Nassau to read from the Gospel of St. Luke the story of the Annunciation, and then asked him to give his blessing. A visit followed to the Virgin's Spring, from which water was drawn for the pilgrims to drink. Then we were conducted to the Metropolitane, where our president gave an extempore address, and in his reply Mgr. Cleopas testified to his great yearning for reunion with the Anglican Church.

Later in the afternoon we drove to the village of Cana of Galilee, where the Greek priests and most of their parishioners came out to greet us and the bells rang out merrily. The Greek Church is built on the traditional site of the "Marriage Feast," and our president was asked to read in English the Gospel story. The children crowded round us in a friendly manner and refused to be satisfied until one of us had photographed the group. Then we drove down the steep hill through the plain of Sharon of Galilee, passing the Qoroun Hattin, where the Crusaders made their last stand, claimed by many authorities to be the Mount of the Beatitudes, to Tiberias some 600 feet below the level

of the Mediterranean, with a climate tropical in comparison with that of Jerusalem. How changed are the surroundings of that wonderful lake! There are scarcely any boats, only a few fishermen, no villages or towns other than Tiberias, and no people to crowd its shores. To-day Tiberias itself is a gay little place, wholly devoid of Christian atmosphere. About two miles from Tiberias there is a collection of hovels known as the village of El Mejdal, with the ruins of an enclosing wall and the fragments of two towers. This is the ancient Magdala, the birthplace of Mary Magdalene. Its present aspect is fitly described in the words of Sir Edwin Arnold: "Desolate most of all, with one starved palm, and huddle of sad, squalid hovels, thou El-Mejdel!" On the top of a small but very steep hill overlooking the lake, and not far from Magdala, Mass was said the next morning at 7 a.m. The arrangements had been made by one of the devoted laymen from St. George's Cathedral, and it could not have been possible to choose a more beautiful or more fitting site. The pilgrims knelt or stood near the temporary altar, and about forty of them made their Communion. The sun was already high in the heavens and burnt us fiercely, so we recommended those in charge of the next group of pilgrims to have Mass at an earlier hour. For three successive days Mass was celebrated in the open air, and many of the pilgrims would, I think, agree that this was the most thrilling episode of the pilgrimage. Later in the morning the pilgrims, some by the boat and others in cars, proceeded to Capernaum and visited the ruins of the ancient synagogue, the Franciscan in charge showing us the most recent excavations, which included a mosaic floor said to have belonged to the house of Peter's wife's mother, where, in later days, a small church had been built in honour of the chief of the Apostles. On returning to Nazareth, the Chaplain of the C.M.S. Church met us and invited the pilgrims to evensong. The next morning the Bishop of Nassau, who had been the guest of the Metropolitan Cleopas, said Mass in the Chapel of the Metropolitane, wearing Greek vestments. Leavened bread was used, and Holy Communion given by intinction. On the next two mornings Mass was said in this Chapel by the Bishop of Nebraska and Fr. Fynes-Clinton respectively, much to the gratification of the charming and courteous Metropolitane.

On the evening of our return to Jerusalem, again by the courtesy of Sir Henry Lunn, a dinner was given by the committee at the New Grand Hotel to the heads of the local churches, and I treasure the *Menu* which contains the signatures of those who were present. The Governor of Jerusalem gave us much help by sending out the invitations and also by arranging the position of the guests, a very delicate matter in the East. There were present: The Bishop of Nassau, in the chair, the Armenian Patriarch (His Beatitude Elisee Tourian), Dr. MacInnes, Anglican Bishop; Timotheos, Archbishop of Jordan, representing the Patriarch; the Abyssinian Abbot with a priest; the Coptic Abbot with a priest; the Syrian Bishop with his chaplain; the Armenian Vardapet M. Israelian; The Governor of Jerusalem; Archdeacon Waddy; The Reverend J. E. Hanauer of the C.M.S.; the Reverend Malcolm Maxwell of the London Jews' Society; The Reverend Saleh Saba of St. Paul's Arabic Church; the Reverends Dr. Danby, Philip Usher, Mr.

Phythian Adams and other representatives of St. George's Cathedral. The pilgrims were represented by their President, Fr. Millard, C.R., Colonel Fergusson (representing Sir Henry Lunn), Mr. Sidney Dark, the Rev. C. Beaufort Moss (who read an address in Greek to the Patriarch from the Archbishop of Dublin), the Revs. F. H. Hawkins, Maurice Child, R. C. Wainwright, H. Whitby, S. G. R. Murray, G. Napier Whittingham, Mr. S. Gurney and others. We were sorry not to have the Reverend H. J. Fynes-Clinton and the Bishop of Nebraska with us, but they had not yet returned from Galilee. Some interesting speeches were made, and one may safely assume that all the thirty-four guests at the banquet felt that they had been present at an historic occasion.

The following day the pilgrims still in Jerusalem (for many were at this time in Galilee and others were taking the last opportunity of a visit to the Jordan valley) were officially received by Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner whose residence is on the top of Mount Scopus. This massive building, which disfigures the beautiful Mount, was constructed as a German hospice by the former Emperor of Germany whose painting in the robes of Charlemagne figures prominently in the private chapel no longer used. The gardens are very beautiful, and from the windows of the Residency one obtains a superb view of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. On the return journey a halt was made at the British Military Cemetery, on Mt. Scopus. We found the graves of the last Crusaders carefully tended and no distinction made between officers and men in the ranks. At present the graves still have little wooden crosses, but the regulation stone crosses had just arrived and will shortly be put into position. The pilgrims gathered round the Bishop of Nassau as he conducted a short service of prayer for the departed, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem was present and other priests and laymen connected with St. George's Cathedral. On returning to Jerusalem several of the pilgrims found their way to the Wall of Wailing, a collection of old Jewish blocks of stone pieced together into a wall near the Dome of the Rock. Here we saw many Jews assembled to pray and to lament, as is their custom week by week, on the eve of the Sabbath. This custom seems to have been followed since the time of Constantine, when Jews were allowed to weep at this wall once a year, and it is ever regarded by them as a place of prayer and tears. The Jews of to-day, however, do not only wail for their lost Temple, but also offer petitions sent them by co-religionists from other countries. It may be added that the Zionists do not altogether approve of this weekly exhibition of lamentation, for their aim is not to rebuild the Temple but to make Palestine a prosperous and commercial land wherein Jews will once again predominate.

On the Saturday morning all the pilgrims in Jerusalem met in St. George's Cathedral at 7 a.m. for Corporate Communion which was administered to them by the Anglican Bishop, assisted by Archdeacon Waddy, the Revs. Dr. Danby and Philip Usher, the collections being given to the work of the Anglican Church in Palestine. On this evening and not for the first time, Archdeacon Waddy conducted a devotional "walk" to the Garden of Gethsemane. Starting from the Cenaculum on Mt. Zion, thence down to Mt. Ophel, following a rough

and stony descent to the Pool of Siloam, the pilgrims crossed the brook Cedron, skirted the Egyptian remains by the village of Siloë, upon which our Lord must often have gazed, and then for a few paces along the Bethany Road which leads to the sacred Garden. Here, in the moonlight, they knelt and prayed in silence without hindrance or interruption. It is sad to relate that the Franciscans have recently built a large and peculiarly ugly church which completely destroys the beauty of the quiet little garden as one remembers it of old. It was being finished hastily in time for its consecration by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Giorgi, who was coming to Jerusalem for that purpose. As the Pro-Jerusalem Society has done so much to hinder further disfigurement of the Mount of Olives, it is a pity that its power did not extend to this grotesque act of vandalism.

On the last Sunday in Jerusalem the pilgrims met in a field adjacent to the Cathedral and thence walked in procession, headed by the Fiery Cross. The procession was most imposing, and the vestments of the Bishop and Clergy shone out bravely in the brilliant sunshine. Nearly all the pilgrims took part in it, and were accompanied by the Vardapet Israelian, representing the Armenian Patriarch, Sir Gilbert Clayton, Colonial Secretary to the High Commissioner, the Governor of Jerusalem and the Cathedral Clergy. High Mass followed, the sermon being preached by Archdeacon Waddy, who made a direct appeal to the pilgrims to support the work of the Church in Palestine. At the conclusion of the service Sir Ronald Storrs addressed the pilgrims on behalf of the "Pro-Jerusalem Society," explaining its excellent work in preventing vandalism within and without the Holy City, and, for example, he instanced the desire of a syndicate to run an electric tramway up the Mount of Olives and also along the road from Bethany to the Jordan!

In the afternoon a small party of us went to Hebron, one of the most ancient cities in the world, and as I had been debarred from going there on my previous visit owing to military exigencies, I was most anxious to visit it this time. The Governor of Jerusalem provided us with passes, which should have given us the *entrée* not only to this ancient city of Judah, but also to the Mosque, wherein are buried—in the Cave of Macpelah—Abraham and Sarah. The entrance to the Mosque was surrounded by the usual "stage" crowd, and our "passes" read by all and sundry. The Sheikh, who is supposed to countersign these documents, was away from home, and therefore, after arguments somewhat lengthy and unintelligible, we who pay taxes for the upkeep of this country were refused entrance. From every point of view this was an unfortunate *contretemps*. The inhabitants of Hebron are not friendly to non-Moslems at any time, and doubtless they were glad of any excuse to snub us. Our feelings were somewhat relieved on receiving, later, a very polite message from the Governor of Jerusalem to the effect that he was "gravely distressed to hear what happened to the distinguished visitors for whom I obtained the special passes from the supreme Moslem Council to visit the Mosque at Hebron. I have sent for the Acting President of the Council and requested an immediate explanation, together with exemplary punishment of the responsible functionary."

Most of the important official residents in Jerusalem gave farewell dinners on the Sunday night and on the next day the pilgrims split up into three groups—one going by rail to Cairo to pay an official visit to the Coptic Patriarch, the second to present an address to His Beatitude Gregorios, Patriarch of Antioch, and the third remaining one day longer in Jerusalem and then sailing from Jaffa to meet the first group at Alexandria. Just before the first party left for Cairo a Kvas arrived from the Greek Patriarchate with a gift to the President of the pilgrimage of a very beautiful pastoral staff made of ebony, silver and mother-of-pearl. The staff is of the style used in the Greek Church, surmounted with two serpents with a cross between them and of Bethlehem workmanship.

Before our departure from Jerusalem the committee presented the sum of £100 to the Greek Patriarchate, £50 to the Metropolitan of Nazareth and £115 for the relief of the Arab Orthodox Clergy working in Palestine, these sums having been given by the pilgrims during the voyage from Marseilles to Jaffa. The pilgrims also made substantial gifts in money and kind to the Anglican Church in Jerusalem and St. George's Hostel, and in this they were greatly helped by two very generous donations from Sir Henry Lunn.

This article would not be complete without some account of the Missions to the Patriarch of Antioch and the Coptic Patriarch of Cairo. As regards the first, I cannot do better than give the story in the words of Fr. Frere and Fr. Moss, who were in charge of this special Mission.

The Reverend H. C. Frere writes :—

"On Monday, May 19th, I drove with an interpreter, Mr. Yusepteen, to the Patriarchate and met with a most kindly and friendly welcome from the Patriarch. I explained that I was one of a party of Anglican pilgrims visiting the Holy Land and that the rest were expected shortly. I was greatly surprised to hear that His Beatitude had not heard anything about the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage or the receptions at Alexandria or in Jerusalem, or that any of the pilgrims would be visiting Damascus; so, in consequence, he had made no arrangements for our reception, but at my request he promised to receive the pilgrims officially later on. On Wednesday, May 21st, I called at the British Consulate and arranged with the interpreter to hold himself in readiness to accompany the pilgrims when visiting the Patriarchate. On the same day I saw Mr. Shamiyeh, the proprietor of the Palace Hotel, a Greek Orthodox, and drove with him to the Patriarchate and saw the Bishop of the Hourân, and arranged with the latter for the use of the small church at the Patriarchate for our early Masses. The Bishop also showed me a telegram received yesterday from Bishop MacInnes asking the Patriarch to receive the pilgrims. Later in the afternoon the Patriarch returned my call, accompanied by the Bishop of the Hourân and paid a long visit; his attitude was most friendly and genial. On Thursday, May 22nd, the pilgrims having arrived the night before, Mass was said by the Rev. C. B. Moss, of St. Bartholomew's, Dublin, in the Greek Orthodox Church of St. Catherine at the Patriarchate at 7.30 a.m. Most of the pilgrims attended, together with the Bishop of the Hourân

and other Orthodox priests and laymen, and the alms collected at the offertory were handed to the Bishop for his poor. At 9.30 a.m. the pilgrims assembled at the Patriarchate and received a special mark of welcome by the Patriarch advancing to meet them at the door, and not, as in ordinary circumstances, coming in to receive them after their arrival. An address had been drawn up by the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, and an Arabic translation had been handed to the Patriarch earlier in the morning. The address was now read in English and the Patriarch made a brief reply to the effect that he had had no time to prepare an answer, so he only confined himself to expressions of warm and hearty welcome and of great friendliness to the Anglican Church. At the conclusion of the reception, which lasted some time, the Patriarch gave us his blessing and then conducted us to the Greek Church of St. Mark, a most beautiful building, richly ornamented. Thence we proceeded to our motors, the Patriarch again showing us great honour by accompanying us to the entrance gate. Before leaving I told the Bishop of the Hourân that if the Patriarch would send a reply in writing I would forward it to the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage Committee. The Patriarch was anxious to pay the pilgrims a return visit if it could be arranged on British soil, so I was able to make arrangements with Mr. Smart, the Consul, and consequently we were privileged to receive the Patriarch at the Consulate at 4 p.m. His Beatitude stayed with us an hour and it was altogether a most delightful gathering, the Patriarch's affectionate attitude, together with his unaffected geniality, winning all our hearts. In the course of the conversation His Beatitude remarked that he had taken the pilgrims to his heart as friends, owing to the friendly action of Bishop Blyth with regard to the Orthodox in his diocese of Beirût and the Lebanon in 1902, in which work I had the great privilege of being closely associated."

The story is then continued by the Reverend C. B. Moss :

"On Friday, May 23rd, Fr. Frere had left us for Beirût, and on Saturday we went to Baalbec, arriving in the afternoon. The Patriarch of Antioch had given us a letter to a Mr. Joseph Tabaa, and he at once came round to see us and took us to the Orthodox Church. As this was used as a granary by the Turks during the War it was quite unfit for use. Under these circumstances Mr. Tabaa offered to let us say our Mass in his house, and we gratefully accepted the offer. On Sunday, May 25th, I said Mass at 7.30, we were lent ikons of the Crucifixion, our Lady and Child, and St. George, which were placed on the temporary altar. All the pilgrims, and I should say most of the local Orthodox, were present. In a conversation which I had with some of the laymen after Mass they told me they greatly approved of our service, which, they said, was in all essentials the same as their own, and they greatly appreciated its simplicity. They asked me whether we believed in Confession, and whether all those who had communicated had confessed. I explained to him that we were not obliged to make our Confessions before each Communion, but that we had all done so before Easter, and that many were accustomed to do so once a month. They then discussed the difference between our method of making the sign of the

Cross and their own, and said that in making the sign three fingers were used for the Holy Trinity, the two remaining fingers signifying our Lord's two Natures. They also asked about our bread, and I said that we were allowed to use either kind of bread, but that we found wafers the more practical of the two. After breakfast we were shown over the magnificent ruins of Baalbec by Professor Alouf, the proprietor of the Grand Palmyra Hotel, where we were staying. Besides the ruined Orthodox Church there are two other Churches in Baalbec, Greek Uniat and Maronite, both in communion with Rome, but the former in outward expression was almost exactly similar to an Orthodox Church, the latter indistinguishable from a Latin Church, though, of course, with a different rite. All three Churches were used for military purposes by the Turks during the War.

"Two-thirds of the population of Baalbec are Moslems. We said Evensong in our hotel, and most of the Orthodox who had been at our Mass in the morning attended, and I gave an address on the work of the Anglican and Eastern Association, and Mr. Shariyeh joined the Association, giving me his first subscription.

"Both he and the other laymen with whom I talked at Baalbec expressed a strong desire for reunion with us, and were convinced that we held the same faith in all essentials.

"On Monday we left Baalbec early and travelled to Beirût through the magnificent scenery of the Lebanon. We reached Beirût at four and went straight on board the *Lotus*, so we were unable to be received by Gerasimus, Bishop of Beirût, as there was no time for a reception. The captain and purser very kindly arranged for us to have the use of a large room for Mass every morning, and on board ship we found a very interesting companion, namely, the Coptic Archbishop of Meria, who attended some of our Masses, of which he greatly approved."

For the account of the visit to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria I am indebted to the correspondent of the *Church Times* (May 30th, 1924).

"On Wednesday morning we visited the Coptic Patriarch, who is nearly 100 years old, and has ruled for 50 years. He received us in a large outer saloon and led us to a smaller one where our Bishop read his address to him. (A copy of this will be found in the Appendix.) Although there was a complete lack of the cordiality which we had experienced from every other Eastern headquarters, we were amicably received. The Copts are in a difficult position and do not wish to appear too friendly to anything English. They have thrown themselves with enthusiasm into the nationalistic movement and are hand-in-glove with the Moslems. . . . In reply to the address the senior Coptic priest present, interpreted by the Rev. Maurice Richmond, welcomed us in the name of the Patriarch, 'who sits on the throne of St. Mark, exercising jurisdiction over Africa and Asia,' and said that the Copts also prayed for Reunion and wished to work in co-operation with the other Churches. This was in every way satisfactory, for such a statement has probably not before been heard at their headquarters, and, as it were, from the lips of the Patriarch himself. After the Patriarchal blessing we withdrew from the saloon and wended our way to the church.

. . . In the late afternoon the Anglican Archdeacon in Egypt arranged a united service for the pilgrims and his own people at All Saints' Pro-Cathedral. A number of priests were present together with the Archbishop of Sinai, an autocephalous prelate who appears to prefer the joys of Cairo for a season to the rigours of his desert peninsular. The Bishop of Nassau, owing to indisposition, was unable to preach, and his place was taken by the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton."

The third group of pilgrims returned as they arrived *via* Jaffa, meeting the first party at Alexandria. We were fortunate enough to find that His Holiness Photios had returned to his Patriarchal City, and therefore was able to receive us in person on this occasion and read us a gracious reply to our address. (This will be found in the Appendix.) Thus the Anglican Pilgrimage has visited three out of the four Eastern Patriarchates and been warmly welcomed and received at each. The ship in which we returned was considerably smaller and older than our out-going boat, but once again we found both captain and purser most anxious to give us every assistance, and were we thus able to have two altars for our daily Masses and all went well. We reached London on the eve of the Ascension, in time to make our Communion of thanksgiving in our respective churches on the morrow, mindful of that little round church on the Mount of Olives, marking the place from which the Lord Christ ascended into Heaven.

The Pilgrimage was a great success from every point of view, and a wonderful experience. Renan says somewhere, "The Holy Land is the fifth Gospel," and doubtless many of the pilgrims will regard it as such since they will have carried away with them memories which can never be quite obliterated: for those who have wandered in the little lanes of Nazareth, have sung *Adeste Fideles* at Bethlehem, have prayed in Gethsemane and knelt at Calvary can never again be quite the same.

Somehow I think that the Pilgrimage has done something to encourage and strengthen the difficult position of the Anglican Church in Palestine. Archdeacon Waddy has won a warm place in the hearts of the pilgrims for his work in guiding them round the Holy Places in Jerusalem, and for the assistance he gave us at Tiberias and elsewhere, and we gave him a resounding cheer when he bade us farewell on our departure from the Holy City.

The committee kept in close touch with Bishop MacInnes, often seeking his advice, and were anxious that the pilgrims should realise their responsibility towards the work of the Anglican Church in Palestine. The chief difficulty of a large pilgrimage is lack of accommodation. At this moment, so the manager of the chief bank in Jerusalem told me, Palestine is the most expensive country in the world; before the conquest it was one of the cheapest. The charges at hotels are exorbitant, and sanitary arrangements remain antiquated. The Latins have the largest hostels, which they naturally keep for Roman Catholic pilgrims; thus good hostels are greatly needed. St. George's Hostel is still in its infancy, but with some £500 spent on it could easily become a live and useful centre for Anglican Pilgrimages. Herein lies an

excellent opportunity for us all. The Anglican Church should certainly occupy a position in Jerusalem no less dignified than that held by the Armenian and Latin Churches, for it is not merely a Mission, but an integral part of the Church Catholic definitely planted in Palestine.

The Orthodox Church delighted to do us honour in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, not to mention Damascus and Alexandria. We can never forget their kindness and their gracious welcome, which made manifest their desire to come into closer relationship with us; indeed, one of the Archbishops expressed the hope that on the next pilgrimage our priests would be allowed to say Mass at any Greek altar.

Out of evil good ever comes. Intolerance is bringing together the separated Churches of the East, and it is making them look more than ever to Canterbury for support. The Anglican Church has indeed a great responsibility! One thing made itself abundantly clear: the Greek Orthodox Church is obviously the home of the Oriental Christian, and conversions to the Uniat Churches are generally for political reasons and because of powerful support from the Vatican. Jerusalem is the Mother of all the Churches; the Anglican Church has a very important part to play in the future and will be able to play it if Anglicans will only rouse themselves to a real sense of responsibility. Their part might well be that of the Good Samaritan, especially now that the *entente* between the two Churches has been so happily emphasised. Let me add, the name of "Randall Cantuar" is beloved by all Eastern Christians throughout the length and breadth of Palestine.

As, with the help of Fr. Maurice Child I had much to do with the work of preparation for this pilgrimage, I would like to emphasize some recent words of the Bishop of Nassau: "We do indeed hope to see a steady stream of Anglican pilgrims going year after year to the Holy Places of Palestine. We do need to strengthen the hands of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem and rally to the support of the magnificent work of Reunion, a work which centres in the Anglican Cathedral of St. George; and we would indeed like, above all, to see an Anglican religious order planted in Galilee, to work hand in hand with the Metropolitan of Nazareth's little band of devoted priests for the conversion of Moslems and Jews returning to the Faith of Jesus of Nazareth." (Bishop of Nassau, *Church Times*, June 6th, 1924.)

What can one say about Jerusalem herself, whose name is the symbol of peace? Four years of playing the Zionist game has not made her a peaceful city. A variety of religions is far more likely to produce intolerance than a variety of political parties. Animosity between Moslems and Zionists is, if anything, more bitter than ever though it may be less conspicuous, as anyone not connected with the Government freely admits, and the majority of Palestinians appear to be in a constant state of nerves. In the equality of religions, in the equality of race, lies the only hope of a peaceful and happy Palestine. The Holy Land at this moment needs many things, but chiefly a change of heart, less intolerance and—an efficient system of irrigation. In no case must England desert her; above all, England's Church must pray for her.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE METROPOLITAN THEOPHANES, ARCHBISHOP OF TRIPOLI AND VICAR OF THE ORTHODOX GREEK PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

"Welcome to all of you, beloved brethren in Christ! This ancient Church of Alexandria, in welcoming you and the God-loving pilgrims who are with you, offers with much consolation a thanksgiving to our risen Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in that He has inspired your hearts with a desire to see the Holy Land which His Presence in human form has consecrated for ever; so that you have undertaken a long and tedious journey in order that you may see with your own eyes and offer a prayer to the infinite goodness in that place whence salvation has been poured upon all the earth, and wherein Christ our Lord was crucified for us, was buried, and rose from the dead.

"In extending to you a hearty send-off to those holy places and the city of God, this Holy Church of Alexandria glorifies God once more; for through His Grace is fulfilled the prophet saying: 'Who are these who fly like the clouds and like young pigeons, for their loving kindness will be accepted before the sanctuary of God, and through them will be glorified the House of the Lord, Who will reward their fervour!' Amen.

"Welcome again, my brethren in Christ! May the Lord shield and protect you! Amen."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS AT BETHLEHEM.

"Your lordships, faithful Christian pilgrims! The Mother of Churches wishes to express deep joy and thankfulness to the Lord, in that she has been blessed by Him to receive your Graces and other noble children of a brave and high-minded nation, of mighty and glorious Great Britain, in this historic City of Judæa and in the very holy place of the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, round which, some nineteen centuries ago, was sung that sweet song of the Heavenly Host, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will unto men.'

"And on this sacred place, where millions of people have worshipped on bended knee, the Son of God was made Incarnate for our salvation, the Mother Church greets you and welcomes you and offers up a fervent prayer to the Divine Founder of our Faith that He may shelter, protect, and strengthen you in the way of piety and moral perfection for the accomplishment of His Kingdom upon earth.

"May the Lord bless your comings in and your goings out of His Holy Place, and may His Holy Spirit rest and abide with you for ever and ever. Amen."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS AT CALVARY.

"Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.' And may you, dear brethren, be also blessed: you who have braved the perils of a long and dangerous voyage, and arrived safely at last, coming in the Name of the Lord to this most holy and sacred church, built on the Faith which has been the salvation and redemption of humanity.

"The place on which we stand just now is the atoning Calvary. It is both sacred and holy. On this spot, nineteen hundred years ago, there was enacted the greatest of all dramas, that great climax in the life of our Lord which appals every human soul and far surpasses all human understanding. For 'God suffered for our sake,' to save us from the original sin. On this place the Lamb of God, by His expiatory death upon the Cross, cleansed the sin of the world, reconciled man to God, lifted him above his former state, and instilled within his soul the desire for greater and more worthy things. By His death He renewed the creature to the image of the Creator. On this very spot the Cross stood, and on that Cross Mercy and Truth met each other, and righteousness and peace were united in an everlasting bond purchased by the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"And God, in His great wisdom, has kept certain things to remind us of the terrible earthquake which took place when the Son of God was crucified. He has kept this very stone of Calvary, which was rent by the earthquake as a tangible proof of His love for us, a love so great that 'He gave His only begotten Son.'"

"And now, as we stand on this place where our crucified Saviour, covered with wounds and crowned with a crown of thorns, gave unsparingly of His precious Blood, let us borrow from His patience and courage in our sorrows. Let us gather strength each one of us to carry the cross of Faith without murmuring. Let us always remember the words of the apostle: 'Whosoever has been baptized in Christ has put on Christ.'"

"Let us keep aloft the banner of His divine teaching and fill the whole world with the love for which He descended to earth.

"May we follow, therefore, the example of our Lord and His Saints and martyrs; let us march with joy the way of the Cross, glorifying the Christ who opened to us the gates of the heavenly kingdom by His death upon Calvary; and let us so live that, on the last day, when all shall be raised from the dead, we may be worthy to hear from His divine lips those cheering words which He uttered here so long ago, but which still hold their sacred promise: 'To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise.'"

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS AT THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

"DEAR BISHOPS AND PILGRIMS,

"At the dusk of the evening Joseph and Nicodemus receive the Body of Christ, taken down from the Cross and wrapped up in funeral clothes, carry it and put it in this death-bed, the Sepulchre which stands before our very eyes. How great Your generosity and all-mightiness, O Christ!

"The Mother of Churches is very glad indeed to welcome this day children of a sister Church, bearing with them all the elements of peace and love, which the risen-from-the-dead Christ bestowed upon earth.

"British pilgrims in assembly for long centuries did not visit the Holy Land, but to-day, when the wishes and hopes of the Church of

Zion have been fulfilled and the Holy Providence was pleased to put this holy dwelling on earth under the protection of a most Christian, righteous, generous and mighty power, as Magi from the East once, so do you also come to-day, brothers, a long way from the land of Christian civilization and progress, that you, too, may glorify with us and sing, as the shepherds, the Divine Founder of religion in all freedom and solemnity, and that you may respectfully offer the wish of piety to the Holy Places.

"Further, the Mother of Churches feels a sincere joy that the great God has rendered her worthy to receive you, dear brothers in Christ, in His most Holy Church, because in this welcoming is shown more strongly the reality of a good will and responsibility. The Mother of Churches greets the event as one of a special meaning and testifying to the friendly relations and good frame of mind of the two Holy Churches, Eastern and Anglican, to whom may the Divine initiator of humanity into a new spirit send the sooner the longed reunion.

"Now, brethren, with the fear of God, with faith and with love, let us enter this holy Sepulchre: let us bend the knees of the soul and of the body, and let us pray with compunction before the sacred Tomb in which lay the buried Body of our Saviour.

"Let us confess the wounds and sorrows of our souls to the entombed Christ, and ask with a real penitence that He may send upon us His grace which only can lighten and comfort the suffering and afflicted heart of man, and that, according to the Apostle, 'The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him: the eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of His calling.' —(Ephes. i, 17-18.)"

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY HIS BEATITUDE DAMIANOS, PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

"MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN IN THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

"The event which has taken place to-day fills up our heart with joy and gladness. By the grace and providence of God we are fortunate, owing to our best relations with the representatives of the Anglican Church in this city, to receive as our pilgrims Anglican clergymen and laymen, and more especially distinguished personalities in the Anglican hierarchy and clergy. For the first time such an event takes place, and as much as we, and the Most Holy Church of Jerusalem, are glad, so much those who are in favour of the union of the Churches, whose number is increasing from day to day, can see a new and important progress towards the desire of union, and can hence receive new encouragement and inspiration for their God-pleasing work.

"We welcome you on behalf of the Most Holy Church of Jerusalem, and wish most heartily that you may accomplish this holy pilgrimage in good health and as you desire, and that it may strengthen your faith and enlighten your minds; and pray that we may see more frequently such holy pilgrimages, in order to conduce more especially to the fulfil-

ment of the well-known prayer of our Saviour to the Father and God, which in fact, moves the heart of every true Christian. 'Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name those whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are.' Amen. (St. John xvii, 11.)"

ADDRESS TO HIS BEATITUDE CYRIL V., PATRIARCH OF THE COPTIC ORTHODOX CHURCH.

"We, Anglican pilgrims returning from the Holy Land in which our Lord Jesus Christ was born, spent the years of His earthly life, died upon the Cross for our salvation and rose again victorious from the dead, are grateful for the privilege now accorded to us of visiting your Beatitude.

"Both in Alexandria and Jerusalem we have already received many signal marks of kindness from the local heads of the Coptic Orthodox Church. To us Westerns it is a fresh inspiration to have been brought during these last weeks into such close and intimate relations with the great historic Churches of the East. And of these there is none which can make a stronger appeal to the imagination than the Church which has preserved in an unbroken continuity the ancient culture of the land of the Pharaohs. We rejoice to be able to pay our reverence to-day to a successor of the Evangelist St. Mark.

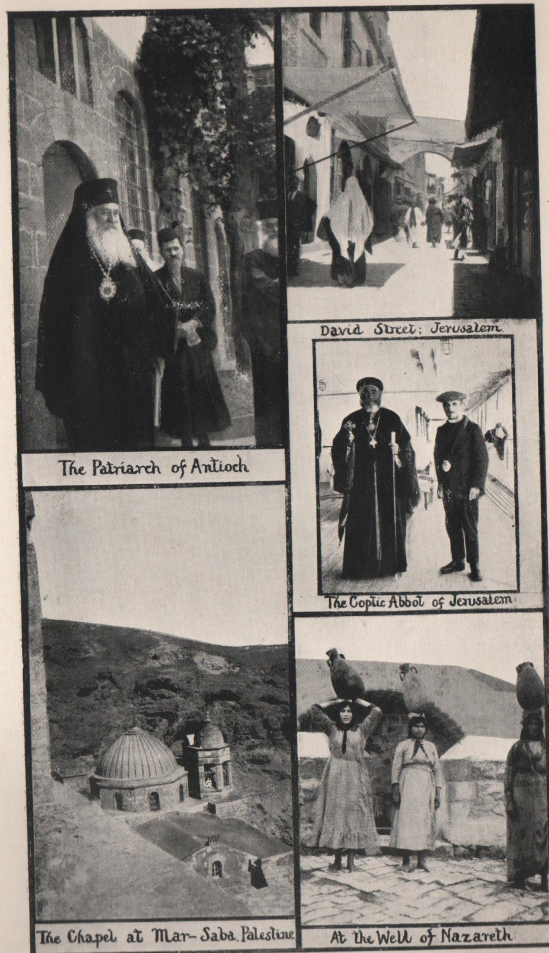
"In Jerusalem we had the honour of entertaining at our table, side by side with the representatives of the Patriarch Damianos, the Armenian Patriarch, the Syrian and the Anglican Bishops, the Abbots of the Coptic and the Abyssinian Churches. We found, to our joy, that all eagerly re-echoed our aspiration that the day might soon come when the divisions of Christendom should be healed and the Churches of Christ manifest the unity for which He prayed.

"As a national Church, like your own, it has never been, and never could be, our wish that members of your Communion should transfer their allegiance to ours, or that your order and worship should be assimilated to Anglican models, any more than that Anglicanism should adopt the customs of the East. We believe, rather, that in the re-united Christendom of our vision and prayers the amplest room will be found for every national characteristic and distinctive feature by which national Churches can best glorify the One Lord.

"In the meantime, if there is no active co-operation or service we can render, we wish to proffer all our sympathy to a Church which has, through the ages, maintained the Confession of the Faith.

"The learning of the Church of Egypt, as embodied in the writings of such great disciples of Christ and doctors of the Church as St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, is still treasured and studied in our own seminaries for religious learning. Therefore we salute with feelings moved and stirred with a loving brotherhood the venerable Patriarch, and the Bishops, Priests and faithful laity of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

"We have heard with joy of the life which is stirring in the Coptic Church and of the developments in the seminary for training candidates for the sacred ministry. We shall offer intercession with a new instance



The Patriarch of Antioch

David Street, Jerusalem

The Coptic Abbot of Jerusalem

The Chapel at Mar-Saba, Palestine

At the Well of Nazareth

when we celebrate the Holy Mysteries that the One Father and the One Lord will evermore empower the Coptic Church for the great work and witness that lies before it."

ADDRESS TO HIS BEATITUDE, GREGORIUS, PATRIARCH OF THE HOLY
ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

"We, priests and faithful lay people of Holy Church in communion with His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, have been led by Almighty God to accomplish our long-felt desire to come in united pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and there to adore and give thanks to our Most Blessed Lord, the Son of God, and Redeemer of the world, in the sacred shrines where he took flesh of the all-Holy and ever-Virgin Mother of God, where he lived amongst men and died for our salvation. We have venerated the Holy Sepulchre, the Rock from whence New Life has sprung, and have worshipped where the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, was poured forth in power upon the one Holy and Apostolic Church.

"And now, remembering how the sacred name of Christian was first given in the city of your Beatitude's throne, a name which we treasure in common with your flock and a name which your people have so nobly adorned in recent years by suffering and martyrdom for the sake of Christ, we come to pay our deepest and filial reverence to your Beatitude, occupant of the ancient and honoured Patriarchal See of Antioch and of the Apostolic Chair of St. Peter.

"Your throne, illustrious with the names of the great Apostle St. Paul, St. Ignatius, and the glories of its theological school, is no less honourable in our sight from the long scroll of unknown witnesses for the faith, who, through age-long oppression and in the days of the great war, have again sanctified the soil with their bloodshed for the faith of Christ.

"With profound sentiments of grief and shame that the Christian Powers of Europe have not yet, after so many centuries, intervened successfully to deliver all the Christians of the Eastern Churches from infidel tyranny, we beg now to tender to your Beatitude and to your children our deepest sympathy in the sorrows and losses that have afflicted you, and to assure you that our prayers and efforts will never be lacking for the protection and prosperity of all our Eastern brethren.

"But not only do we find comfort in the splendid examples of faithfulness unto death given us by this great cloud of witnesses as we run our common race toward the crown, but, troubled as we are within our own churches in the British Isles, in our dependencies and in America by difficulties in maintaining the Catholic faith of the Undivided Church, and struggling to restore in their fulness her ancient customs and traditions, we ever find strength and encouragement in the changeless and immovable witness of the Holy Orthodox Churches to the teachings of the Seven Œcumenical Councils and of the Holy Doctors.

"Recognising always that our task of bringing back our people to the fulness of faith and to more regular reception of the Mysteries of the

Church, which had been largely obscured though never lost amongst us since the time of the Reformation, depends upon our secure possession of the grace of the Priesthood transmitted by Apostolic succession from our Lord, a possession in which we have ourselves unswervingly believed, we have found great joy and support in the fact that a formal recognition has been given by the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and by the Autocephalous Church of Cyprus that Anglican ordinations possess the requisite marks of true Apostolic succession.

"We cannot but believe that the sense of possessing in common the holy priesthood bestowed by our Lord in His Church must facilitate further advance towards restoring between us the state of full intercommunion of the ancient Church interrupted by the Great Schism, and toward that full dogmatic agreement which we so greatly desire.

"Your Beatitude is well aware of the serious problems which confront not only the Orthodox hierarchy but also the Anglican Bishops in our Dominions and in the United States in the great influx of Christian immigrants from the East. Our Clergy is everywhere faced with the need of these people for spiritual ministrations, for teaching and for the Holy Sacraments, when, as so frequently happens, Orthodox priests cannot be supplied or are far away.

"It is always our aim to do all that is possible with the permission of the Orthodox authorities to meet their needs, while, at the same time, teaching them to remain faithful to their own Church. Under the direction of our Bishops and guided by the Lambeth Conference, much has been done, and we rejoice if we can in this way help to build up strong branches of the Orthodox Communion in the New World. The recognition of our priesthood is a most important step toward regularising that kind of Economic Intercommunion for those in need which is so necessary for the due sacramental life of these people, of whom a very large proportion are Syrians, and also for Anglicans sojourning in Orthodox countries.

"We speak of the restoration of ancient Intercommunion, for we would assure your Beatitude that there has never been any wilful or intentional act of separation on our part from the Holy Churches of the East. The division is rather the result of our being involved historically and unconsciously as part of the Western Church in consequence of the Great Schism.

"We desire to lay the greater stress upon the wonderful fact that Almighty God, the Spirit of Truth, has, in spite of so many centuries of mutual isolation, preserved so very large a basis of common adherence to the Faith once delivered to the saints, and interpreted by the Creeds and decrees of the seven holy Œcumenical Councils.

"Trusting, therefore, in your Beatitude's large-hearted and brotherly love, and in your wisdom drawn from the Mind of the Holy Church, which is the Spirit of Christ, we would ask your constant prayers for the Divine blessing upon our endeavours after reunion, which is one of the principal objects of our pilgrimage, and for your fatherly blessing upon all the pilgrims who have kissed the holy stones sanctified by the Precious Blood of the Divine Love."

REPLY OF THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.

"HIGHLY HONOURED HIERARCHS AND DEVOUT PILGRIMS,

"The measure of the satisfaction with which our Holy Apostolic Church of Alexandria received you when, in your longing after Christ, you were on your journey from Great Britain to the Holy Land, is the measure of the gratification of spirit with which, as kept safe and sound by the Grace of God, you make your way back to your well-loved native land, we give you God-speed and render thanksgiving to Christ the Saviour Who has guided your steps.

"The brotherly sentiments of love and respect, manifested by you towards the Church of Alexandria, together with the evangelical thoughts and words in the valued address which you presented to us, have moved us deeply so that we are eager to give expression to our heartfelt thanks for your kindly disposition towards us and also to the appreciation which we cherish for your noble labours.

"We admire in you and in the Anglican system that spirit of Faith and of Evangelic Charity by which the totality of your nation has been led to the doctrine of the Gospel, and having been changed from being the implacable enemies of that doctrine into its faithful servants, has been guarded out of the Darkness of Ignorance into the Light of Grace. We admire in you the truly enviable and God-loving zeal, the efforts, the labours, the witnessings, the blood-shedding of those blessed missionaries of yours, those glorious heroes of Christianity, the bones of whom scattered over the face of the earth fulfil the Glory of God, who have laboured for the enlightenment of Africa, Asia, Australia and all the peoples in them, 'who dwell in darkness and in the shadow of death.'

"We admire in you the fixity of faith with which and through which by help from above the peoples entrusted to you have been preserved for the most part from the most deadly snares of the Destroyer, of which the chief and the most perilous is that 'science so-called' of which St. Paul denounced the 'profane . . . babblings and oppositions' and 'which some professing have erred concerning the Faith' (1 Tim. vi, 20-21).

"We admire in you furthermore that present noble labour by which you seek a return to the Truth in order that there may be realised that ideal for which we all long and pray, the full union in the life of the soul of all who make their boast in the Name of the Lord—'endeavouring' to establish and in the future to keep the 'unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Ephes. iv, 3).

"That labour is sacred and dear to God, and to the limit of our mind and spirit we share it with you, praying daily 'the God and Father of All, who is above all and through all, and in you all,' to deal so with you and us, as His Divine Providence knows best, 'till we all come in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God,' to 'the edifying of the body of Christ,' till One Spirit, one Faith, one Baptism shall prevail among all peoples. Amen.

"The Lord God bless you, and may the Risen Saviour prosper your undertakings."—PHOTIOS, POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

10th May, 1924.

THE MODERN PAPACY AND THE REUNION OF THE ORTHODOX EAST WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC WEST.

[We regret greatly the being obliged to hold over the latter part of this article to our next issue. Its genesis is as follows: Professor Glubokovsky contributed an article on "Papal Rome and the Orthodox East" to the "Christian East" of May, 1923. The attention attracted by that article, together with the distinction of the Professor, led to its being criticised in our first number of this year by Mgr. Batiffol, himself a writer on the Roman Catholic side of the highest authority and one of the Malines conversants. In doing so he referred to various writings of Bishop Gore, who himself replied in our June issue. We had secured a promise from Mr. Hahlyvt Egerton that if Mgr. Batiffol replied again he would sum up the trilogy. His deeply regretted death renders that impossible, but we shall hope to publish the conclusion of Professor Glubokovsky's present article, together with the Monsignor's final remarks in our December number.]

BY PROFESSOR NICHOLAS GLUBOKOVSKY, D.D., Professor of the University of Sofia, Bulgaria.

I HAVE re-read my short article on "Papal Rome and the Orthodox East" which appeared in the *Christian East*, (Vol. IV, 4, pp. 180-6), together with the comments made upon it by Mgr. Batiffol's authoritative pen in the same magazine, Vol. V, 1, pp. 28-36.

I agree that, as the editor assumed without consulting me, it is incumbent upon me to deal with those comments and either to accept the Monsignor's corrections or to refute them.¹

But before proceeding to fulfil this honourable duty, I should demur to the rôle which Mgr. Batiffol assigns me when he styles me his "contradictor," and concludes that I "reproche" him and

¹ My article, "Orthodoxy in its Essence," printed in the *New York Constructive Quarterly* for June, 1913, pp. 282-325, in English, and in Russian in the *Petrograd Hristianskoe Chtenie* for 1914, No. 1, pp. 3-22, has also, for reasons which are not comprehensible to me, drawn the attention of Roman Catholic writers, e.g., of Prof. Dr. Julius Gandgega in his Russian books, *Articles upon Questions Relating to Orthodoxy, Nationalism and Roman Catholicism*, 1921, and *Handbook for the Reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches*, 1922. Also, Fr. Michel d'Herbigny, the well-known director of the Pontificio Instituto Orientale of Rome—God knows why—has devoted considerable interest to it in his recent pamphlet, *La Vraie Notion d'Orthodoxie*, 1923, giving, indeed, both an abstract of it and a commentary upon it, for both of which I am honoured but with the latter of which I cannot help disagreeing, not only in detail but in essentials.

I take this occasion to dissipate the principal misrepresentation. Fr. d'Herbigny discovers in my article (p. 16) "un phantome d'Orthodoxie abstraite" with "la tendance à considérer l'Orthodoxie comme un être absolu, existant par lui-même indépendamment de l'Eglise," so that "d'après cette conception l'Orthodoxie existe par soi; elle préexiste à l'Eglise qui n'en est plus qu'un élément accidentel comme la nation où elle s'incarne," p. 28. I am totally unable to imagine how Fr. d'Herbigny

even that I ascribe "my own ideas to him" (pp. 28 and 34). There is no ground for that. In fact, I had been asked by a third person to give an exposition of the Orthodox position parallel to Mgr. Batiffol's learned Catholic Commentary; and that I did. Naturally my exposition did not coincide with his own; for I gave the Orthodox interpretation of the facts—and certainly I do not appropriate to myself even such authority as Professor Adolf Harnack attributed to me in his review of my book *Beatus Theodoret*—the work of my young days. Also, I had nothing to do with the Malines Conversations, about which I learnt for the first time from the Christmas letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which greatly perplexed me, and on which I refrain from expressing an opinion since a sharp controversy is in process in England upon the subject.

Mgr. Batiffol writes: "Le jour où M. Glubokovsky découvrirait, comme Soloviev, que la *potestas* papale rentre dans l'Order of the Ecumenical Councils, ainsi qu'en témoigne le concile de Chalcédoine, la réunion du catholicisme oriental au catholicisme romain serait bien près de s'accomplir" (p. 36).

That prognostication has no possibility for me. If I could ever consider any such action, I should not only be mad but altogether unorthodox; for our Church does not accept the Papal Supremacy, and for her all dogmatic questions are decided by the Councils alone. If, therefore, I ever fall into the above error, I should not follow Vladimir Soloviev, who, in fact, did not leave any clear example at all, but one so perplexing that even his best friends still argue as to whether he died Orthodox or a Roman Catholic—for he was buried according to the Orthodox Rite as an Orthodox, and it is therefore impossible to say whether he was a "Russian Newman," as he is extolled by the Roman Catholic, or was a "Russian Origen" as the Orthodox stigmatises him, less on account of his positive attain-

read such a meaning into my words, but I beg to assure him that he makes them contradict absolutely all the foundations of my Faith, and all the theological conclusions reached by my reason. That which he ascribes to me is more than a most malignant heresy. It is stark anti-Christian rationalism, and emanates from "the Spirit of Error," 1 St. John iv, 2-6. For me there can be no grace-giving, saving Orthodoxy, except in the Orthodox Church, as there is no divine life-giving Christianity outside the Catholic Church, founded by our Lord Jesus Christ. With me that is an unalterable axiom and one which is not open to discussion and ought not to be misrepresented.

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE.—Soloviev should be regarded rather as having envisaged a new theory of the Church which was the product of his violent hatred of the Byzantine system established by Constantine, and which, while it found a place for the Papacy, was certainly in conflict with Roman Catholicism. Father Isvolsky of Brussels, formerly Ober-Prokuror of the Russian Holy Synod, informs me that on his death-bed at the house of Prince Troubetsky, 30 miles or so from Moscow (though, if he had wished, he might have received the last rites from a Roman Catholic priest), Soloviev made his Confession to an Orthodox priest and received Absolution, Communion and Unction from him, according, of course, to the full Orthodox Rite.

ments than of his negative, more on account of his shortcomings than of his merits.

In like case, for my part, I should present my doubts and perplexities frankly and openly to my Church and should hold myself bound by her decision—unlike Count Leo Tolstoy who, though he had abused Orthodoxy more coarsely and insultingly than any heretic or any honest atheist, still desired to remain and to be styled a member of the Orthodox Church.

Writing as an ordinary Russian theologian and speaking for myself alone, I will offer a few further remarks—as briefly as possible, since all the relevant facts are well known and there is always a danger that discussions such as these may resemble those confessional altercations at which only *tertius gaudet*, an entertainment which I would be loath to afford the common enemy at any time, and especially at this when assuredly we, whether Roman Catholic or Orthodox, ought not to be trying to destroy each other. Let the egoistic polemicist keep silence and let there reign only that love which, according to the apostle, 1 Cor., 6-7, "rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

I.

The subject of our mutual discussion is the strictly-limited statement put forth by Bishop Gore in *Catholicism and Roman Catholicism*, p. 23, ed. 1923: "In becoming separated from the Roman See in 1054, did the Eastern Church abandon anything concerning the authority of Peter as persisting in the Roman Church which had been at any period a part of its creed? The answer is a decisive No. The Catholic Christianity of the Greeks had acknowledged no such doctrine." In opposition to this Mgr. Batiffol states, in *Révue des Jeunes*, 10 avril, 1923, "Oui. Le Catholicisme grec a renié ce qu'il professait au temps du Concile de Chalcédoine." When my opinion was asked, I entirely agreed with the former and repudiated the latter with the consequence that, from being an arbiter I have become a principal respondent in the case. For my defence and for the general good I should wish to define, first of all, the subject, the nature and the extent of our disagreement.

What happened exactly at our so-called "separation" from Rome? When Pope Leo IX. sent his legates to Constantinople, he wrote to the Patriarch Michael Cerularios: "If there be any people anywhere in the world which arrogantly disagrees with the Roman Church, such people *non sit jam dicenda vel habenda ecclesia aliqua sed omnino nulla, quin potius conciliabulum hæreticorum et synagoga Satanae*." Negotiations entered on in such a dangerous spirit had the only result that the Papal Legate laid their letter of

excommunication on the altar of St. Sophia on Saturday, July 16th, 1054, likened the Orthodox to various heretics (Simoniacs, Valezians, Arians, Nicolaites, Donatists, Severians, Manichees, Pneumatomachians . . .), and declared that "By the authority of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity and of that of the Apostolic See of which we are carrying out the *legatio*, by the authority of all the Orthodox Fathers of the Seven Œcumenical Councils and of the whole Catholic Church, we subscribe the anathema pronounced by our Lord the most Holy Pope upon Michael and his followers if they do not reform themselves, in this fashion: Anathema, maranatha, together with the Simoniacs, etc., and if they do not recant with all the heretics and with the devil and his angels, Amen, amen."

On the same ill-starred day the legates confirmed this curse in the presence of the Emperor and made a final statement of principle: "Let him who obstinately contradicts the Faith of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See and its Sacrifice be anathema, maranatha, and let him not be deemed a Catholic Christian but a heretic. *Sit, sit.*"

That is how the fatal breach between the Christian East and West occurred. Its chief significance is not the monstrous arrogance of the Papal Legates, about whom the Constantinople Council testified on the morrow that they came "Like a thunderstorm and hurricane or a famine, or rather, like wild boars, in order to dash down the Truth." Nor is it the awful intolerance and severity of the sentence which, in the opinion even of Roman Catholic savants, "has not a due moderation" (Prof. C. J. Hefele).

The formidable fact is that, usurping the divine authority over the whole Church, the Pope put himself on a level with the Holy Trinity and above the Œcumenical Councils which he himself had recognised.

That hierarchic self-exaltation cut the Papacy away from the whole Christian East and has become an impassable barrier of division between them.

Moreover, since this practical claim has been declared a dogma of the Catholic Faith by the Vatican Council, this barrier has become insurmountable to the Orthodox, for Orthodoxy cannot accept the Roman "dogma" which sanctifies all the doctrinal innovations of the Roman Catholic Church which prepares the way for others through the authority of the infallible Pope and which is gradually stifling the freedom of enquiry of theological thought and is constraining it to become servile or tendentiously pliant.

I do no more here than point out the inevitable inference for the Orthodox conscience, *viz.*, that Reunion with Rome is impossible because of this claimed and practised Papal Supremacy *de jure divino*.

It is noteworthy that Cardinal Mercier, in his letter of 18th

January, 1924, says that in the Conversations which he has had with Anglicans, as defined by the Vatican Council, "the Papal Primacy was the first thing and the last thing to be discussed."

Hence the chief matter for discussion between us in regard to Reunion is the Papacy as divinely infallible and supremely authoritative over the whole Church.

II.

The Orthodox do more than refuse to accept, they reject such a Papacy altogether and with it they repudiate a Catholicism which does homage to it. Mgr. Batiffol asserts that in that rejection the East renounced something which in former times it had confessed as an article of faith and had accepted and conformed to in practice. Since I can find no trace of such doctrine or polity in Eastern Orthodoxy before the Great Schism, I must join Bishop Gore in traversing that assertion.

Evidently our mutual disagreement originates in our assigning differing interpretations to certain historical facts of which, in my first article, to avoid polemics or apologetics, I gave only the Orthodox explanation and interpretation. Of these I must now add my justification.

In order to show us where we are wrong, Mgr. Batiffol now declares that in the past we ourselves held the above doctrine of the Papacy as our own faith. This appears to me to mean that, having previously accepted the Papacy as so defined, we renounced it in 1054 and are now in contradiction with ourselves—indeed, that we are "condemned of ourselves" (Tit. iii, 11.), which, if Mgr. Batiffol's premises were correct, we certainly should be beyond question and without doubt.

But it is precisely here that I read with amazement his comments on what I wrote: "cette affirmation massive est de mon cru," and his explication for my benefit, "l'identité de la papauté à travers les siècles . . . doit être entendu en fonction de la loi de développement" and "il faut en outre soigneusement distinguer ce qui appartient à la constitution divine de l'Eglise de tout ce qui est institution ecclésiastique contingente."

To speak frankly, the particular points of these remarks and their significance have little interest for me in the present connection; for we are concerned here with the Papacy as it is to-day with its prerogatives of *infallibility in dogma and of universal government*.

After the few parenthetic remarks of Mgr. Batiffol, does the Papacy of to-day appear to be a modern formation in comparison with the earlier, or does it appear to be identical and the same in those two essential properties?

If he says that the former is the case, then I agree with him; but if so, a former recognition of the older Papacy on our part would



President of the Pilgrimage

Abp. of Jordan at Bethlehem

At Greek Convent, Bethlehem

Courtyard, Ch. of Holy Sepulchre

Group at Greek Patriarchate; Archbishop Damianos in centre

"Archbishop Damianos" should read "Patriarch Damianos."

have no bearing upon our attitude to that of the present Papacy and, in consequence, appeals to our past history can neither convict us of a betrayal of our own faith nor serve as evidence of a former belief on our part in the Papacy to which, in the name of our ancient doctrine and practice, we are now constrained to adhere. On the contrary, we hold that, whatever orientation to the Papacy we ever occupied, we occupy to-day. And we are ready to return to it in our relations with Rome at any time. The length, indeed, to which we are prepared to go in that direction will be manifest from the fact that that austere guardian and meticulous exponent of Eastern Orthodoxy, the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev—Hrapovitsky—has recently expressed himself as favourable to the possibility of granting the Pope a supremacy in rank, *de jure ecclesiae*, over the other Patriarchs (*Cp. Church Times*, December 28th, 1923, and *Tserkovniya Viedomosti*, 1923, Nos. 23-4). For my own part, I consider his declaration to be hasty and untimely, since Roman Catholicism, believing that it possesses far more *de jure divino*, will not respond to his advances. But it will serve to prove that as soon as the Papacy expresses its desire to place itself in the same relation to us as it was in the time of the Ecumenical Councils, there will be no dogmatic obstacles in Eastern Orthodoxy to its recognition by us.

Further, if the modern Papacy, with the properties claimed as above, be an innovation, our former attitude towards the former Papacy cannot be our appropriate attitude to the Papacy of to-day; we should be bound to change that attitude even though we had hitherto observed it, and, even so, since our past would have no relation to our present, the former would be no precedent for the latter. Although the one succeeds the other immediately, our life in the daytime differs from our life in the night. Once the complete novelty of the Papacy is admitted, neither its vindication nor its acceptance on the ground of a past in which it was something different, becomes possible.

In view of all this, Mgr. Batiffol's train of argument was as unexpected as it is unconvincing. If, therefore, I were to go on with this discussion, I could do so only on the *petitio principii* of assuming the Papacy as it is—the Papacy of modern times—to be the same as the Papacy of ancient times.

III.

The claim of the Papacy to-day is to divinely-given authority in the Catholic Church of Christ. We reject that claim emphatically, and are reproached in answer that there was a time when we admitted it—as witness the undoubted fact that there were "appeals" from the East to Rome. We admit the fact of those appeals—fully and gladly. Only we put in a caveat that they occurred and were

made, not because of a dogmatic belief in a divinely-given Supremacy of the Pope, but through a sheer necessity which became inevitable when the East was in the throes of disturbance and of terror while the West remained a bulwark of Orthodoxy and a defence of truth. No appeal was then possible except to Rome, and Rome was respected as an Apostolic See which was *primus inter pares*. The inference that the divinely-given prerogatives now claimed by the Papacy existed and were recognised at that time is hardly more possible than the obverse inference which might be wrongly made from similar appeals of the West to the East.

Stress is laid on the use by the Easterns in these appeals of expressions that are almost servile. The fact is admitted, but its reasonable explanation is furnished by a consideration of the circumstances in which the East and the West were placed—the latter, the suppliant, naturally used expressions that were best calculated to win the favour of the former. It is axiomatic that every right involves a corresponding obligation and, assuming the existence of a right to decide, an appeal becomes less the asking a favour than the claiming the performance of a duty. Viewed in the light of this truism, the often immoderate eloquence of Byzantium tends to prove that the East did not recognise a juridical Supremacy of Rome—for otherwise it would have to be agreed that the latter exacted sycophancy as a preliminary to the exercise of an obligatory function. That the Papacy has used these appeals as the basis of a claim to juridical prerogatives means no more than that (as my late famous colleague, Prof. V. V. Bolotov, who, by the way, is sometimes misrepresented by some propagandists as favouring the modern Papacy—to which, indeed, he was altogether opposed—says) the East gave too liberal an interpretation to Proverbs xxvi, 4, without checking it by the next verse. In responding to the requests of the Easterns, the Popes utilised them to assert a supremacy and so turned them to a purpose both outside of and in opposition to that with which they were made. On the other hand, the Eastern appellants were precluded by their condition of distress from protesting and began to answer only in the time of Photios, and then not with humble bows but with reasoned blows.

It is just this practice of turning such things to its own advantage which has created throughout the Orthodox East that deep and inherited suspicion of the Papacy which exists even when there may be no real ground for it—as, for example, in unhappy Russia to-day, where, in spite of their pressing need, the people are afraid to ask anything of the Pope for fear that their doing so may be interpreted as implying an admission of Papal supremacy and infallibility and that they may be told hereafter, as was Ignatius of Constantinople by John VIII., “You have repaid your benefactress, the Roman Church, with the blackest ingratitude.”

In my opinion, an appeal must be interpreted in the sense intended by the appellant. Any ambiguity in what he says must be explicated by the exegesis of existing circumstances, *i.e.*, by the very method which I have to thank Mgr. Batiffol for commending to me for the elucidation of Biblical texts, with which, indeed, I am not dealing here—though, in passing, I may say that I dislike appeals to the Bible in polemics, for, in my judgment, our interconfessional controversies are characterised not by a constructive use of the Bible but by a destructive misuse, *e.g.*, by such shameful pseudo-exegetical extravagances which, I am thankful to say, that I have neither approved nor allowed, to which Mgr. Batiffol refers. As an example, however, in the light of P. Roison's special work and of certain things in Clement's Epistle to the Romans, I fail to find any support for the claims of the modern Papacy in 1 Cor. i, 12.

I am entirely in agreement, however, with Mgr. Batiffol as to the principle that textual ambiguities are to be unveiled by history. On this principle the exuberant rhetoric of the Byzantines receives a clear historic interpretation that the Easterns rejected Papal supremacy and had not, therefore, professed it formerly.

In the light of that fact I am infinitely astonished and cannot comprehend how Catholic writers can set themselves seriously to prove that even the Patriarch Photios, who is the object of their special dislike, held pro-Papal opinions.

It is plain that the method is that the public prosecutor should play his rôle, and with all the methods of securing a conviction with or without direct or circumstantial evidence should press our prosecution.

We are in the dock as criminals of the worst character. Our categorical statements are taken as mere disavowals and we are confuted by our own words and actions.

That forensic method will lead neither to our conversion nor to mutual reconciliation.

Finally, we can only reply in the words of St. Paul, “If I build up again those things which I have destroyed, I prove myself a transgressor,” Gal. ii, 18.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND SOUTH-INDIAN “SYRIAN” CHURCHES.

(Continued.)

BY THE REV. W. S. HUNT, OF THE C.M.S.

It was through the Church Missionary Society that the Anglican Church did enter into definite relations with the Syrians. In 1816, in response to the invitation of the Syrian Metropolitan, conveyed to

them by the British Resident in Travancore, the Society sent out to him two men in Anglican orders and three more soon after. One was put in charge of a seminary, for general education as well as for the training of priests, which the metran had built, under the stimulus of the Resident; one set to work to organise schools and to visit churches up and down the country; one to superintend the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular; and the others to carry on ordinary missionary work among non-Christians—all were invited to preach in Syrian churches, in which hitherto preaching had been unknown. Their object was the spiritual and intellectual improvement of the clergy and people, and to make them a medium for the evangelisation of India. These Anglican clergymen were, in effect, an advisory committee to the Syrian Church—and, in a sense, its executive officers. This was approved—or acquiesced in—by their bishop, while the Syrian metran was practically the chairman of the committee. Bishop Middleton, in 1821, wrote, "I was with the Syrian bishop yesterday from 7 till 9 a.m., having no other person but an interpreter whom I could trust. . . . The Church missionaries do indeed expound in the Syrians' churches to all who will hear them, and this is well received by the people, to whom it is something new; but the bishop assures me that nothing is done which he has any reason to complain of." And Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, who came a few years later at the bishop's request, penned this somewhat portentous sentence—"Singular as such superintendence may appear, and almost unprecedented, there is nothing in it, as exercised by these clergymen, which opposes the order of that Episcopal Church which they visit, or, as far as I am capable of judging, of that to which they themselves belong. They do nothing but by the express sanction of the metran Their conduct with respect to those parts of the Syriac ritual and practice which all Protestants must condemn is that of silence, which, without the appearance of approval, leaves it to the gradual influence of the new knowledge now disseminating itself to undermine—and, at length, by regular authority, to remove—them."

This was in accordance with the Society's instructions to them, viz., "to make the Syrians as much as possible instrumental to their own improvement by means of their own respected authorities, the metran and kattanārs (priests); to alter as little as possible that the character and individuality of the Syrian Church may be preserved."

The Resident, in one of his communications with the Society, had referred to the Church as being still "deformed by Popish ceremonies and superstitions" imposed upon it by the Portuguese, and the C.M.S. expressed the opinion that the Syrians "should be brought back to their ancient worship and discipline." Probably much that the Resident regarded as Popish was in reality Syrian. "Improve-

ment" meant, besides raising the moral tone of priests and people, clearing away (i.e., influencing the Syrians to clear away) ceremonies, etc., that were, in fact, Syrian and could not, of course, be cleared away without altering "the character and individuality" of the Church as Syrian. But the C.M.S., following Buchanan, probably believed that Antioch had abandoned the Church and that Antioch itself was moribund. The word "ancient" to them probably connoted the Church in its Nestorian phase as described by Geddes, or something even earlier, the Church as St. Thomas left it, the Church of the Apostolic Age.

For eight or nine years the relations between the Anglicans and Syrians were happy ones; there was, we read, "cordial co-operation." That could only be as long as both sides were mutually tolerant and animated by like ideas, as at first they were. But changes came. With the death of the metran, and appointment of a man of a different stamp as his successor, the removal of the Resident (Munro), the replacing of some of the original missionaries by less tactful and tolerant younger men, increasing impatience for signs of "improvement" on the part of some of the C.M.S. committee, and the coming of a metran from Antioch after so long an interval and consequent revival of enthusiasm for Jacobitism, relations grew more and more strained. At length, in 1835, they were formally ended by the metran in synod ordering deacons and other students to absent themselves from the seminary and the doors of the churches to be closed to the missionaries.

The relations between the two parties had, of course, contained all along "the seeds of their own dissolution." To mention only one, there was the preaching of the missionaries. They had been instructed by the C.M.S. to confine themselves to "the plain truths of the Gospel," and these were set forth by the committee in the idiom of the Evangelical Revival of the preceding century, whose spiritual children the missionaries were. The preaching (no doubt, very fervent preaching) of those truths unsettled people unaccustomed to preaching and to whom those truths were practically new, and made not a few dissatisfied with their Church and anxious to reform it or leave it. This aroused indignation in others, and hostility to the missionaries. In that the new metran shared, while the missionaries could hardly help sympathising with the would-be reformers.

Among the "improvements" which the C.M.S. were said to contemplate one was "to assimilate the Syrian Liturgy to that of the Church of England." It is possible that Resident Munro may have "urged the translation of the Liturgy of the Church of England and its being substituted in all Syrian churches in preference to all other forms of worship." He is said to have done so. But, of course, great as was his influence with the C.M.S., he was not the framer of their policy in such matters. Indeed, when the

Society heard that one of the missionaries had translated parts of the Book of Common Prayer into Malayālam, they "conveyed to the missionaries their decided judgment that the Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient worship and discipline rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English Church," and any priests who might show a disposition to adopt them should be dissuaded from doing so. The missionaries themselves disclaimed any "wish to impose our ceremonies on the Syrians, much less to identify them with the Church of England." Later missionaries certainly criticised the Syrian Liturgy and ritual rather unsparingly and contrasted them disadvantageously with their own, and these things were published. One young newcomer especially used a foolishly contemptuous expression. But what exactly was proposed we know. It was not, indeed, a proposal, but a suggestion—and it was made with "all due deference, as from a stranger without authority," by the Bishop of Calcutta (Wilson) to the Syrian metran in 1835, viz., "that a Malayālam Liturgy should be prepared from their various Syriac ones for general use, the Syriac being now a learned language and not understood by the people"—i.e., that a translation of their own Liturgy, not any other, with a selection from the numerous *anaphoras*, should be generally (not exclusively) used. It is probable that the Bishop and missionaries hoped that translation and selection might lead to revision, and perhaps rejection, of some, or all, of "those parts" that Dr. Mill had referred to; but, as a matter of fact, I have not seen it stated that this was so.

There was, however, an influential Syrian *Roni* who did translate and modify the Liturgy and use it in his church. He introduced other "reforms" and his example was followed by other priests. His nephew became Metropolitan about the middle of last century and sympathised with, and afterwards associated himself with, this movement. Word of his proceedings having reached the Patriarch, he was excommunicated and another priest was made metran. The reforming metran had already, with the Anyūr metran, consecrated his successor, and they contested the validity of the excommunication. The matter was fought out in the courts, which ultimately declared the other man to be Metropolitan. All Church buildings and properties were awarded to him and those who followed him, who were adjudged "the Jacobite Church." The others called themselves the Mar Thoma Church and claim that theirs is the original Church, purged of Nestorian, Jacobite and Roman accretions and restored to its pristine purity.

Those missionaries who devoted themselves to the conversion of non-Christians had "Anglican" churches in which, besides English services for the English and Anglo-Indian people, vernacular services were held, a translation of the Prayer Book being used, as

is customary in Anglican missions. The converts formed the congregations, but Syrians employed by the missionaries as catechists, or teachers, as well as others who came out of interest or curiosity, attended, some of whom grew to like the services better than their own. In Kottayam also, the Syrian centre, the missionaries had English services in a chapel built for the use of themselves and their families, and here also some Syrians occasionally attended; for a time they had vernacular services or prayer-meetings in their grammar school. After the rupture a number of these Syrians were, at their request, received into the Anglican Church. Their descendants are "Syro-Anglicans."

In the course of a Charge delivered in Travancore during his first Metropolitan Visitation in 1843, the Bishop of Calcutta (Wilson), addressing the missionaries, said, "You have been licensed by the Bishop of Madras, your proper Diocesan, in consequence of the decision of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury¹ . . . I quite concur with your excellent bishop in all that he has done. I entirely approve of the principle on which he has recommended you to carry on your Mission, viz., absolute non-interference with the Syrian Church, as a Church, at present. The ancient Syrians must now seek us, not we them . . . We must look to the individual influence of education, the changes which God's Providence may silently effect, the new metran and new clergy, with new dispositions, who may be raised up to solicit again our aid at any moment, and the general blessings of the Grace of God upon our labours." He commended their attitude of "avoiding all interference with the metran and authorities of the Syrian Churches and awaiting a more favourable time for resuming your system of co-operation and aid with them."

The memory of these things, of all that led up to the rupture and the bitterness that followed it, affected the relations between the two Churches for many years. But each was soon absorbed in its own affairs—the Anglican in gathering in and edifying converts, especially from the outcastes, and in educational work, and the Syrian Churches in grappling with internal difficulties (of which each had its full share) and in carrying on its own specific work—and this caused each to follow its own course and develop according to its own genius, disregarding the others. And yet, of course, each was insensibly affecting the others. And there were occasions in that Hindu State when they stood side by side, supporting one another. It became a rule of the Anglicans not to admit Syrians into the Anglican Church. Except in the case of Syrian girls marrying Anglicans, and in other special cases where the transfer took place with the sanction of the authorities of both Churches, no Syrians have been admitted for the last fifty years.

¹ The Diocese of Madras was formed out of Calcutta in 1837.

There were occasions up to twenty years ago when the relations between the Churches were decidedly "difficult." Since then, however, one is thankful to say, they have grown year by year in friendliness and sympathetic understanding. To-day there is once more cordiality, and there is increasing co-operation, though from another basis than a hundred years ago.

Of course, it is realised that the official relations between the Churches must depend, from the Anglican side, upon the decision of Lambeth, and hang, in the case of the Jacobite and Syro-Chaldean Churches, upon any action that may be taken on the Report of the Commission appointed by the 1908 Lambeth Conference to examine the doctrinal position of each (at least, I suppose so) and, in the case of the Mar Thoma Church, upon the nature of the statement of its doctrine which it is now preparing. Meanwhile, we who live among the Syrians keep in friendly touch with them and are always on the look-out for opportunities to serve them in any way, and welcome such opportunities when they arise. The Syrians are so genuinely nice that that is not a difficult rôle, though it has been made a little hard by the fact that two of the Churches have been split into rival sections who have for years been fighting each other in the courts. Our Bishop (who is Bishop in Travancore and Cochin, and whose official relation to the Churches must be analogous to that of the Bishop in Jerusalem to the Eastern Churches in Palestine) has striven, ever since his consecration, eighteen years ago, not only to maintain friendly relations between us and the Syrians, but also to heal the breaches in their community. The appointment of the Rev. W. E. S. Holland as principal of the C.M.S. College has brought into Travancore one who is doing much to promote co-operation and eventual union. The annual visits of the fathers of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta, to conduct retreats for the Jacobite clergy and students, which are so much appreciated by them, and the work of the Sisters of the Epiphany for the girls and women of that Church, have forged a link between the Anglican and Jacobite Churches. The recent starting of a Union College in Alwaye, run by members of the Jacobite, Mar Thoma and Anglican Churches must have an important bearing on our subject. Upon the staff of our (C.M.S.) College and other educational institutions are members of all the Syrian Churches and upon that of our Divinity School is a priest of the Mar Thoma Church: clergy, including bishops, of that and the Jacobite Church, are among the former students of that institution. In our hostels and boarding-houses some of the future leaders of each Church are now rubbing shoulders. The relations are friendly and we pray for the time when the link may be closer still and that unitedly we may promote the Union of Christendom.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE LOST WORLD.

Origin of Christian Church Art, being Eight Lectures delivered for the Olaus-Petri Foundation at Upsala, to which is added a chapter on Christian Art in Britain by Josef Strzygowski, translated by Dalton & Brauholtz, Clarendon Press, 42s.

Next to English and Russian, German is the most expressive of modern languages, but perhaps for that very reason it can be parlous hard. We confess to having tried to read the author in the original, and to having been fascinated by what we made out of his book, but to having abandoned reading him in despair. We were therefore intensely grateful when we heard of this fine translation and hastened to acquire it.

Whatever may be the ultimate verdict as to whether Dr. Strzygowski has established his full case, the 30 years' patient investigation and cautious, if brilliant, theorising which are given to the world in these lectures, have permanently changed the perspective of our study not only of the Origin of Christian Art but of the Evolution of Ecumenical Christendom.

Dr. Strzygowski is frankly revolutionary. Art, and Art only, is his prime field of research. If he touches the categories which are our more direct concern in the *Christian East*—church history, theology, liturgiology, and so on—it is because he realises that they are not separate fields but component and vitally connected elements in a whole world.

While, therefore, the book with its delightful, rare and lavish illustrations of churches and other buildings—some have been wiped out in these last few years—of, to the ordinary student inaccessible, places in Armenia, Trans-Jordania and other Eastern lands, is a magnificent technical contribution to the study of Art, with but slight alteration, it might have been entitled *The Origin of Ecumenical Christendom, illustrated by Christian Art*.

Put briefly, the author's thesis—and it is refreshing to find it so—is that towards which many of us, and very notably Dr. Wigram, have been working these past 20 years, but of which in the eighties no one had a glimpse.

In other words, he perceives that in the pre-Constantinian era there were three worlds, each of which acted upon and was reacted upon by the other two, but which were distinct in type, mentality and culture, and therefore, though purging it, took over from their heathen past and present environment the body of their cultural equipment and evolved a characteristic art as well as a characteristic hymnology, liturgiology and hagiology—we might add polity and theology.

These three worlds were the Latin-Greek, the Syriac-Arab, the Perso-Iranian—and of these the last, which was always outside Christendom, *i.e.*, in the early and stricter connotation of the term, the dominion of the divinely consecrated Cæsar Augustus, was by no means the least important.

As to the stages by which Dr. Strzygowski reaches his conclusion that Christian Art is not, as we learnt at school, a branch of classical art, but drawing freely from Mazdean, Semitic and other Eastern Arts, reached its synthesis in that triangle of Amidai-Nisibis-Edessa, where in the past centuries Armenian, Persian and Syrian influences touched each other and were fused as they still touch and are fused to-day, we must leave the reader to follow for himself.

As in the physical world so in the Christian, great cataclysms of conquest such as followed the Islamic wave, theological controversies such as the Iconoclastic, ecclesiastico-political events, prosperity, decadence, a thousand tendencies acted within and upon the nations that adopted Christianity. The traces of the complex interplay of those forces may be found not only in written history, which, as it has come down to us and is interpreted, records almost always only the partial or prejudiced view of the

Romano-Greek world, but in the liturgies, theologies, and other monuments which we still possess. We ourselves may study its traces in those scanty modern representations of the Syriac-Semites, the unhappy "Jacobites" and of the Perso-Iranians, the "Assyrians"—the People of Mar Shimun, himself the lineal successor of the Catholic of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the true "Patriarchs of the East"; for Constantinople, though Eastern to us, was the metropolis of Greco-Roman Christendom and for the early centuries was Western.

In the next generation, be it noted, by the act of Mustapha Kemal and the consent of Europe, there will be no "Jacobite" or "Assyrian" to study.

The evidence of brick and stone, however, is ampler and, alas! more enduring, and though the last word has not been said, there can be no dispute that by its use Dr. Strzygowski has helped to give us a glimpse of a "lost world," the fuller knowledge of which will necessitate our restating much of the accepted history of Theology, and of Church history, and with them of Christian civilisation.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

ROBERT H. GARDINER, R.I.P.

THE cause of Reunion owes so large a debt under God to "the World Conference on Faith and Order" that we have no words to express our grief and sense of loss at the untimely death of the man to whose indomitable and apostolic optimism it owed its origin and thanks to whom it has done the great things which it has done. That Mr. Gardiner was a rare Christian is the universal witness of all who knew him, but that alone would not have enabled him to establish a world-wide society with official representatives of practically every type of Christianity, except the Roman Church, to explore the possibilities of Reunion. His success was due also to his exceeding reverence for men's convictions and to the resulting fact that he shrank as from sin from the mere thought of asking them to compromise them. That is why we ourselves, for example, not only felt the greatest confidence in the machine which he did so much to create, but never found anything in its procedure or *acta* patent of our criticism. His was a dream of the stuff of which God weaves a lasting fabric. The greatest anxiety is felt as to the future of the Conference thus deprived of its mainspring. We must see to it that it goes on. "He has no successor," writes the Chairman of the Continuation Committee, Bishop Brent, "but will you make it known that our Office has been moved to Boston, and that its address will be the Secretariat, P.O. Box 226, Boston, Mass., U.S.A." We cannot but print what Bishop Brent himself has to say of Mr. Gardiner:—

Robert Hallowell Gardiner has made the great enterprise of death, calmly and victoriously, as he lived. He was always ambitious to be quiet and I never knew him to be beaten in an undertaking. There was no jolt or break in the continuity of his life in his going. One Sunday he held fellowship in the Sacrament with the only Master he ever knew. The next, his Communion was face to face. A glad prisoner of hope, he passed from the steady expectation of visible unity on earth, according to Christ's promise, to its more perfect realisation beyond.

The profound impression made upon the Christian world by what he was and did

baffles description. It is not too much to say that there is not a Church in Christendom, great or little, ancient or new, that does not know his name and feel kinship with his lofty soul. Better than that, his name carries with it a vision, a responsibility and a purpose, for it was not himself but Christ whom he exalted. He counted himself but the cup-bearer of the King. He was one of those rare souls who are able to see that the unity of Christendom always outstrips its divisions. His catholicity was not a theory but a character. His greatest weapon was his considerateness and his ability to understand others when they were busy misunderstanding him.

Early in his career "he gave his heart to the Purifier, and his will to the Sovereign Will of the Universe." More than that, he never took back that which he once for all surrendered, and his deepening life became yearly more firmly rooted in the unseen. There was no part of his life and activity which was not Christian. His ancestral home with its gracious hospitality, his business office with its ordered activities, his citizenship in the nation and in the world, his benevolences, whether in his local community or in the uppermost parts of the earth, were all swept under the control of the living Christ, whose he was.

His rounded character, while it rejoiced and grew in the fertile soil of home, could not be purely domestic. He had an international mind because he had an international heart. He aimed to love all whom Christ loves and to serve all whom Christ serves. With him this was no pale idea but the steady flame of a noble passion. When the moment came to proclaim, as no one of our generation has proclaimed as he has done, responsibility for the recovery of the unity of the Church "that the world may believe that thou hast sent me," he did not hesitate to stoop his shoulders to a burden such as few outside his family and more intimate friends have ever measured or can measure. Had it not been for him, practical steps to make a World Conference on Faith and Order an enterprise would have been wanting. No cost was too great to pay that he might give his best, which was his all, to the cause. It held him in thrall and he was content that it should be so. When others criticised and faltered, when pristine interest wilted before difficulty and discouragement, when financial anxieties darkened the horizon, he, the chief burden-bearer, kept the fire of his loyalty burning with the pure flame of undiminished ardour and hope and expectation. Once and again he was warned that he was taxing his vitality beyond the safety point, but he continued his course with but little diminution of activity. To the shame of us who remain he it said that, had there been a more general sharing of responsibility—responsibility that was no more his than that of every Christian and Churchman—if there had been a more generous financial support by those who could easily have lifted entirely that pressure for money which should never have been his at all, but which he patiently accepted and frequently met from private resources, Robert Hallowell Gardiner would have been with us still. An undue burden, carried on behalf of mankind first at the behest of his own Church and then of all the Churches, has shortened his days and taken away prematurely a force making for Christian goodwill which we can ill afford to lose. Even though it be true that "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," we ought not to have allowed to happen that which in this instance has happened, to our impoverishment and discomfiture.

Ordinary gratitude should and must rouse us to take up the torch he held so high and carry it with the same gallantry and consecration that characterised his course from first to last. Frequently it happens that a great-souled man can accomplish by his death that which his life alone fails to do. It is for us to do now those steady, inconspicuous tasks, without which the noblest vision will fade and the sanest programme fail. The date of the World Conference is set for 1927, and the time is all too short for that which must be done between now and then. We have no excuse for hesitation. His last week on earth was not idle. Ill unto death though he was, his mind was filled with his old school and the World Conference. He worked to the end until his tired heart ceased to beat and his great soul entered into a rest and peace that was won.

THE A. AND E.C.A. ANNIVERSARY.

The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association will hold its eighteenth anniversary on Wednesday, November 12th of this year, and we invite all those who are interested to make a note of the date.

On Tuesday evening, November 11th, the "All-Night" or Vigil Office will be sung in the Russian Church of St. Philip, Buckingham Palace Road. This Office consists of Vespers, Mattins and Prime, and is said in Russian churches on all Saturdays and eves of great festivals. It is a service of great beauty, and we think that many of our readers will be glad of this opportunity of being present at it.

The Divine Liturgy will be sung on the following morning at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Moscow Road, Bayswater, by His Grace the Metropolitan Germanos, who has kindly consented to say some words of welcome; and the Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury will preach a sermon.

In the evening of the same day there will be a Public Meeting (preceded by the usual business meeting of the Association) in the Great Hall of the Church House. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore will take the chair, and Sir Henry Slessor, the Solicitor-General, has promised to address the meeting. It is hoped that Sir Samuel Hoare also will speak, but we must not definitely announce that he will, as, at the time this goes to Press, his final answer has not yet been received.

We think that these arrangements ought to insure a really good anniversary celebration, and we hope that all our readers in and near London will do their part, by filling the churches and the hall.

THE VELEHRAD AND OTHER CONFERENCES.

Speaking of Conferences we cannot but regret that the Velehrad Conference was advertised as a Reunion Conference between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics. To begin with, the magnificent Czecho-Slovak monastery has long been known as the centre of the type of the active missionary propaganda against the Slav Churches, which has done more than anything to embitter historic Orthodox antipathy towards the Papacy. Further, the personnel of the organisers, Father Michel d'Herbigny, Bishop Shepitsky, Father Verchowsky (a Russian convert to the Unia), being identical with that of the directors of that propaganda, it was plain that the Orthodox would fight shy of the whole business. In fact, though generous offers of travelling expenses and so on were held out to them, the Orthodox, Russians, Greeks, Rumanians and Serbs were unanimous in refusing the invitation tendered them, and in the end the Conference became that which it would have been wiser to have styled it *ab initio*—a Conference of Latin and Uniate missionaries on the best method of approaching the Orthodox. In the reports of the Conference which have reached us, however, we find no mention of discussion

of the methods adopted by Cardinal Mercier. In our judgment, great though the difficulties of reconciliation between the Orthodox and the Papacy are, they are not hopeless of surmounting. We believe that, if Cardinal Mercier called a Conference—which has worked such wonders in England—in the clearer air of Malines, the trust and hope which centre in his name would produce rich results in the removal of that bitterness and distrust which are fatal to the approach to the discussion of Reunion.

THE RUMANIAN CHURCH.

Biserica Ortodoxa of Bucharest for July contains a long and reasoned rescript of the Holy Synod ordering the adoption of the new Calendar, set up by last year's Constantinople Conference, from October, 1924. The rescript is at pains to point out that this Calendar is an improvement on the Gregorian and will correspond precisely with the solar year. But the fact that it will to all intents be the same as our own will bring the East and West nearer together. It must be remembered, however, that the change of Calendar is still a matter of controversy in the Orthodox Church, the other "Eastern Patriarchs" having urged its postponement for full Ecumenical consideration. The same magazine in its June issue gave a translation from the *Christian East* of Prof. Komnenos' memorable brochure on Anglican Orders, together with our editorial notes thereon. The fact that Canon Bate, of Carlisle, is to lecture this month in Bucharest by invitation, and will deal with the problem of our Orders, makes this a matter of interest and satisfaction. The Bishop of Gibraltar, whose former visit was so fruitful, is also expected in Bucharest this autumn.

THE WEMBLEY EXHIBITION AND SOME FINE BOOKS.

We are obliged to postpone reviews of some notable books. Among these we commend Commander Luke's *Anatolica*, a remarkable book of general information and delightful atmosphere, which everybody ought to read; Mr. Lowrie's *Light of Russia*, which, though not a good handbook to the Russian Church as according to advertisement, is remarkable as evidence of the extraordinary goodwill felt to the Orthodox by American Protestantism of the Christian student movement type and as illustrative of that important factor in Reunion work, and especially Sir Ronald Storr's Pro-Jerusalem Society's *Jerusalem*. This last will be especially welcome by all who are interested in Mr. Whittingham's account of the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage and praise of the work and kindness of Sir Ronald at the Governorate of the Holy City. Incidentally we may say that the Pro-Jerusalem Society, which is the latter's creation, has been at great expense and trouble to send magnificent models of the antiquities of the Holy Land to the Palestine Pavilion at Wemb-

ley. We trust that, following the Archbishop of Canterbury's example, all our readers will have profited by examining them. Lastly, the Dean of Canterbury's "Documents on Christian Unity" is of the first importance.

BOLSHEVIK INVENTIONS.

Difficulties which have arisen between the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Russian exiles in Constantinople having been used by the Moscow Red Press to start rumours which have been copied in a section of the continental Press, we have received this *démenti* from the Secretary of the Constantinople Synod: The statements attributed to the representatives of the Œcumenical Patriarch in Moscow are manifest fabrications, the Œcumenical Patriarchate having never considered the suspension or deposition of the Patriarch Tikhon, who up to this day is duly commemorated in the Diptychs at the Patriarchal Cathedral, or of any other Russian Bishop or ecclesiastic whatever. Furthermore, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has never considered the transference of its own Throne to Russia.

The marvel is that anyone could have credited such nonsense. The Russian Church is autocephalous and the Œcumenical Patriarch, while *primus inter pares*, is not a Pope.

CHURCH QUESTIONS IN HELLAS.

STUDENTS of history often find it interesting to trace out both parallels and differences in the tale of the development of institutions, and the parallelism between the present set of problems presented to the Church of Hellas for solution and those put to the Church of England in the 16th century is instructive.

In both, we have the Church of a small nation, intensely conscious of its own national life, and full of as much proper pride as is good for it. In both, a flood of new light on all things in heaven and earth has been poured upon the members of the Church by a series of developments in matters scientific and political, and men who are sadly dazzled by the new illuminations are puzzled how to direct their steps on the old paths; in both, the question has to be faced, how far a most natural conservatism, with which everyone wishes to sympathise, has the right to dictate lines of action or inaction.

Thus, in Greece, as in sixteenth-century England, the question is now arising, "what is to be done with the monasteries?" At one time, in both nations, they were the natural expression of piety and devotion, and the places where such learning as could be salvaged was preserved. The immense number of the monasteries founded—always by private generosity—both in mediæval England and in later Greece, is proof enough of the fact that they responded to a then existing need; they were, for centuries, the only centres of education and learning open to the common folk, one of the principal instruments by which the Church was able to do her great work of preserving the national life intact, under

But, just as in fifteenth-century England it seems that the monasteries were ceasing to do the work that they had done in the thirteenth, and were showing the fact by their declining numbers of their inmates, so it is in Greece now. The monasteries are there, and they have the endowments which old piety gave them, and which Islam, to do it justice, did not attempt to take away in the old days. Yet—where are the inmates? Even at sanctuaries like Athos the complaint is the same in house after house. "Once we had two hundred monks, now we have less than a hundred—and they are old men, all. Where are the novices?" The fact is past denial, and can only be explained in part by the law, according to which it is no longer possible to win exemption from conscription by becoming a novice in a monastery, and thereby settling down to a not uncomfortable bachelor existence—supposing your previous life to have been that of a peasant—with the prospect of even making a comfortable fortune towards the end of it. Many monks in the monasteries of the Orthodox Church have the opportunity of farming the monastic properties for their own benefit, and some make a good thing out of it.

If that were all, one would rejoice in the lessening of the numbers, feeling that the spiritual strength of any monastery will not be increased by novices who come in to avoid military duty and to make cash! It is, however, not only the wasters who are being kept out, but, as in the case of ordinands elsewhere, the church is ceasing to draw to her service the men whom an earlier generation sent there.

This may be partly accounted for by the fact that, in modern Greece, there are so many careers open to a youngster that were closed to him in days of Ottoman rule, but partly also, as with us, by the fact that religion does seem to have lost its grip and attractiveness for the majority of the rising generation.

Be that as it may, emptying monasteries are the fact, and churches, if far from being empty, are no longer as full as they used to be. Meantime, a government that is in need of money for a thousand things, beneficial and doubtful, begins to cast covetous eyes on the endowments, and to ask if they would not be "better devoted to practical ends." I do not say that plunder is so openly and unashamedly the motive as was the case with Harry the Eighth of unholy memory, though cases of corruption are not altogether unknown. Still, neoptism is as much part of the established order of things in modern Greek government departments, as it was in those of our own not so very long ago. The nineteenth century was on us, before the idea of the "Paymaster-General" not making a fortune out of his office could dawn upon the British consciousness! A government too, that, like that of the Greeks in the present day, that has to find productive employment for refugees amounting to more than 20 per cent. of the population, is apt to look around for any "hen-roost to rob." British authorities have done that with less temptation; what would they have done had they had a million destitute refugees to provide for? Yet that figure, due regard being had to relative numbers of population, would about represent what Greek ministers have to face!

It is not unlikely, then, that the next year or so will see some rather drastic changes made in Greek monasteries, though not, we think, in

down, though monastic life will not be altered in itself, even if it is decreased in volume. What all well-wishers of Greece would like to see is this, that the Church should recognise that some changes are inevitable, and should see to it that the diverted properties are used, not, as we used them, merely for the enrichment of a squirearchy, large or small, that may be trusted to support the government in its difficulties, but for the purposes of general and, more particularly, clerical education, which is known to stand in need of reform, and large funds for the purpose! What we fear is, that conservatism in the Church may be an obstacle to this as to so much else. Many conservatives regarded the Ex-patriarch Meletius with grave suspicion, as a "concessionist" and "modernist," and looked on his fate and that of the Church in Constantinople as just the sort of judgment that might be expected under the circumstances. Those who take a line like that are only too likely to be able to kill conservative reform when it is needed, and so bring on the more violent measures, to which they will then submit with heroic endurance. Such conservatives, of course, are to be found in the monasteries, many of which have so far utterly refused to accept and use the new calendar. "I tell you the truth," said one charming old specimen of the type to the writer, even while extending to him the most delightful hospitality, "the Panagia *does not like* this new calendar. More, Saint George does not like it either. There was a concessionist priest who sang the office of St. George before the saint on the new-fangled day—and the Saint fell down flat on the ground."

The incident as reported raises the question, "We of the West do not like the exaggerated reverence paid by the East to the Eikons of saints—but what is one to do when the Eikon (if the phrase be allowed) plays up as undeniably as does the Statue at Lourdes?"

Twice in the last few weeks in one district only, have men gone to the Eikon for help in their need, and on each occasion the help has come when everything else failed. The incidents in question happened on Mount Athos, where two formidable forest fires, at opposite ends of the peninsula, threatened two separate monasteries. In one case, at least (that of Khiliandari) the danger was so great that the monastery was reported in the Greek and European Press as absolutely destroyed. In actual fact, the flames from the burning forest were lapping the outbuildings of the monastery, when the monks, in despair of all human aid, brought out their most sacred Eikon, "Our Lady of the Three Hands," and put it in the path of the fire. On the instant the wind changed, the fire was driven away from the monastery, and back on to the already devastated area, where it soon went out for lack of fuel.

Was it wonderful that those who appealed to the Eikon (which gets its name from the fact that a hand of St. John Damascene is included in the composition) should feel that it had saved them, and that when you suggest coincidence, they smile. The case at "the great Lavra" at the other end of the peninsula was the same in all essential features.

The position "I don't know how it happens, but it works" is one that may claim Gospel authority, and till the philosopher has accounted for the facts, let him be as sceptical as he likes himself—but let him not wonder, or sneer at, the beliefs of those who, being nearer to nature, are

quite small stone is all that I as an Englishman can becomingly throw—and that not very hard. But virility, making eager, costful pursuit for knowledge and desiring to attain wisdom, is an honourable thing in any race.

I would also like to say a word about Serbian monasticism. I think that there attaches to this subject in the minds of those who have heard and thought of it at all, the idea that dirt and ignorance are among its salient characteristics. And it is possible, I am not denying it, that in "Orthodox" countries such monasteries may be found. But in N. Serbia, in the country, say, around Novisar, that description would be grotesquely or malevolently false. I never cease to recall with pleasure the time spent as guest of Serbian monks. My refined and cultured hosts, with their courtesy and charm, are on terms with each other and their guests which remind one, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Common Room of a good Cambridge or Oxford College. They talk seriously, but with light touch, about the things of the day, chaffing one another, enjoying the interchange of thought, and not desiring to monopolise the right of speech. Their meals are frugal but sufficient, and well served, well cooked, clean and pleasant to eye and palate. Their wine from their own vineyards, their honey, their grapes, are excellent. If their own bedrooms are like their guests', they sleep in clean comfort. In some monasteries the standard is not so high in all these directions. But it would be a serious loss to the religious life of the Orthodox Church, and therefore of the whole Church, if Serbian monasticism should die out. G'rgeteg, to mention a striking instance of the sort of monastery I mean, has much the tone of Mirfield; and the Church cannot spare such institutions.

But if a friendly and sympathetic criticism may be made, there is a serious gap in the life of the Orthodox Church in Serbia, but not in Serbia only, that needs to be filled, and that promptly. The Sacraments are duly administered, but there is practically no "Ministry of the Word." The Church possesses some fine preachers, like the Metropolitan of Ochrida, Nikolai, whose eloquence is known in England. And there are occasional sermons at the Belgrade Cathedral and other large centres. But there is no regular and habitual "Ministry of the Word" for the Church as a whole, and in country villages and districts there is no preaching at all.

This silence is easily explained and accounted for by Serbia's past history. But it is certain that without very grievous loss no branch of the Church can ever dispense with its pulpit. The argument as to whether the Ministry of the Word or of the Sacraments is the more important is as if a man desired to argue whether oxygen or hydrogen were the more necessary element in the composition of water. You must have both. And so for the health of any Church

its ministry must be faithful and diligent both as stewards of the mysteries and as preachers and teachers of the everlasting Gospel. How these two act and react, each making the other fruitful, and how the static and dynamic forces of the Church in her corporate life depend for their futures on this action and reaction, giving at once fervour and stability, the change of progress and development without departure from the sure foundation laid long ago, it would be easy to show. But there are two points on which I should like to lay stress, of which one is general, and the other special and pertinent to the present position in Serbia.

The general point which I shall briefly indicate is that the office of preaching and teaching seems truly necessary to the zeal and fervour of the priesthood. I suppose every profession or way of life has its characteristic failure, and in the priestly life ours would seem to be this; that whereas we ought to be men who work at their professional tasks with zest and enthusiasm, we are sadly too apt to be lethargic and unadventurous; doing the same thing in the same way generation after generation, regardless of result, and unaffected by what is going on around us. But with us there are very many splendid exceptions, many very disturbing exceptions, irritating persons, who are for ever urging us to some new practice or view or facet of the truth which gleams so bright in their eyes that they can see nothing else. These—"horrid fellows," "dangerous men," "mere neologists," they are apt to be labelled—are corporately just that very factor which prevents us ordinary and commonplace priests from settling down into the respectable lethargy that is our loved and sleepful armchair. But all this "yeast" arises in and comes from the duty of being ministers of the Word. This ferment is the ferment of minds engaged in teaching and preaching. It comes to this man and to that as he pushes the analysis of what he has to proclaim a little further, or reviews the evidence for some fact on which we rest our claims, or tries to find a fresh way to apprehend the things he desires to make others eager to grasp. Strange, by reason of human wilfulness, are some of these efforts; and the price we pay for rash guesses and false starts seems very high at times. But the process as a whole is literally priceless, because it is life. We may regret the extravagance, and the irresponsible and the partisan way in which this freedom we enjoy is often used. "Little ones" are hurt and simple souls are perplexed without real need. But the Ministry of the Word committed freely to the priesthood, even if egoism and partisanship and a feeble sense of proportion mar its usefulness, is a necessity for a living priesthood in a living branch of the Church.

And as it is for the corporate life of any branch so it is for the true, the inner and devotional life of the individual minister. Essential

to the vitality of his religion is the constant study of the message he has to deliver. Not the occasional great sermon, not the finished and polished sentences of a "purple patch," uplift the preacher. But the fact that week in, week out, we have to expound, illuminate, enforce some article of the Faith: that at any moment in any house we may be called on to teach, explain or defend some portion of the truth: that always around us are children to be instructed in The Way: and that to all alike we must be continually trying to proclaim the true relation of the Christian faith to Christian morals and setting forth ideals of conduct for daily life and therefore the constant need for the means of grace and habits of worship; it is this fact about the ministry which, more than anything else connected with it, keeps the ministers of Christ from utter failure. He who is not a "Minister of the Word," he who has no preaching and teaching to do, no incentive to study and meditation, no prophetic office to fulfil, is deprived of his greatest help and sets about the difficult task of living the priestly life with, as it were, his right arm amputated.

But in the Balkans at this time there is a special and urgent need that this ministry should be revived without delay. Preachers and teachers from without, chiefly from America, are beginning to be heard everywhere. Serbians have gone abroad and sojourned in foreign lands, have heard sermons and had experience of a Christianity which is living and pleading, one, it may be, that proclaims in burning tones love and life, Jesus the Saviour and Healer present here and now, claiming our devotion and the consecration of our lives to His service. And silent churches, which seem rather to enshrine a past than to proclaim a present and living religion, working with power in their midst, do not satisfy these men; nor does the occasional outburst of eloquence at Belgrade, or in some other populous centre, supply what they know is needed.

Soon, assuredly soon, must the Church of Serbia become a preaching Church, and its priests "Ministers of the Word," or it will be too late. Nothing else can prevent the best and most fervent Christians among the Orthodox Serbs from leaving the Orthodox Church for some other body, probably some crude form of Protestantism which holds but a fraction of the faith, but holds it with zeal and devotion, and the eloquence that springs therefrom.

No one who knows the past history of that Church can ever judge it hardly. Sympathy and a desire to help must be uppermost in our hearts. But this defect in her mode of working, with its attendant dangers, cries aloud to be remedied, and the deeper and more sincere one's desire to help is, the more earnestly one must wish this silence to give place to the "sure word" of the Gospel. It is certainly the most urgent of the problems which confront the Serbian Church; and I would that it was put in the forefront of her programme.

That place is taken, not unnaturally, I think, even though I regret it, by another very important matter. Since the Treaty of Versailles and the large increase of territory included in what is now Jugo-Slavia (the Kingdom, as it calls itself, of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), the Orthodox Church includes no less than five practically independent or completely autocephalous branches of Orthodoxy.

There is the Church of (1) Old Serbia, (2) Bosnia and Herzegovina, (3) Montenegro, (4) Bukovina and Dalmatia, and (5) the Metropolitane of Karlovci. These are all "Orthodox Churches," with the same creeds and traditions and practically the same liturgy. But they differ in certain matters of government and in their relations to the State. Montenegro, for instance, depended on the State for the pay of its clergy, while it was the Church of an independent kingdom. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Karlovci are more or less what we should call Endowed Churches; while Bukovina and Dalmatia looked to a Government grant and fees for the income of their ministry. There were like differences also between the mode of appointing Bishops and clergy of other orders. Austria, for reasons of policy, put the Orthodox Churches of her outer provinces under the Œcumenical Patriarch, as being less dangerous to civil order than if they elected their own. It was as a measure of denationalisation that Austria did this and arranged that Bishops for these branches should be approved by the Phanar at Constantinople and consecrated there. Karlovci elected its own Metropolitan, and enjoyed other privileges.

Now, being linked together in one kingdom, and forming the Orthodox Church of Jugo-Slavia, they have drawn up a scheme for a common rule which will obliterate these differences of polity and order, and if this comes into force it will make the Orthodox body one single organic whole. And at the same time as they are obtaining the consent of the State to this new scheme, which has been agreed upon by a general conference of all five elements, they are also claiming from the State an autonomy in religious matters, which, if granted, will put them, as regards the civil power, in more or less the same position as is the Established Kirk in Scotland.

There are grounds for believing that the State will accede to this request, in which case the Church will be able to go forward with much more freedom than at present. The united Synod of all five sections met in November under the presidency of the Patriarch Dimitrie, whose recent coronation as Patriarch may well mark a new and progressive chapter in Serbian Church history. And seeing the great importance of this internal oneness and this new *concordat* with the State, one can well understand why it is given priority over all else. None the less, the restoration of the ministry of preaching and teaching as an essential part of the work of the clerical estate, no less precious and vital than the due administration of the Sacra-

ments, is urgently called for, and should at least be put forward as a coming change which will not be delayed.

On a new and better footing with the State, united in a single body that exists in every part of the kingdom, and proclaiming the Word with that fervour of which a Slav priesthood must be so specially capable, and to which a Slav nation will so readily respond, one could prophesy with confidence that "to-morrow will be a new day," in which the Orthodox Church, using faithfully her freedom, will develop with an efficiency and power that will make it the most glorious period of all her long story. But the conditions must be fulfilled without delay, lest the moment of opportunity should pass away unused.

Belgrade,

October, 1924.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

DEEP sympathy for the sorely tried Œcumenical Patriarchate has been aroused throughout Great Britain by the death of his All-Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch. Gregory VII. was a man of simple life, quiet, reserved and cautious, designed, as it were, for the difficult task to which, just on a year ago, at the age of 75, God called him. The threats of that critical time will be fresh in the memory of our readers. After eighteen months of remarkably vigorous rule, Meletios IV. had withdrawn to Mt. Athos. The lamentable Treaty of Lausanne had been signed. The Angora Government had possession of Constantinople. A repetition of the Smyrna Holocaust was not impossible. Papa Eftim was noisily in evidence as on the pounce. When Meletios IV. resigned in October, 1923, the prospects were of the stormiest. If the normal procedure of election had been followed, the Turk would certainly have intervened. As it was, after an extemporised and half-secret but canonical method had been adopted, it was doubtful whether dramatic happenings would not follow the *fait accompli*. The thing which saved the situation was the personality of Gregory VII. The most rabid mishellene at Angora was unable to attack him as a traitor and a politician. Accordingly, after some angry frowns, he was allowed to settle to his work of keeping things together. *J'y suis, j'y reste* was his motto and his duty. A Patriarch, so elected, could not accomplish great things. But Gregory VII. will go down to history as a good pastor who was sufficient for his time of danger and anxiety. His memorial is that he comforted his flock in their affliction and preserved the life of the great historic institution of which he was the guardian for a space. The sufferings of the

unhappy Greeks of now wholly islamised and turkified Asia Minor, that remnant of Kemal's Red Harvest, whom he saw deported, *i.e.*, turned from the homes of a hundred generations of their ancestors and flung out to be flotsam and jetsam, in pursuance of the Lausanne monstrosity, added intensely to the suffering pains of the malignant disease by which he was already touched when he ascended the dangerous Throne of St. John Chrysostom. Nevertheless he fulfilled his duties wisely and manfully, and has left the example of a faithful pastor.—*R.I.P.*

At the time of writing, news from Constantinople is awaited anxiously. The abolition of the Khalifate and the expulsion of the Khalif from Turkey were made tolerable to the ordinary Moslem by Kemal's promise to give speedy shrift to the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Delay in the redemption of that promise has been due less to repentance than to his recollection of Lord Curzon's firm intimation in January, 1923, that Europe would not tolerate the wanton destruction of an institution of such historical and cultural importance. The Orthodox of the Patriarchate are now reduced to some 100,000 souls—if that—all resident in Constantinople. None the less, the canonical and free election of Gregory VII.'s successor is vital in particular to the Orthodox Churches of which the Œcumenical Patriarchate, as *primus inter pares*, is the centre, and of great significance in general for Christendom, as the metropolis of which, since 451 A.D., it has been the junior colleague of Old Rome. To run to meet trouble is senseless, but the position will be anxious until a new Patriarch has been enthroned in the Phanar. Meanwhile we note with satisfaction that the Rev. R. F. Borough, the courageous chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church, took part in the obsequies of Gregory VII. and—a fact of no small note in the history of Anglican and Orthodox relations—sang the Evangel in English, being bidden to do so first among the Gospellers, of whom the others were representatives of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. Accounts of the Panikhidi at St. Sophia, Bayswater, have been given in our daily press. As we go to press we learn that the Patriarchal Election is in process, and will be completed on December 14.

There are names which we treasure in the history of our movement—J. M. Neale, E. B. Pusey, H. Liddon, Bishops John Wordsworth and Collins, W. J. Birkbeck and many another. They were much in our minds during the Anniversary of our Association on November 11th and 12th, for they laboured without encouragement and we have entered into their labours in a measure which only their splendid hope has made possible. Thus it is less than ten years since W. J. Birkbeck passed to rest, but would he have held it

credible that in 1924, the A. and E.C.A. would keep its festival by the singing of the All-Night Vigil in the Russian Church in London and by the Liturgy celebrated pontifically in St. Sophia, Moscow Road, by a Metropolitan of the Œcumenical Patriarchate? Or that the preacher at both services would be an Anglican—at the latter, indeed, that Dean of Canterbury who, until recently, was the trusted domestic Chaplain of the Primate of All England? In spite of the worst type of London November weather, the congregations both at St. Philip's and at the Greek Cathedral were noticeably large. At the former, the world-famous Kedroff quartette rendered the All-Night Office to wonderful old Slav melodies. Canon Douglas made the Appeal for the proposed Higher Spiritual Academy the text on which to urge the need of helping the Russian Church to furnish herself with missionaries, equipped to undo the appalling ruin worked in the young of the Russian city by Soviet materialistic education, and a welcome sign of the solidarity of the Orthodox, the Metropolitan Germanos pontificated. At the latter, the service was of that otherwise unparalleled mystic beauty which is peculiar to the Orthodox Rite; the singing was exquisite, and two Anglican Bishops assisted, as witness our frontispiece. At the evening meeting in the Church House, Sir H. H. Slessor failed us at the last moment, but Mr. Stephen Graham and Mr. Riley spoke well on the position in the Succession States (Lithuania, Poland, etc.), and the Seventh Council respectively. As Bishop Gore, who presided, said, the A. and E.C.A. may well be heartened to even further impossibilities. By the way, though, is the Association quite right in the numbering of its Anniversaries which made this the 18th? A. and E.C.A. is an amalgamation of the historic Eastern Church Association and the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches Union. The former was founded fully 50 years ago, the latter in 1906. When the two were united in 1914, E.C.A. not only furnished a distinguished contingent of members, but a handsome reserve fund which, so long as it lasted, removed the new A. and E.C.A. from its present anxiety *re* its living agents' stipends. Strictly, the recent anniversary should be styled the tenth, if the reckoning is made from the Amalgamation. But A. and E.C.A. has a goodly heritage and we can boast that we are in succession to J. M. Neale and the founders of E.C.A. Why not take our era from the foundation of the latter? The Rev. R. M. French, our new general secretary, may be congratulated on the great success of his first Anniversary.

Following quickly after the A. and E.C.A. anniversary, the Oxford Undergraduates' Society for Reunion, initiated only a year back with Mr. J. H. Tayler of New College as President, and the Rev. W. R. Corbould as Warden, made its first great venture. On November 25th, the Vice-Chancellor of the University (Dr. Wells, Warden of Wadham) took the chair at a packed meeting in Wadham College

Hall. Bishop Gore, the Metropolitan Germanos, and Mr. Athelstan Riley were the speakers. A message from our Primate and a charming letter from Cardinal Mercier were read. The Regius Professor of Divinity (Canon Goudge), Drs. Kidd, Lock, Pullan and other distinguished theologians were on the platform. Next morning the Liturgy was celebrated in the University Church itself with full ceremonial, incense, lights, cantors, etc., Bishop Shaw pontificating and Archbishops Germanos and Anastasy, served by Dr. Goudge and Canon Douglas as deacons of honour, assisting. To the thoughtful mind no greater sign of the times can be found than this, as the *Church Times* rightly called it, "remarkable achievement."

A full report of that Oxford meeting and of the addresses given at it may be had for 6d. from Mr. J. H. Tayler, New College, Oxford, or the General Secretary, A. and E.C.A., who will also be glad to forward for 1s. the translation of the All-Night Vigil—a much-needed addition to the students' library—made by Fathers Timotheiev and Theokritoff, of St. Philip's, for the A. and E.C.A. anniversary.

We were greatly struck by the contrast which the Dean of Canterbury drew out in his anniversary sermon between the Anglican approach to Reunion and the Orthodox, *viz.*, that, while the Anglican is prone to fix his mind on the finding dogmatic agreement with a view to full Reunion (*e.g.*, the Lambeth Encyclical), the Orthodox rather considers how, no such Reunion being imminent, the Churches may get into the fullest comity and amity possible and so into active co-operation (*e.g.*, the Œcumenical Patriarch's Encyclical, January, 1920). The Metropolitan Germanos developed the thesis in Wadham Hall, showing how, without "internal" union (Intercommunion), the Churches could reach a great measure of "external" union (Co-operation). Assuredly, it would appear that the Orthodox are more practical as well as more liberal than many of us Westerns. No compromise of principle, but the maximum possible of zealous operant brotherhood among all who profess and call themselves Christians, is the right formula. Love must be the prime agent of union.

The visit of Canon Bate to Bucharest in October, by the arrangement of Dr. Gore and with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is likely to prove fruitful, as well as a memorable event. Canon Bate, who went specially to give a course of public lectures on the Church of England under the auspices of the Orthodox Ladies' Society of Roumania, held many conferences with theologians and hierarchs, *e.g.*, with the Metropolitan Miron Christea, Fathers Galaktion and Scriban, Dr. Michalescu and our friend, Professor Ispir. *En retour* he visited Sofia and Belgrad. His impressions are optimistic.

* * * * *

Archbishop Anastasy of Bessarabia, until recently in charge of the Russian exiles in Constantinople, visited London in November,

being the guest of the Cowley Fathers at their Westminster house of St. Edward, which he describes as "peaceful and strict as a Russian Monastery." The purport of his visit was concerned with Russian Church property in Palestine. Nevertheless, he utilised his time to see something of Anglican life, being entertained by the Archbishop at Lambeth, the Bishop of London at Fulham, attending the Oxford meetings and assisting at services at St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. At the former, where he gave the blessing, Canon Simpson, the preacher, announced his presence in felicitous words, concluding: "To be blessed by a representative of that martyred Church, which has been called in no ordinary degree to fill up what is lacking in the sufferings of Christ is, we shall all feel, to be sprinkled in a peculiar sense with the Blood that speaketh better things than that of Abel." By his modesty and charm Archbishop Anastasy has carried our hearts away with him.

We rejoice that the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage of 1924 is planned to be repeated in 1925, with the addition of visits to Cyprus, Patmos, Constantinople and Athens. The Pilgrimage starts on April 27th., lasts three weeks and costs only sixty guineas. All particulars may be had of Sir Henry Lunn, Endsleigh Gardens, N.W. We make this extract from the brochure prepared for the Pilgrims:—

"In addition to the wonderful secular objects and places which they will see, *e.g.*, the Parthenon and Acropolis at Athens, the Dardanelles, the walls of Constantinople and a hundred others, and in addition to the varied interest of the life of the countries, Egyptian, Arab, Syrian, Turkish, Greek, with which they will be in contact, they will pay their devotions at shrines to visit which must be the crown of devotion. There they will worship in the great Cypriote Cathedral of Nikosia, will pray in the "Mother Church of Christendom," as Gibbon termed Justinian's St. Sophia, that marvel of Christian piety still perverted to be a Mosque, and will offer their devotions in the ruined Church of St. John at Smyrna. As they do so, and indeed throughout their Way, for from the time they pass Malta they will be in the path along which St. Paul passed on his wondrous journeys, they may be assured that, if they have faith, the spirit of the great Apostle will be in contact with theirs at Athens, in the Castle Crown of Smyrna, on the Straight Road of Ephesus, and that they will receive gifts of courage, constancy and zeal from their intercession.

"Moreover, those who make this Pilgrimage will have the joy of knowing that they are missionaries of Christian Reunion and will be received as such both by the chief Bishops and by the simple folk of that superb Eastern Church from whom the West first received the Faith."

(Continued on p. 192.)

PAPAL ROME AND THE ORTHODOX EAST.

PROF. GLUBOKOVSKY'S CRITICISM OF MGR. PIERRE BATIFFOL.

(Continued.)

IV.

ALL the cases of appeal quoted by Mgr. P. Batiffol are such as to allow of different interpretations.¹ By themselves, their

¹ And, generally speaking, all the examples given by Mgr. P. Batiffol are not sufficiently decisive. Although the letter of Flavian of Constantinople to Leo I. is called in the badly-distorted Latin text an "apellatio," the former (who refers to Dioscorus of Alexandria as "venerable"!) says that he formerly applied to "the Throne of the Apostolic See of the Prince of the Apostles, the Apostle Peter, and to all the Blessed Council under the purview of the Pope," but now seeks opportunity to render a service to the distressed faith of the holy Fathers by procuring the convention on his own initiative of the united Council of the Western and Eastern Fathers. Leo I. found the measure asked for unnecessary, reckoning that it would be sufficient if he merely signed the Tomos; but, in spite of the Pope's disapproval, the Council of Chalcedon took place and the Pope was obliged to participate in it in the usual way.—Eusebius of Dorylaeum "applies as the oppressed, seeking for help in misfortunes which have befallen him," because "from the very beginning the Apostolic throne has been wont (*ab exordio consuevit*) to defend the injured and to help those who have fallen victims to unavoidable evil designs, and, so far as it could, to raise those lying low," and "because you have sympathy to all men."—In the affair of Iddua of Ephesus, his accusers, convicted by the decision of the Bishop and the Council of Constantinople, desired to gain over to their side Rome, but Xystus agreed with the decision. There is nothing there in favour of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope; besides, the complaints against him were accepted, *e.g.*, by Nestorius, who did not even think of applying to Celestine as the authority.—Nor is anything to be gained by stressing the fact that Liberius, a mild Arian, declared as irregular the excommunication of Eustathius of Sebastia, himself a mild Arian; while there was nothing extraordinary in the applying to Rome for help after the manner of St. Athanasius. That is why Basil the Great does not find any actual violation of canon law in the acts of his friend, whom he always supported, notwithstanding his treachery. Protest was made to the Pope against the whole Council, in claim an Ecumenical Council, but in fact a "Robber-Synod"; but there was no way out there, and, in result, the matter was settled not by the Pope's decision but by another Council, that of Chalcedon.—In these appeals the Roman See is called Apostolic, and its origin is ascribed to St. Peter. Nestorius, indeed, in his apology "Le livre d'Héraclide," entitles Leo I., "le siège de Saint Pierre et l'honneur apostolique"; on the other hand, in the East St. Paul's name is often mentioned, together with that of St. Peter; even the fathers of the Council of Rome (680 A.D.), in their message to Constantinople, speak of "the Light of the teaching of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, emanating from the source of all light—Christ, through the Prince-Apostles, Peter and Paul, and their successors on the Roman See, down to the (then) present Agathon." Generally speaking, ancient ecclesiastical writers do not mention St. Peter as exclusively the founder of the Roman See, but state that the Roman Church was founded by two Apostles. St. John Chrysostome represented the Bishop of Antioch as the successor of the Apostle Peter in no less degree than the being so was appropriated to himself

only significance is probably that the papacy has used them to establish dogmas which are contrary to the minds of their authors in appealing to Rome. All these appeals in themselves were also only private acts called out by imperative historical circumstances. Supposing, however, even that one or the other Orthodox hierarch did accept papal supremacy, his having done so would merely compromise himself, and could no more be looked upon as a ground for making any inference concerning the whole Orthodox East,¹ than, e.g., the Florentine Council can be looked upon as proving that the Orthodox Greeks and Russians submitted to the Papacy. Indeed, exceptions only prove the rule. Therefore, it is necessary yet to prove that the facts under discussion had a normal character and expressed the actual voice of the Orthodox Church.

It is necessary to give facts having the authority of the whole Church. Hence the new series of examples supplied by Mgr. P. Batiffol. He agrees that "sans doute aucun canon oriental ne prévoit les appels," and quite correctly does not ascribe any particular importance to the Council of Sardica, "mais aucun canon oriental, jusqu'à Photios, n'a interdit les appels."²

This kind of argument does not convince me, because, to say the least, it admits of a double interpretation:—"did not prohibit" because it was looked upon by all as lawful, or "did not prohibit" because cases actually did not exist. The second alternative is as much admissible as the first, and, when further development gives rise to the conclusion that when (as at the time of Photios and later on) the claim came out in its true aspect it was rejected as illegal and no longer permissible, although earlier it was allowed on account of its vagueness and because of the historic conditions.

It stands to reason, then, that what really is required are exact and

by the Roman Pontiff; that is why Chrysostome applied in his personal affairs to the Pope in the same manner as he applied to Venerius, Bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia.—Rome laboured hard in order to obliterate or to obscure the shade from its Christian story, the name and part played therein by the Apostle Paul. Finally, by the mouth of the Pope Nicholas in the time of the Patriarch Photios, it announced that even the Church of Jerusalem did not possess clear marks of being an Apostolic See, though, on the other hand, the Orthodox Church commemorates James of Jerusalem as "the Successor of the First-ruler Christ," to whom "Christ transferred the Throne of the Church."

¹ It is in this light that, from the Eastern standpoint, I regard the formula of Hormisdas, signed on March 28th, 519 A.D., by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, who lowered himself to that repugnant formality. . . . In that formula the incontrovertible Supremacy of the Roman Throne is actually proclaimed. But the proclamation remained only a Papistic opinion which, though forced upon John for the moment, was at once fiercely and stubbornly repudiated throughout the Provinces (even by Thessalonica), which was finally repudiated by Constantinople, and which never even attempted to gain sanction in the East.

² *Christian East*, February, 1924, p. 30.

authoritative testimonies of the Church testifying its subjection to the Popes in order that all private acts of this kind should receive interpretation as being performed on a principle. Mgr. P. Batiffol indeed submits arguments of such a character. First of all the historian Socrates (II, 17) is quoted, that *μη δέιν παρά γνώμην ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας*. But—and this is most important—this is only a private opinion, and in order to represent it "comme un canon organique (?!) de l'Eglise," Mgr. P. Batiffol is compelled to have recourse to Prof. Ad. Harnack's subjective supposition that it reproduces a formula of Pope Julius I., the very Pope who was most categorically opposed by the Eastern Fathers on the ground that he, being haughty with the greatness of his See, had meddled in other people's affairs, to no purpose and illegally (on the question about St. Athanasius). But, even admitting this doubtful hypothesis, we have only a Pope's opinion and not the canonical norm of the Eastern Church. Further, Socrates is not a church authority. More, he is not a theologian, he is a notary, an advocate. Therefore, his expressions, though juridically categorical, are exaggerated in a theological sense and are lacking in precision in a canonical sense. Hence, further, his words may be referring not to the canon-formation (legislature), but to the moment of "receptio," since parts of the Church had not to accept anything as ecumenically obligatory until the same was accepted by the great and famous Roman Church: not as recognition of the validity of Anglican orders will become compulsory for the whole Eastern Church only when the decision of Meletios IV. has been "received" (accepted) by all Orthodox Autocephalous Churches; and as assuredly the decisions of the "Pan-Orthodox Congress" in Constantinople (May-June, 1923) can cherish no hope of becoming ecumenically obligatory as they have already been protested against by several Orthodox Church leaders. And, if now and then something actually happened in reverse of the prescribed order, still in itself it bore witness that the highest Church authority, which stood above the Popes and was obligatory for them, existed and was recognised as such. We come here to the most important subject, namely, to the Ecumenical Councils which expressed the law-giving voice of the whole Church. Sanction by them with regard to the Papacy would have been final, and I would submit to it without a word, simply because I am a Christian, but I do not perceive anything giving it, rather I see the reverse. In order to weaken my position, Mgr. P. Batiffol points out (p. 31) that I admit "une exagération manifeste," when I say that "the whole affair was submitted for re-examination at the Council of Chalcedon, which alone reinstated Theodoret." If I do not "strain" again at verbal "gnats," then I "insiste" (p. 30) again here on the following points:—

- (a) I am well aware that the Chalcedon Fathers simply refused to deliberate on the whole subject in all its details, but we are not at all concerned with the dogmatico-polemic views and actions of Beatus Theodoret. We are concerned only and exclusively with his juridically canonical rehabilitation. The latter had already been proclaimed categorically by Leo the Great, who was then dominating the whole world. According to the Papistic theory his declaration was not subject to any revision, being obligatory for the whole Church and for all its Councils. However, the most flattering Papal attestation did not forbid that "Theodoret prendra place au banc des accusateurs" appearing as the applicant for his own exculpation, and should be reinstated only after the Council's decision. Does this not mean that the reinstatement was a result of the Council's decision only? and that the Pope's judgment was only a private opinion which assumed the force of law for the whole Church only after the Council's approbation? Indeed, Theodoret was acquitted by the Council of Chalcedon exactly in the same manner as was acquitted Amphilochius of Syd, who was suspected of being an Eutichian. Amphilochius had no recommendation from the Pope, but the Chalcedon Fathers demanded from him precisely that which they demanded from Theodoret, who was approved of by the Pope. Evidently, the Pope's decision did not give any advantage juridically to Theodoret in comparison with Amphilochius.
- (b) Mgr. P. Batiffol writes that "le cas de Théodoret soit réservé, non qu'il soit douteux, mais parce qu'il y a contre Théodoret une faction qui ne désarme pas." But next to this I read that during the VIIIth sitting, when the Bishop of Cyrr pronounced anathema on Nestorius, "le bureau prononce alors: tout doute est levé au sujet du très-théophile Théodoret . . . il ne reste plus" (in comparison with the original position) "à votre piété" (i.e., of course to all the members of the Council and not only to les évêques de la faction de Dioscure) "qu'à prononcer que Théodoret doit recouvrer son Eglise, ainsi que le très-saint Léon a jugé." I do not quite comprehend how it is possible to speak about the absence of something doubtful when the doubt has been removed! It is true that the doubt referred to Theodoret, but touching the accused it equally touched the apologist.
- (c) Then for me it is logically compulsory that Theodoret's affair was finally decided not by Leo the Great but by the Council, although in agreement with the Pope, who in this case had shown his authoritative wisdom. It was accepted not

only by the Collatio Constantinopolitana (531-533) of the Orthodox with the Monophysites, which stated through Ignatius of Ephesus that the Council of Chalcedon judged the Beatus Theodoret more severely than even St. Cyril of Alexandria, but also by Pope Vigilius, who, in his written opinion on "the three heads" of 14th May, 553, declared that there could not even be a question of condemning Theodoret because he was acquitted by the Council of Chalcedon. Therefore the latter indeed was, and was accepted as such even by Rome, the last and final court of appeal.

It follows further that the authority of the Councils was generally looked upon throughout the East as higher than that of the Popes. In this respect the 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon is very important. Contrary to my words it does not trouble Mgr. P. Batiffol at all, and rightly, *in the light of its Papistic interpretation*, although it is not quite clear why it is that the matter is treated by him at such length—quite beyond the needs of the question under consideration. But if one deals with the views and beliefs of the Orthodox Easterns of that time, then this canon must perforce "trouble" the Roman Catholics very much, as entirely overthrowing their theory that "le catholicisme grec . . . professait au temps du concile de Chalcédoine" the doctrine of Papal Supremacy. On this matter Mgr. P. Batiffol asks: "dès l'instant que le pape Léon repousse ce canon comment pourrait-on lui donner cette valeur," i.e., of an œcumenical canon? A negative answer is unchallengeable only for the Papistic mind, and not at all for the Orthodox right conscience, which has every reason for finding out how far and in what part the Council of Chalcedon was for the Popes an Œcumenical Council, although it has always been reckoned as such even by the Papacy. And, generally speaking, is it possible to determine "œcumenicity" at so many per cent.? Is such arithmetical dosing permissible? If there was a mistake on this point in Chalcedon, one involuntarily recollects St. James' vote: "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." (James II, 10.) That is why "haeretecis aut nihil aut totum licet," as Bishop Success said at the Council of Carthage in 256 A.D. Remember also what was said by the learned Carthaginian Deacon Fulgentius Ferrand, who is reckoned, I think, as a saint in the Roman Church, about the revision of the matter of "the three heads." He exclaims in perplexity: Is it possible for one and the same spring to give sweet water and bitter water? No, because "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (I Cor., V, 6). Revision of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon cannot be

tolerated even in a single item; the whole Council of Chalcedon is true, because it is the Council of Chalcedon in all its entirety: not one part of it may be censured, because all that was there said, done, deliberated and affirmed, was accomplished in totality by the ineffable mystical power of the Holy Ghost.

I feel obliged to concur with the fiery Carthaginian, as otherwise there will appear too much of the incomprehensible and contradictory. It is certain that the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon only develops the conception shortly expressed in the 3rd canon of the Second Œcumenical Council and, in particular, makes it clear that the dignity of the Roman See was due to the status of the town as the capital. This is not said there directly, but so far as the rise of the See of Constantinople was effected by the rise of Constantinople as the capital, Rome was afraid that, having lost its position as the capital, it might lose its ecclesiastical position, and that the status of its See might fall even below that of Byzantium. However, Rome never accepted the 3rd canon, actually protested against it, although not so formally at the time, and did not declare openly that the Second Council in this particular case was not Œcumenical. When the inevitability of such a declaration became clear later on, it had to be antedated, and what was said about the Council of Chalcedon had to be said about the Second Council, as what was said about the Council of Chalcedon had an adequate force for the Second and, *vice versa*, what was lawful in the one case was incontestable in the second.

On this point, perfectly honestly, I do not understand, and cannot make my own, the Roman Catholic point of view in the matter, and for myself personally find here only objective, and not polemic, obscurities and variances. Therefore, I must treat the matter with rational consistency, and it was in this sense that I stated in my article not as an opinion of my authoritative opponent, but as a necessary logical sequence—that he should accept the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon “as having undoubtedly the value of a canon of an Œcumenical Council.” It is quite natural that Mgr. P. Batiffol does not accept it, and points out now that nothing could be Œcumenical that was not recognised by the Pope, because he represented not less than a half of the whole co-Catholic Christianity. According to my opinion and deep conviction it is a question of the “receptio” and not of the Œcumenical compulsoriness of the decisions of the Councils. Besides, this claim was not at all accepted by the East, but was even refuted by it, and it was not accepted by the Frank Churches at the time of Charles the Great. We also know that when Pope Vigilius declared himself to be a half of the whole Christian world, the Emperor Justinian gave to him not more than one-fifth and made a stand on the point. Arithmetic is not much in

favour of the Papacy in this case, but, generally speaking, it is not proper in matters of this kind. Jesus Christ forewarned: “When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?” (Luke XVIII, 8), “because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold” (Matthew XXIV, 12). Can anyone say that at that time no Œcumenically obligatory truth will not exist, and that it will only remain the confession of a few and not compulsory for “receptio” by all? And if the latter will not accept it, will it stand as an accusation and stint for the confessors and not as a conviction and rejection for themselves? The truth is absolute and does not depend on the numbers of the followers of the Papacy, as actually was the case, *e.g.* in the period of Arianism. Therefore, *from their own point of view*, the Catholics are right in proclaiming some of their separatist Councils as Œcumenical and demanding the recognition of them as such by all Christians. The same is perfectly correct also for the Orthodox East in relation to the Papistic West.

In explanation of the protest by Leo the Great against the 28th canon, Mgr. P. Batiffol adds (p. 33) that by this he did not allow “amoindrir la personne du pape,” suspecting that “Constantinople tend à créer à son propre profit en Orient une primauté, et une primauté d’essence politique.” Such a supposition does not seem to be feasible in view of the fact that in the Eastern Church the conciliar principle was reigning and can be explained only by the fear that the papal claim of Œcumenical supremacy might be limited. But let it be so! The import of this does not lie in the fact but exclusively in the inference that if the East was supposed to wish to set up its own Papacy the fact would have meant that the East did not look upon the Roman Papacy as the only one possible, incontestable, sacred. Where is then that belief in the Roman supremacy of the Orthodox Greeks in the time of the Council of Chalcedon?

In order to justify Papal polemics against the 28th canon of the Councils of Chalcedon, it is said that, the canon having a political character, “cette notion de droit ecclésiastique n’allait à rien moins qu’à déposséder le siège de Saint-Pierre au profit de l’évêque de Ravenne” (p. 34), to which place the Emperor Honorius transferred his western capital in 408 A.D. To these opinions of the excellent Catholic savant, L. Duchesne (with whose opinions I seem to agree in my previous remarks about the Papistic interpretation) Mgr. P. Batiffol adds the text of the 28th canon in order to persuade me that it does not acknowledge “prerogatives of Apostolic origin” as belonging to ancient Rome. That is just what I state, reckoning it to be very significant that the analysed canon keeps complete silence about the Apostolic prerogatives of Rome and entirely levels it up with Constantinople on the ground of other reasons quite independ-

ently of the Papal claims. And if there was a danger of Cæsaro-Papism *in potentia*, then at the different orientation do not we see Papo-Cæsarism *in re*? In view of the position the different opinions about the political decision in respect of the dignity of episcopal Sees were possible. For instance, St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Sermo XLII*) calls the town of Constantinople "the eye of the universe, the mightiest on the land and on the sea, as it were, the mutual knot of the East and the West, whither and whence, as from the universal fair, comes everything that is the most important in the faith." Analogous arguments are put forth by S. Irenæus of Lyons on behalf of the privileges of the Roman Church (*Adv. hæres. III, 3: 2*), viz., that she is the guardian of the Apostolic traditions in so far as Rome, being the capital, has been for all Christians—bearers of those traditions—a natural rallying point after the meaning of the 9th canon of the Council of Antioch.¹

However, I have not been called to, and dare not defend the authority of, the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon. All these discussions seem to be irrelevant to our subject, and do not touch it at all. Let us assume, then, that the East erred in this point. In any case, the incontrovertible fact remains that the East did not profess the Papal exclusive primacy and absolutely rejected it. Mgr. P. Batiffol refers (p. 34) to the fact that the Fathers of Chalcedon applied to Leo the Great for recognition of the 28th canon, and asserts that the Pope guided them as the head guides the members of the body. This is true *verbatim*, but the latter analogy *ad captandum benevolentiae*, is equally uncomplimentary for both sides, is not at all "une subordination catégorique" even as far as the phrasing goes, and in its meaning does not advance beyond the "supremacy" of the 34th Apostolic canon, as in S. Theodore Studitos, with whom "the primacy of honour" of Rome did not give her the right "to soar on her own wings," so as not to be comparable with the other Patriarchates. Indeed, in the light of the facts, the request of the Fathers of Chalcedon is as comprehensible in the interests of the Œcumenical "receptio" as is undoubtedly the diplomatic flattery of expressions which represented for the Byzantines a usual political manoeuvre. The whole force of the matter lies exclusively in the fact that this canon was voluntarily accepted as agreed by the Eastern Bishops in spite of the objections raised by the Papal legates on the ground of the boldly interpolated 6th Nicæan canon: *Romana ecclesia semper habuit primatum*. Although this falsification was

¹ I must mention in anticipation that I am also conversant enough with the Papistic interpretation of this "famous text," for which *vide, e.g.*, Michel d'Herbigny, S. J., *un Newmann russe*, Vladimir Soloviev (1853-1900) Paris, 3/911, p. 178 (with reference to "Revue Bénédictine," Janvier 1910, pp. 103-108); *Theologia de Ecclesia II* Parisiis 2/921, p. 158 sqq., p. 288

again put forth by Rome in Carthage 40 years later, it was documentally disproved and the matter remained as before. The 28th canon of Chalcedon has always remained and still remains a binding, active norm in the Eastern Church, notwithstanding the systematic and unremitting opposition of the Papacy, which was obviously not recognised there as the supreme resort in the Church of Christ. Nothing beyond this is stated or defended by me.

V.

Further, in my judgment it follows necessarily that the Councils were regarded by the East as superior to the Popes, who were subordinated to them. That is the last point in my controversy with Mgr. P. Batiffol which calls for some explanatory remarks on my part. Here my esteemed opponent reads me a lecture as to the mutual relations of the sides (p. 36) that presumably I hold wrongly, that "les conciles œcuméniques appartiennent à la constitution divine de l'Eglise: ils n'appartiennent qu'au *Kirchenrecht*. Ils ne sont pas, en effet, une institution du Christ ou des apôtres. . . . Les conciles œcuméniques ne sont jamais nécessaires." That is exactly what I did state with regard to the Papacy, and I am quite sure of the matter. I am well aware, indeed, that on the authority of the Vatican Council it has been decreed doctrinally that Councils are not necessary, that they are subordinated to the Pope, and that everything else is only—*minutiae scholasticae dogmaticae catholicae*, as to which, moreover, there is no complete formularisation in detail, according even to Mgr. P. Batiffol's own words in *Revue de Jeunes* (10 April, 1923, p. 16), although he speaks now more categorically. I have no concern with all these minute details in the present discussion of the relations of Councils and Popes, which (*i.e.*, Councils and Popes) Mgr. P. Batiffol claims to be in "co-ordination," in the sense that the Pope—*infallible in sese, non ex consensu ecclesiae*—may consult the Council, if he deems it useful for himself. I am aware of that Roman Catholic dogma, and on this occasion I offer no criticism of it, but only maintain that the East neither accepted it, nor, since it still holds to its position, has relinquished any of its former beliefs. In contradiction, Mgr. P. Batiffol asserts even now (p. 36) that "cette coordination a toujours été la règle même au temps où Saint Léon faisait précéder le concile de Chalcedoine de sa lettre à Flavien." But the fact is that the Council in question was called together neither by the Pope nor with the view that the Pope might consult with it. It was summoned in spite of the definite opposition of Leo the Great, who had declared that the calling together of a Council was quite unnecessary: When it was convened he attempted to dominate it and, in some questions, to go against it. The like happened in other cases.

The significance of all this is that for the East the Councils were, in fact, the supreme institution. But, "ils ne sont pas, en effet, une institution du Christ ou des apôtres." I shall allow myself to make use on this occasion of Mgr. P. Batiffol's reasoning on the Papal Supremacy. He writes (p. 35): "Nous ne construirions pas l'institution de l'épiscopat monarchique sur les textes du Nouveau Testament qui nous parlent des ἐπίσκοποι de l'âge apostolique, mais l'épiscopat monarchique a son anticipation, sa justification dans ces textes. Il en est de même du privilège apostolique revendiqué et exercé par les papes: ils se raccorde à la primauté de l'apôtre Pierre qui en est l'anticipation et qui l'autorise." I think that Mgr. P. Batiffol, even under these conditions, recognises the "épiscopat," together with the Papacy, as "la constitution divine de l'Eglise."

Let us apply the same method to verify the conciliar principle. We find that Jesus Christ Himself entrusted the supreme power to the whole Church (St. Matth. XVIII, 17), and the Church from the very first days of her existence acts with her plenitude; though put forward by Peter, who generally spoke in the name of all, Matthias was elected in the place of Judas by the assembly of all the disciples (Acts III, 12 sqq.; IV, 1); the seven deacons were appointed by the multitude of the disciples in accordance with the suggestion of the Twelve (Acts VI, 2, 5); St. Paul was sent to preach by the plenary authority of the Church, and submitted to her his report (Acts VI, 13; XIV, 26 sqq.; XV, 40); he went to Jerusalem to communicate unto all the brethren, and especially unto those who seemed to be pillars (Gal. II, 2 sqq.), and particularly unto James and the elders (Acts XXI, 18 sqq.), as did Peter also (Acts XII, 17): the question then in controversy, on which even Peter himself was to be blamed (Gal. II, 11 sqq.), viz., as to the conditions for receiving Gentiles into Christianity, was decided by the Council of Jerusalem, about which it is recorded explicitly that, as it always is, the pleasure of the Holy Spirit who acts in the Church as the external Teacher and Interpreter of divine truth, was operant in it (St. John XVI, 16 etc.). As soon as communities of the Church were organised, the conciliar principle began to function in them more or less regularly, and became the normal principle of Church administration; so that when with the triumph of Christianity the closest community of the Churches was brought about the Œcumenical Councils came into being.

Such are the historical facts. And if I be asked, Was this principle an ecclesiastical or a divine institution? the question seems to me to invite idle deviation from our real purpose for indulgence in a theoretical strife of words (cf. I Tim., VI, 4). I see that the conciliar principle was the supreme regulating factor of the very life of the undivided Church, which was itself permeated by it, was built and

developed by it independently of any "heads" and authorities, and, therefore, did not exist normally and really, except with it as its element. But since the conciliar principle has always from the very beginning been a fundamental and vital principle of the divine Church of Christ, and cannot be divided from the very existence of that divine institution, I must naturally esteem it as of divine origin. Further, in the matter of biblical warranty it is hardly surpassed by any of the sacraments (even on the Roman Catholic method of fixing the category), while, assuredly, it satisfies perfectly the above-mentioned criterion put forth by Mgr. P. Batiffol.

In any case the conciliar principle has always been the supreme normal regulator of church order. This was a fact, and one so necessary and obligatory that the supremacy of the Œcumenical Councils was recognised in the East, and was admitted in the West, where, e.g., in rebutting the Papal claims, it was defended by S. Cyprian and Beatus Augustine, whilst Fulgentius Ferrand firmly testified that the authority of the Œcumenical Councils occupied the first place after that of the canonical books of the Bible. It is true that in the West various kinds of "reservatio mentalis" were in use from very old times, and that the Popes tried to elevate themselves above the Councils, but they were, all the same, compelled to submit to them as we see, e.g., in the case of the Trullan Council. Even such a Papistic coryphæus as was Leo I. was compelled "to co-ordinate" with the Council of Chalcedon, although the latter was convened against his wishes. At a much later date Gregory the Great (590-604), who proclaimed the equality of all bishops, declared in Constantinople that he acknowledged the four Œcumenical Councils as the four Gospels, and that he recognised the fifth as equal in honour to the first four. The Pope Vigilius refused to participate in the fifth Council, and was absent, but afterwards he wrote to "my beloved brother Eutychius," the Patriarch of Constantinople, that formerly he "had violated love by standing away from the brethren" and that "in defending his teaching he acted as a tool in the hands of the devil, but Christ, our God, had warded off all temptation from his thoughts" (Mansi XI, 413). But, generally, the Popes, through their legates, used to take an active part in the Œcumenical Councils, although the Councils were not convened by the Popes, and though they were not always convened in accordance with their wishes, though certainly they never played a part of the Papal consultative apparatus, and though there were cases when the Councils were called together notwithstanding the Papal declaration that the convening was unnecessary. The Councils were the independent and the supreme judiciary legislative and juridically-doctrinal tribunal of the saving Church (*ecclesia salvifica*) of Christ for teaching and administration.

I do not defend anything and I do not refute anyone, and it sincerely hurts me that—contrary to my intentions and aspirations—a “paragraph” of this kind has called forth an unexpected remark by Mgr. P. Batiffol (p. 35) that he “n’a plus guère trait à considération d’histoire, et rentra un peu trop pour goût dans la manière polémique.” I in no way sympathise with Church Parliamentarianism. I am an enemy of every kind of demagoguery and autocracy, and I prefer everywhere a sane lawful monarchism. But facts are facts, and in this case they are of such an extraordinary character that the Patriarchal and Synodal message of the Church of Constantinople, in the time of Anthimos VII., of August, 1895 (in reference to the Encyclical Letter of Leo XIII. of 20th June, 1894) definitely states: “Seven holy Œcumenical Councils being called together in the Holy Spirit for the explanation of the true teaching of the faith against the heretics, have universal and eternal significance in the Church of Christ.” It follows that, if the facts above stated by us may be regulated in some new direction, it may be done only by Church Œcumenical decision, and even then it will only be a special application of them without the lessening their importance in principle. Examining it from the point of view of a theoretical possibility, I do not reckon as heretical the concession made by the most Orthodox Metropolitan Anthony in favour of the Papal supremacy, but, granted it be made only by the decision of the whole Church, would be under the supreme control of Œcumenical Councils.

The latter are for us Orthodox the only supreme resort in the Church. We cannot change this position and we must always start from it. All others must reckon with it, if not positively, then negatively, but absolutely and unfailingly. And so, when we are told that at some time past, before the fatal division, we recognised the Papal Supremacy in the Roman Catholic sense, I can acquiesce with the statement, not before and not otherwise than but only on condition that I shall be shown the corresponding canon of an Œcumenical Council. But, did any Council decree anything of this kind? Was there not rather something quite contrary to that? Let those who choose repeat that none the less the Eastern Fathers and Doctors did profess this truth. To me it is incomprehensible why they did not formulate this truth as a dogma if they looked upon it as universally obligatory *de jure divino*. Were there fewer opinions and arguments about this matter than about the majority of the articles of the Nicene Creed? If the Pope was juridically the last tribunal of appeals in the whole Church, where was the right formally legalised, as it was done, *e.g.*, for the See of Constantinople in relation to other Patriarchs by Justinian in his novella of 530 A.D.? So far I have not seen anything of the kind, but I find testimony to the contrary. I find that Flavian of Antioch did not appear before the

Pope for judgment, although the latter had demanded it, and that the Council of Constantinople in 879, in the presence of the Papal Legates, and without their contradiction, confirmed the independence and equality of the Sees of Constantinople and Rome. All the private cases—and there were more of them than are mentioned by Mgr. P. Batiffol—do not carry any force of conviction for me. They are limited and individual, and do not at all reflect or prejudice the immutable voice of the Orthodox Church—however much they may seem to strengthen the Papal case, which, indeed, in many instances they do not. All such examples do not represent the Church and do not carry her authority, similarly as wicked, sinful Popes, or as even those who renounced the true faith, would not prejudice the Papacy, if the latter had not been declared infallible *de jure divino*—a declaration which makes important the facts that Pope Callistus is depicted by S. Hypolitus as almost an heresiarch *ex cathedra*, that Liberius signed the Semiarian creed, and that Honorius expressed himself *ex cathedra* in favour of Monotheism?

With this I have finished. I have, I think, expressed my plain mind sufficiently clearly. But I wish to add one thing. I should not like to leave an impression that I am an enemy, on principle, of every kind of Papacy or of the Papacy as it has existed throughout Christian history. That would correspond neither to my Orthodox convictions nor to my scientific knowledge. I differentiate the historical Papacy from the dogmatised Papacy. The second, of course, did not appear *ex abrupto*, and is connected with the first by some genetic succession, but for the Orthodox mind it is a hyperbolic deviation. With such a Papacy—I am saying this with the greatest regret—I do not foresee any peace, and I must characterise the Orthodox frame of mind in regard to it by the celebrated formula: *sint ut sunt*. But I accept the historic Papacy, and we Orthodox are ready to return to it. I firmly believe that, if the Papacy will forego its claims, all misunderstanding will disappear, and that even the so-called dogmatic differences will be levelled to a peaceful cohabitation. Thus, the final word lies with the Papacy, and to it I turn with the hearty appeal: *Fiat ex Occidente pax!*

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Sofia (Bulgaria) University,

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MGR. PIERRE BATIFFOL'S REJOINDER.

Si je croyais que l'échange de vues qui s'institue ici entre Bishop Gore et moi est un simple exercice de controverse et qui ne peut aboutir à aucune issue, je me recuserais d'y prendre part.

Mais je crois, au contraire, que les plus vieux sujets de controverse peuvent être revisés et tirés au clair, dans bien des cas, à condition de les aborder historiquement, quand faire se peut. Bishop Gore nous fait l'honneur de voir en France une école historique qui a usé de cette méthode. Nous avons eu Mgr. Duchesne, en effet, mais l'Angleterre a eu Lightfoot : ensemble ils professaient que le passé ne se comprend que dans le passé et par le passé. C'est à ce critérium que l'on distingue l'historien du controversiste.

IL suffisait de rappeler la défense poursuivie victorieusement par Lightfoot de l'authenticité des épîtres ignatiennes, et du même coup de la primitivité de l'épiscopat monarchique, pour signaler un des services de premier ordre rendus par l'histoire et pour montrer comment toutes les controverses ne sont pas sans issue.

Dans son édition de saint Clément, Lightfoot consacre une dissertation à la primauté de saint Pierre dans le Nouveau Testament. "Le sujet que je me propose de discuter, écrit-il, est essentiellement mêlé à la controverse, mais j'espère le traiter aussi peu que possible comme une matière de controverse. . . . Je m'y attacherai dans la limite du possible comme à une étude historique."¹

Il n'est pas impossible que Lightfoot lui-même ait passé par une sorte de *crescendo* de clairvoyance. Dans son commentaire de l'épître aux Romains de saint Ignace, il a tendance à minimiser le témoignage rendu par l'évêque d'Antioche à l'Eglise romaine. Dans son commentaire de l'épître de saint Clément, au contraire, le jugement qu'il porte sur la conscience que Rome a dès lors de sa primauté est un jugement bien remarquable. "Le langage de cette épître, écrit-il, nous permet de comprendre le secret de la croissance de la domination papale."

Lightfoot ne veut pas que l'auteur de l'épître réclame en son nom "l'autorité papale" ; cette autorité est celle de l'Eglise de Rome, non de l'évêque de Rome ; le nom et la personnalité de Clément ne sont pas à part de l'Eglise dont il est le porte-parole.

"Il est d'autant plus instructif d'observer le ton pressant et presque impérieux que les Romains prennent en s'adressant à leurs frères de Corinthe, dans ces dernières années du premier siècle. . . . Il peut sembler étrange de décrire cette noble remontrance comme le premier pas vers la domination papale. Et cependant, il n'y a pas de doute, c'est bien cela." Lightfoot souligne la différence

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome*, 1890. T. II, p. 481.

que l'on saisit entre l'attitude de Clément à la fin du premier siècle et celle de Victor au fin du second. Mais il les rapproche avec raison. Il y a loin de là aux revendications d'un Grégoire VII, d'un Innocent III, d'un Boniface VIII, ou seulement de saint Léon, mais c'est tout de même un pas décisif. Une continuité se dessine entre le pape Clément, le pape Victor, saint Léon, la première affirmation de cette continuité se rencontrant dans cette épître romaine du dernier *decennium* du premier siècle. La primauté ecclésiastique de Rome était, non pas en germe, mais en acte. Rome parlait "comme si elle avait un droit à estimer que les conseils qu'elle donnait (aux Corinthiens) étaient dictés par le saint Esprit."¹

Le fait historique est là, mis en pleine lumière, et Lightfoot ne craint pas d'en montrer la portée. Tout au plus pourrait-on lui reprocher d'en avoir négligé les antécédents et d'avoir trop vite présupposé que la primauté de l'Eglise romaine était inévitable dès là que l'Eglise romaine était l'Eglise de la métropole du monde. Nous ne voyons pas, en effet, que pareille primauté se soit établie dans le judaïsme de la *diaspora*, ou dans le marcionisme, ou dans le mithraïsme. A cela près, la sollicitude et l'autorité de l'Eglise romaine se dégagent admirablement de l'examen de la *Prima Clementis* par Lightfoot, et aussi bien (peu après Lightfoot) par R. Sohm, dans le premier tome (1892) de son *Kirchenrecht*. Veut-on voir, par contraste, ce que la controverse, la mieux informée, est capable de faire dans la même occurrence ? Que l'on ouvre tel livre qui veut nous dire ce que les saints primitifs ont pensé du siège de Rome, et que l'on cherche quelle place y est faite à la *Prima Clementis*, on aura la surprise de constater que l'épître est traitée par préterition.

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome*, T. I, p. 69-70. "The language of this letter, though itself inconsistent with the possession of papal authority in the person of the writer, enables us to understand the secret of the growth of papal domination. It does not proceed from the Bishop of Rome, but from the Church of Rome. . . . The name and personality of Clement are absorbed in the Church of which he is the spokesman. This being so, it is the more instructive to observe the urgent and almost imperious tone which the Romans adopt in addressing their Corinthian brethren during the closing years of the first century. . . . It may perhaps seem strange to describe this noble remontrance as the first step towards papal domination. And yet undoubtedly this is the case. There is all the difference in the world between the attitude of Rome towards other churches at the close of the first century, when Romans as a community remonstrate on terms of equality with the Corinthians on their irregularities, strong only in the righteousness of their cause, and feeling, as they had a right to feel, that their counsels of peace were the dictation of the Holy Spirit, and its attitude at the close of the second century, when Victor the Bishop excommunicates the Churches of Asia Minor for clinging to a usage in regard to the celebration of Easter which had been handed down to them from the Apostles, and thus fomented instead of healing dissensions. Even the second stage has carried the power of Rome only a very small step in advance towards the assumptions of a Hildebrand or an Innocent or a Boniface, or even of a Leo : but it is nevertheless a decided step. . . . It was originally a primacy not of the episcopate but of the Church (of Rome)."

Ces exemples suffiraient, s'il était besoin, à justifier le parti pris de Lightfoot et de Duchesne de ne considérer ces vieilles questions que dans la lumière de l'histoire. "*The points in controversy are so old*," écrit Bishop Gore. C'est précisément pour cette raison qu'il nous plaît de les examiner avec une méthode plus neuve.

* * * * *

Bishop Gore a pris soin de noter qu'il y a " parmi quelques écrivains protestants, et, ajoute-t-il, parmi nous Anglicans, une plus pleine réalisation que le développement de la papauté fut pour l'Occident, en un certain sens, providentiel, alors même que le dessein de la Providence ait été, ça et là, trahi par ses instruments humains."

Cette observation de Bishop Gore ne doit pas passer inaperçue, car elle signale un déplacement des lignes des vieilles controverses. La papauté, si elle est quelque chose de providentiel, ne peut plus être éconduite brutalement comme elle l'était jadis. Elle ne peut pas ne pas être prise en considération. Le catholicisme ne se conçoit pas sans elle. Et qu'il se rencontre des Anglicans pour le dire, c'est là un fait nouveau et d'une importance considérable. Mais on ne voit pas que Bishop Gore se rallie sans réserve à ces Anglicans. Il reste absolument réfractaire au " système papal," loin d'y voir rien de réellement providentiel, rien de désirable. La papauté ne peut être pour lui qu'une déformation de la constitution première du catholicisme, une usurpation de l'évêque de Rome sur l'autonomie des évêques dans la *Catholica*, une intrusion destinée à se muer en *imperium* et à rompre l'équilibre de l'unité de l'Eglise. Le système papal s'est développé en Occident " pour une large part à l'aide de faux documents, mais aussi sous la pression du besoin humain dans lequel nous devons voir un dessein providentiel." Déconcertante contradiction, la papauté fausse le catholicisme, elle est le produit du besoin humain qu'on avait d'elle, ce besoin lui-même est un besoin providentiel, servi à l'occasion par de faux documents comme peuvent être la donation de Constantin ou les fausses décrétales ! Quel "*providential purpose*" est-ce là !¹ Au fond, la pensée de Bishop Gore sur la papauté et son rôle déformant ne diffère pas de la pensée de Döllinger, à cela près que Bishop Gore y met infiniment plus de mesure et de sérénité que Janus, mais le radicalisme est le même.

Nous voudrions, dans les pages qui vont suivre, montrer les points faibles de la doctrine de Bishop Gore.

I.

" Nous ne pouvons," écrit Bishop Gore, " nous dérober à la controverse sur le terrain scripturaire. Rome s'est donné l'avantage de capter

¹ Déjà en 1905, Dom Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims*, p. 84, relevait cette contradiction.

l'imagination par sa grandiose interprétation du *Tu es Petrus*. En réalité, le reste du Nouveau Testament, quand on l'examine avec soin, spécialement les épîtres de saint Paul et de saint Pierre, constitue un formidable obstacle à l'interprétation papale du *Tu es Petrus*. " Rien, en effet, énonce Bishop Gore, ne me semble être plus certain que saint Paul ne reconnaissait pas d'autorité spirituelle sur terre supérieure à celle des apôtres (autorité dont il était si pleinement conscient en lui-même), et qu'il n'admettait pas de réelle différence de dignité ou d'office entre les apôtres."

Que saint Paul n'admette pas de réelle différence de dignité ou d'office entre les apôtres, il faut pour se le persuader oublier l'épître aux Galates, où saint Paul nous raconte comment, trois ans après sa conversion, il monta à Jérusalem " pour faire la connaissance de Céphas," et demeura " quinze jours auprès de lui sans voir aucun des autres apôtres si ce n'est Jacques, frère du Seigneur " (Gal. I, 18-19).

Quatorze ans plus tard, Paul monte de nouveau à Jérusalem : il va exposer " l'Evangile qu'il prêche parmi les Gentils," d'abord " à toute la communauté des saints de Jérusalem," puis " à ceux qui paraissent être quelque chose pour s'assurer de ne pas courir ou de n'avoir pas couru pour rien " (II, 2). Paul a résisté aux " faux frères " qui s'étaient insinués dans les communautés établies par lui et voulaient y imposer la circoncision. Son autorité ne réussit pas à avoir raison de ces " faux frères," il est amené à venir soumettre le cas à Jérusalem, et là finalement " Jacques, Céphas et Jean, qui sont regardés comme des colonnes," dit-il, " nous donnèrent la main, à Barnabé et à moi, pour aller, nous aux païens, eux aux circoncis " (II, 9). Sans doute Pierre est mis ici sur le même rang que Jacques et Jean, et encore n'est-il nommé qu'après Jacques, d'où l'on pourrait inférer qu'il n'est pas une autorité qui serait unique. Mais dans ce même passage, ces mêmes colonnes " reconnaissent que l'Evangile," écrit Paul, " m'a été confié pour les incirconcis, comme à Pierre pour les circoncis, car celui qui a fait Pierre l'apôtre des circoncis m'a fait l'apôtre des Gentils " (II, 7, 8).

Ainsi, à Jérusalem, il y a les saints, c'est-à-dire toute la communauté primitive ; dans cette communauté, il y a ceux qui sont regardés comme des colonnes, Jacques, Céphas, Jean, et qui confirment l'Evangile de Paul ; entre ces colonnes, il y a Céphas " en qui Dieu a opéré pour l'apostolat de la circoncision," comme il a opéré en Paul pour l'apostolat des Gentils (II, 8) ; et les colonnes prennent acte que l'Evangile a été confié à Paul pour les Gentils " comme à Céphas pour les circoncis " (II, 7).

Les Gentils confiés à Paul, les circoncis confiés à Pierre, et aussi

¹ Pour l'exégèse de ces textes, je renverrai au P. Lagrange, *Epître aux Galates* (1918).

bien aux autres colonnes (II, 9), voilà bien entre les apôtres une réelle différence d'office. D'autre part, Céphas, plus en relief que Jacques et Jean, Céphas apôtre itinérant comme Paul et tenant à l'égard des convertis de la circoncision une place comparable à celle que l'on reconnaît à Paul à l'égard des convertis de la gentilité, voilà bien une réelle différence, si non de dignité, au moins d'importance, pour Pierre entre les colonnes.

Disons que Pierre est, de l'aveu même de Paul, une autorité exceptionnelle. Il est une autorité que, dans une Eglise comme celle de Corinthe, Paul invoque (I Cor., IX, 9; XV, 5). Il est connu à Corinthe, où cependant il n'a jamais paru, si bien que, la communauté en discorde se réclamant, qui de Paul, qui d'Apollos, qui du Christ, il se trouve des fidèles pour se réclamer de Céphas (I, 12).¹ Ces faits ne sont pas négligeables à un historien qui cherche les indices d'une différence entre Pierre et les autres apôtres.

On nous dira : Des fidèles se rencontraient, à Corinthe même, qui se réclamaient de Céphas, soit ; mais Paul avait conscience que son apostolat, qui faisait de lui l'apôtre de Jésus-Christ encore que "le plus petit de tous les saints" (Eph. III, 8), ne l'assujettissait pas à Céphas. Paul se donne aux Eglises par lui fondées comme la seule autorité qu'elles doivent recevoir : il entend que ces Eglises relèvent de lui directement, constamment, si bien que sur lui pèse vraiment "la sollicitude de toutes les Eglises" (II Cor. XI, 28), de toutes les Eglises nées de son apostolat. Je réponds : ce régime où l'apôtre est l'autorité souveraine ne peut représenter qu'une économie provisoire.

Dans l'épître aux Ephésiens (II, 20), Paul élargit ses vues, il écrit à ses convertis d'Asie : "Vous avez été bâtis sur le fondement des apôtres et des prophètes, la pierre angulaire étant Jésus-Christ lui-même." Pour ces convertis d'Asie, qui sont des chrétiens venus de la gentilité, il y a une autre autorité que celle de Paul : il y a les apôtres. Davantage : il y a les prophètes, que l'esprit saint suscite dans les communautés chrétiennes. Davantage : il y a les évangélistes, les pasteurs, les didascales (IV, 11). Tous travaillent "à l'édification du corps du Christ" qui est l'Eglise. Dans l'unité de ce corps, le Christ, "qui est notre paix, des deux peuples n'en a fait qu'un" (II, 14). Des chrétiens incirconcis ne sont plus des étrangers, ils sont "concitoyens des saints et membres de la famille de Dieu" (II, 19). L'Eglise, corps mystique du Christ et société des saints, a son unité dans le Christ : elle a été propagée dans le monde par la parole des apôtres et des prophètes, et déjà apôtres et prophètes

¹ W. Bousset, sur I Cor. I, 12, dans le N. T. de J. Weiss, t. II (1908), p. 76 : "Schwerer ist es zu erklären, wie in Korinth eine Kephas (Petrus) Partei zu Stande gekommen." Il propose de dire que Pierre est venu à Corinthe, mais cette hypothèse est à écarter, C. Weizsäcker, *Apostol, Zeitalter*, p. 275.

sont au terme de leur œuvre, Paul est prisonnier à Rome, l'édification du corps du Christ passe aux évangélistes, aux pasteurs, aux didascales. Ici encore la description de l'Eglise, pour autant que l'Eglise n'est pas seulement le corps mystique du Christ, décrit une économie provisoire.¹

Car le jour est proche où les prophètes seront "évacués," et parmi les évangélistes, pasteurs, didascales, mentionnés par l'épître aux Ephésiens, se forme un ministère dans lequel toute autorité s'absorbera, celui des évêques, dont l'épître aux Ephésiens ne dit pas un mot. Bishop Gore nous assure que les épîtres de saint Paul constituent un formidable obstacle à l'interprétation papale du *Tu es Petrus* : on pourrait dire aussi bien qu'elles sont un formidable obstacle à l'authenticité paulinienne des épîtres pastorales et à l'institution de l'épiscopat monarchique.²

L'âge apostolique est aux yeux de l'historien tout plein d'économies provisoires : il ne s'est établi que par des préparations successives dans les institutions qui réalisaient le catholicisme et qui ont ensuite traversé des siècles, l'épiscopat par exemple : des régimes transitoires, éphémères, se sont résorbés, par exemple, celui des ministères charismatiques ou itinérants. Le partage de l'apostolat entre l'épiscopat de la gentilité et celui des circoncis n'a eu qu'un temps : la première épître de saint Pierre est adressée à des chrétiens qui sont des convertis de la gentilité.³ Si, un temps, Pierre a pu être considéré comme l'apôtre de la circoncision et Paul comme l'apôtre de la gentilité, à l'heure où s'écrit la *Prima Petri*, ce partage de l'apostolat est dépassé : Pierre, "apôtre de Jésus-Christ," s'adresse aux chrétiens dispersés dans le Pont, la Galatie, la Cappadoce, l'Asie et la Bithynie. Il ne se donne certes pas l'apparence d'une autorité unique et souveraine ; mais Bishop Gore ne fera pas, j'espère, à l'apôtre un grief de sa modestie, de sa volonté d'être un serviteur des serviteurs de Dieu, de ne pas se poser en dominateur des Eglises. Et quand la *Prima*

¹ F. Prat, *La Théologie de Saint Paul*, T. II (1912), p. 429-430 : "Les chrétientés fondées par Paul restaient toujours sous sa tutelle. Aucune n'eut de son vivant une organisation autonome. . . . On peut se demander si cette centralisation excessive ne retarda pas l'organisation monarchique dans les fondations pauliniennes, et si ces dernières jouèrent le rôle que semblaient leur assigner leur importance locale et leur origine apostolique. . . . En étudiant l'évolution de la hiérarchie dans les Eglises fondées par saint Paul, on doit s'attendre à rencontrer un système moins uniforme et une période de tâtonnements plus longue. Ce n'est pas à dire que ces Eglises fussent privées de tout gouvernement propre."

² Dom Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims*, p. 94, "Obviously the government of the Church by monarchical Bishops cannot be directly proved from Holy Scripture ; it rests upon tradition." Bishop Henson en prend prétexte pour argumenter contre le droit divin de l'épiscopat historique, comme fait Bishop Gore contre le droit divin de la papauté ! Voyez H. Henson, *Cross-Bench Views of current Church Questions* (1902), p. 394.

³ A. Jülicher, *Einführung* (1906), p. 177.

Petri ne serait pas authentique, quitte à être cependant antérieure à la *Prima Clementis* (l'hypothèse est de M. Harnack), nous tiendrions avec elle un indice de l'autorité attribuée à Pierre, et s'exerçant de Rome, où il est supposé séjourner, sur les lointaines chrétientés d'Asie, de Galatie, de Cappadoce, où s'était exercé naguère l'apostolat de Paul.

II.

Les théologiens catholiques, depuis le concile du Vatican qui a consacré le mot de développement et en a revêtu le principe de la formule de Vincent de Lérins, ont étudié à maintes reprises la notion du développement des dogmes, ils ont même poussé la théorie sensiblement au delà de la formule élémentaire du *Communitorium*. Bishop Gore me demande d'exposer ma pensée sur le développement : je n'en ai pas d'autre que les *probat auctores* de mon Eglise auxquels il me suffit de le renvoyer.¹ Historien, je me tiens modestement aux faits, à l'observation des faits, à la vérification des faits, et je m'attache ici au fait de la papauté antique.²

Bishop Gore qui a mis tant de science et de persévérance à défendre le fait de l'épiscopat primitif, dans son livre magistral, *The Church and the Ministry*, ne m'en voudra pas de m'attrister qu'il n'ait pas appliqué les mêmes qualités à examiner le fait de la papauté primitive. Il se borne à renvoyer avec "consolation" ses lecteurs à ce *Papalism* de Denny que M. Foakes Jackson, dans son *Introduction to the History of Christianity* (1921), juge en deux mots : "Very hostile." L'attitude de Bishop Gore est, elle aussi, celle de l'hostilité.

"Il est clair comme le jour," écrit-il, "que l'Orient n'a pas l'idée d'une autorité centrale divinement instituée." Aux yeux du Dr Gore, la papauté est une institution fondée sur une doctrine qui s'est pleinement épanouie à Rome, au V^e siècle, et qui n'a pas été dès lors contestée en Occident. Mais cette doctrine ne fait point partie de la *tradition apostolique* dont Origène détaille les éléments, et dont se sont réclamés, soit les pères grecs en Orient, soit Irénée ou Tertullien en Occident. Cette doctrine est inconciliable avec la théorie et la pratique de Cyprien.

Voilà la thèse de Bishop Gore, très nette, très radicale.

Que la doctrine de la papauté ait trouvé à Rome sa pleine expression sous la plume du pape Innocent ou du pape Léon, je le veux bien ; qu'elle n'ait pas trouvé auparavant son expression sous la plume de

¹ Voyez l'article du P. Pinard, "Dogme," du *Dictionnaire apologetique* de D'Alès, T. I (1911), p. 1151-84. Voyez encore l'article du P. Gardey sur les deux livres récents du P. Schultes et du P. Sola, dans la *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 1924, p. 376-90.

² Ai-je même besoin de rappeler que le mot *Papatus* n'appartient pas à la langue ecclésiastique des premiers dix siècles ?

papes comme Damase ou Sirice, je le conteste. Mais bien avant d'être une doctrine épanouie, la papauté était un fait, qui se manifestait, (1) dans la sollicitude que l'Eglise romaine avait pour toutes les Eglises, (2) dans l'autorité que lui donnait le dépôt de la foi apostolique que l'on était sûr de trouver chez elle, (3) dans le pouvoir qu'on lui reconnaissait de corriger à l'occasion les autres Eglises.¹ Cette triple prérogative eût été une prétention insupportable, si elle n'avait pas été justifiée par une économie que l'on tenait pour apostolique et divine.

"Cette doctrine," insiste Bishop Gore, "ne fait point partie de la *tradition apostolique* telle qu'elle expose Origène." Soit, mais il ne faut point oublier que cette *tradition apostolique* n'a pas trait aux institutions. Irénée qui a écrit une *Démonstration de la prédication apostolique*, n'y fait aucune place aux institutions. Le symbole baptismal de Rome mentionne l'Eglise, la sainte Eglise, mais il n'estime pas nécessaire de mentionner l'épiscopat, qui est pourtant apostolique d'institution et sans lequel l'Eglise ne subsisterait pas. Origène, par ailleurs, n'ignorait pas l'Eglise romaine, cette Eglise qu'il appelait "la très-vieille Eglise des Romains," et qu'il tint à visiter. Pourquoi ce Grec tenait-il à visiter "la très-vieille Eglise des Romains" ? Parce que, répondrons-nous, l'Eglise romaine était contemplée en Orient comme le domicile des apôtres, et comme "ayant été depuis l'origine la métropole de la religion," ainsi que dira le concile d'Antioche de 340. Elle était, au III^e siècle, en dépit même des résistances qu'on lui opposait parfois, l'Eglise sur laquelle on finissait toujours par se régler. C'est Rome qui a voulu la conformité sur la date de Pâques au temps du pape Victor : des résistances se sont produites très vives en Asie où l'on était quartodécimant : Rome, par charité, n'a pas rompu avec les réfractaires, mais la conformité s'est établie sans qu'on sache quand, paisiblement, silencieusement, et le concile de Nicée a trouvé la question de la Pâque résolue, loin qu'il ait eu à la résoudre. C'est Rome qui a fait valoir la validité du baptême des hérétiques : ici encore des résistances se sont produites en

¹ H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History* (1909), t. I, p. 213-4, a une belle page que je veux citer. "(The Church of Rome) was the centre of Christendom as a whole. Its central position was fully recognised by Irenaeus, and became more and more definite as time went on till the rise of Constantinople. . . . Rome was the natural link of East and West. As a Greek colony in the Latin capital, it was the representative of Western Christianity to the East, and the interpreter of Eastern thought to the Latin West. For all these reasons Rome was the natural centre of discussion. Her Orthodoxy was unstained. Whatever heresies, like the Eastern Orontes, might flow to the great city, no heresy ever issued thence. The strangers of every land who found their way to Rome and the tombs of the great apostles, were welcomed from St. Peter's Throne with the majestic blessing of a universal father. The Church of God which sojourneth in Rome was the immemorial counsellor of all the churches ; and the voice of counsel slowly passed into that of command."

Afrique, en Orient, et l'on connaît les éclats de Cyprien et de Firmilien: Rome encore n'a pas usé de rigueur, mais la conformité s'est faite ensuite si bien que saint Augustin n'imaginera pas qu'elle ait pu être procurée autrement que par un concile universel. Rome y avait suffi par son influence, et l'Afrique avait en fin de compte donné tort à Cyprien.

Je sais bien que des critiques comme M. Harnack ne voient dans cette influence universelle de l'Eglise romaine, encore vers 290, qu'une primauté de services rendus: "Un fondement dogmatique ou historique, clairement connu, manquait encore, écrit-il, du moins selon toutes les vraisemblances, il était encore à Rome incertain." M. Harnack écrivait cela en 1892: depuis lors, dans le mémoire qu'il a donné en 1918 sur le *Tu es Petrus* et où il a voulu montrer que le *Super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam* était une interpolation tendencieuse, il a émis l'hypothèse que ce faux avait dû être commis au bénéfice de l'Eglise romaine et à Rome même, à l'époque d'Hadrien.¹ Le fondement de droit divin de la primauté avait donc été posé à Rome dès les premiers *decennia* du second siècle!

Laissons-là ces conjectures et tenons-nous au texte d'Irénée sur la *potior principalitas* de l'Eglise romaine. Irénée veut que toutes les Eglises se rallient à l'Eglise de Rome comme au plus sûr dépôt de la foi apostolique, et parce qu'elle est l'Eglise *principalis*, c'est-à-dire l'Eglise aimée, l'Eglise établie en la personne de Pierre le jour où le Christ prononce le *Tu es Petrus*, l'Eglise dont toutes les autres ne sont que les puînées. La justification de l'autorité centrale reconnue à l'Eglise romaine est dans le dépôt de la foi qu'elle conserve et dans la *principalitas* qu'elle tient de Pierre. C'est Irénée qui dit cela, et Irénée est un Grec. Victor, qui est évêque de Rome, contemporain et ami d'Irénée, est pénétré de la sollicitude de toutes les Eglises, son action dans la controverse pascalle l'atteste assez, car son action s'étend à toutes les Eglises d'Orient, de l'Egypte à l'Asie, qu'il entend rallier à la même date pascalle, et son action est assez énergique pour que Renan put en dire: "La papauté était déjà née."² Ces faits qui se relient les uns aux autres (nous pourrions en aligner d'autres encore),³ infirment donc la thèse de Bishop Gore, et ils soutiennent seuls une histoire des origines du catholicisme. Les évêques n'auraient eu à rendre compte qu'à Dieu chacun de leur administration, comme le prétendait si indûment saint Cyprien, l'isolement des Eglises aurait été la loi de l'Eglise: on aurait eu un

¹ Voyez mon *Eglise Naissante* (ed. de 1922), p. 113.

² Renan, *Marc Aurèle*, p. 201.

³ M. d'Herbigny, *Theologica de Ecclesia*, T. II (1921), p. 152-172.

numerus episcoporum, on n'aurait pas eu un *corpus totius Ecclesiae*.¹ L'unité visible de l'Eglise a été faite par une unité constituée, qui avait pour elle une autorité que les Eglises dispersées ne récusèrent pas, à laquelle elles recouraient plutôt: cette unité était l'Eglise romaine. Les historiens, comme M. Harnack, qui se sont appliqués à résoudre le problème des origines du catholicisme, ont le mérite d'avoir montré que "qui dit catholique, dit romain." M. Kattenbusch a fait valoir que la règle de foi, en laquelle toute la catholicité s'est unie, est issue de Rome et adéquate au symbole baptismal romain. M. Sohm a pensé établir que l'épiscopat monarchique a été emprunté à Rome par le reste de la catholicité, et avec l'épiscopat monarchique le germe de tout le *Kirchenrecht*. Le même Sohm n'a pas craint d'écrire que les grandes questions ecclésiastiques qui se sont posées au II^e et au III^e siècle "ont trouvé leur solution pour l'Eglise à Rome"; que "Rome est la tête de l'Eglise et que sans elle l'Eglise n'est plus l'Eglise"; que "c'est seulement par leur union avec Rome que les communautés particulières appartiennent à l'Eglise"; que "ces persuasions de l'ancienne Eglise catholique du II^e et du III^e siècle rendent seules compte de la prodigieuse puissance de la communauté romaine en face de toutes les autres communautés."² Je ne puis que regretter que l'érudition de Bishop Gore ait été jusqu'ici impénétrable à ces vues classiques aujourd'hui chez les historiens.

III.

On inférera de l'exposé qui précède que, dès le II^e et le III^e siècle, la "papauté" était dans les faits, qu'elle était dans la conscience de l'Eglise romaine, qu'elle était acceptée non moins consciemment par un saint Irénée: nous avons essayé de fixer les traits auxquels se reconnaît cette papauté primitive, et nous avons pressenti la part qui fut la sienne dans la formation du catholicisme. Il nous reste à examiner quelques preuves que Bishop Gore croit devoir appeler à son aide pour établir que "la suprématie du pape *jure divino* est un développement occidental, et qu'en le rejetant les Orientaux n'ont rien rejeté qu'ils eussent cru antérieurement."

¹ Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 308: "True, Cyprian's whole theory of the Church implied the equality of Bishops, and he utterly disavows for himself as well as others any tyrannical claim to authority by one Bishop over another. But even Cyprian could not stay the drift of time." Encore n'est-il que juste de signaler la contradiction intime de la doctrine de Cyprien. Voyez Dom Chapman, *Professor Hugh Koch on Cyprian*, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1910, op. 462. A. d'Alès, *La Théologie de S. Cyprien* (1922), p. 218-223.

² R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, T. I (1892), p. 382-3.

A cette assertion nous opposons, et c'est une réponse classique,¹ que le concile de Chalcédoine a accepté cette primauté du pape *jure divino*. A Chalcédoine, en effet, dès l'ouverture du concile, les pères ont accepté que les légats de S. Léon qualifiaient l'évêque de Rome de "*caput omnium Ecclesiarum*." Le concile fini, ils ont écrit à S. Léon, le remerciant d'avoir été pour tous "l'interprète de la voix du bienheureux Pierre," et d'avoir à tous "procuré la bénédiction de sa foi." Ils insistent : Nous étions là environ cinq cent vingt évêques "que tu conduisais comme la tête conduit les membres." Le malheureux Dioscore "avait visé dans sa folie celui à qui le Sauveur a confié la garde de la vigne, nous voulons dire ta sainteté, et il avait voulu excommunier celui qui a pour mission d'unir le corps de l'Eglise."² La pensée de pères de Chalcédoine ne contredit pas la doctrine de S. Léon sur sa propre suprématie de droit divin, elle la confirme.

Mais il y a le 28^e canon de Chalcédoine.

Ce canon est l'œuvre du quatrième concile œcuménique, à la suite du second concile œcuménique, énonce Bishop Gore. Le qualificatif d'œcuménique ne doit pas nous en imposer ici : les canons ne sont jamais œcuméniques au sens ou les définitions de foi le sont.³ Les canons de 381 et de 451 sont œcuméniques en tant qu'ils sont l'œuvre des évêques orientaux en concile : ils sont une expression du droit oriental. Cela est si vrai, que le pape S. Léon peut déclarer⁴ qu'il n'a jamais eu connaissance du troisième canon de 381.

Le 28^e canon de Chalcédoine a été voté dans une session à laquelle les légats n'assistaient point. Mais les légats se sont immédiatement inquiétés de ce canon, dans lequel ils ont vu un attentat aux "règles canoniques" et une "humiliation du Siège apostolique"; ils ont déclaré en référer à "l'évêque apostolique qui est le premier de toute l'Eglise" pour qu'il puisse juger de l'injure faite à son siège et de la violation des canons.⁵ Si les pères du concile avaient été dans les sentiments que leur prête Bishop Gore, ils auraient dû maintenir leur canon, comme ils semblent en avoir eu un moment l'intention,⁶ et donc passer outre aux sommations des légats ! Ils

¹ Les *Echos d'Orient*, 1924, p. 246, m'apprennent que cet argument a été déjà présenté dans un livre de J. L. Lucchesini, *Sacra monarchia S. Leonis . . . fulgens in polemica historia Concilii Chalcedonensis* (Rome, 1693), dédiée à Innocent XII. L'argument est repris par M. d'Herbigny, *op. cit.* p. 119-152.

² Voyez mon *Siège apostolique* (1924), pp. 538, 562.

³ Duchesne, *Hist. anc.*, T. I, p. 152, parlant des canons de Nicée, y voit une "législation sans caractère synthétique, toute de circonstance, comme fut toujours la législation des conciles représentant non point la réglementation générale des rapports ecclésiastiques, mais simplement la solution d'un certain nombre de cas sur lesquels l'attention des membres de l'assemblée se trouvait avoir été appelée."

⁴ *Siège Apostolique*, pp. 559-560, 572.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 561-2. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

ne l'ont pas fait. Ils ont, au contraire, écrit au pape S. Léon, le priant de confirmer leur canon, déclarant qu'ils attendent de lui que, de même qu'ils se sont sur la foi accordés avec lui qui est la tête, il consentira aux enfants ce qui convient, lui qui est *κορυφή*, le sommet de l'Eglise.¹

Ce ne sont là que des mots, énonce Bishop Gore, et pure affaire de cérémonie ! Car, poursuit-il, "le langage dans lequel la préséance de Rome est reconnu par le 28^e canon est tout à fait incompatible avec la conception d'un *jus divinum* inhérent au siège."

En effet, le 28^e canon énonce que "les pères ont à bon droit reconnu la primauté (*τὰ πρεσβεία*) au trône de la vieille Rome, parce que cette ville est souveraine (*διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*)."² Le canon ne dit pas quels sont ces pères. Il ajoute : "Mais par la même considération, les cent cinquante théophiles évêques (du concile de 381) ont attribué³ la même primauté (*τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεία*) au très-saint trône de la nouvelle Rome, estimant avec raison que la ville qui est honorée de la présence du basileus et du sénat, et qui a les mêmes privilèges (*πρεσβεία*) que la vieille Rome royale, est grande aussi comme elle dans les choses ecclésiastiques, étant la seconde après elle." Ainsi deux Romes, toutes deux possédant les mêmes privilèges civils, toutes deux allant de pair comme les deux empereurs, à cela près qu'il y a une vieille Rome et une nouvelle Rome : donc parité des deux sièges, à cela près que celui de Rome est le premier et celui de Constantinople le second. Pas un mot du privilège apostolique de Rome.

Donc, conclut Bishop Gore, le 28^e canon de Chalcédoine nie le privilège apostolique du siège de Rome. Cette conclusion n'est pas nouvelle, et je ne dis pas qu'elle ne soit pas logique, mais je conteste qu'elle soit dans la perspective des rédacteurs du dit canon. J'ai deux raisons à faire valoir à l'appui.

I. Nous avons dans la lettre CVII de Saint Léon la preuve que l'homme de sa confiance à Constantinople, Julien, évêque de Kos, lui a écrit pour recommander la requête d'Anatolios en faveur du 28^e canon. Supposons que la requête d'Anatolios soit un prodige de duplicité et qu'elle aille à faire approuver par le pape la négation sornioise du privilège apostolique du siège de Rome, et cette supposition est une énormité ; à qui fera-t-on croire que Julien de Kos n'ait pas soupçonné la négation ainsi impliquée dans le 28^e canon ? Le pape répond à Julien de Kos (22 mai), que ni ses raisons, ni ses supplica-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 563-4.

² Les pères ont reconnu, *ἀποδεχόμενοι*. Dom Chapman, note (p. 86 de sa réponse aux *Cath. Claims*) : "Ἀποδέχωμι does not mean *I give a present*, but *I return a loan*, or *I render a due*."—Bishop G. and the *Cath. Claims* (1909), p. 86.

³ Ici *ἀντίκριμα*.

tions, ne l'induiront à approuver le 28^e canon : " *Nulla modo poteris obtinere a me in excidium ecclesiastici status vel suadendo impellas vel supplicando traducas.*" Qu' Anatolios n'espère pas que j'accorderai, ajoute le pape, ce qu'il demande, au mépris des canons des pères (de Nicée), quelles que soient les intercessions qui l'appuieront auprès de moi : " *Nullis apud me patrocinis ita poterit adiuvare, ut his quae postulat calcata patrum constitutione consentiam.*"¹

II. Julien de Kos donc n'a pas soupçonné la négation dénoncée par Bishop Gore dans le 28^e canon ; mais voici qui est plus péremptoire, le pape S. Léon ne l'a ni dénoncée, ni soupçonnée. Il dit à Julien de Kos, dans la lettre CVII : " Ta dilection a pu voir à maintes reprises avec quelle constance, avec quelle décision, j'entends maintenir les statuts des saints canons de Nicée, parce que j'estime que toutes les règles ecclésiastiques sont compromises, si en quelque chose est violée cette sacrosainte constitution des pères." Dans le 28^e canon S. Léon voit l'ambition de l'évêque de Constantinople, qui cherche à s'attribuer des pouvoirs illicites aux dépens de *l'universalis Ecclesiae status saluberrima olim et vera ordinatione munitus*. Le pape Léon n'a pas un mot qui donne à penser que le privilège apostolique de Rome soit menacé.² La lettre CVII à Julien n'est pas la seule que le pape écrive sur cette affaire. Il y a la lettre CIV à l'empereur Marcien, la lettre CV à l'impératrice Pulchérie, la lettre CVI à l'évêque de Constantinople Anatolios, toutes les trois du même jour que la lettre CVII. Dans ces lettres le pape s'élève contre l'ambition d'Anatolios et contre le 28^e canon qu'il repousse absolument. Il reproche à ce 28^e canon de renverser l'ordre établi par les pères de Nicée : ici encore pas un mot qui suggère que le pape ait à défendre son privilège apostolique. Le pape défend " *statuta paternorum canonum quae ante longissimae aetatis annos in urbe Nicaena spiritalibus sunt fundata decretis*" (Epist. CV, 2), les " *sacratissimas Nicaenorum canonum constitutiones*," qui assurent au siège d'Alexandrie le " *secundi honoris privilegium*" et au siège d'Antioche " *proprietalem tertiae dignitatis*" (Epist. CVI, 2). Il ne parle pas du

¹ Sans doute les légats du pape à Chalcédoine ont tout de suite vu dans le 28^e canon une injure faite au siège apostolique. Mais ils ne sont trop échauffés apparemment, puisque Julien de Kos ne partage pas leur sentiment.

² Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 87 : " It is certain that St. Leo saw in the canon nothing in any way reflecting upon the unique dignity that he himself claimed with so much assurance. He does not see anything in the canon inconsistent with the respect due to Rome." B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, t. iii (1922), p. 337-338 : " Leo, it will be observed does not appeal to the principle of Papalism in order to get the canon cancelled. . . . He only appeals to Eastern veneration for the Council of Nicaea." On pourrait supposer une feinte chez S. Léon, si Julien de Kos n'avait pas estimé de son côté le canon parfaitement conciliable avec les principes du " papalisme."

premier rang du siège de Rome, ce premier rang n'étant pas contesté à Constantinople. La lettre CXIV (21 Mart. 453) est la lettre par laquelle le pape S. Léon écrit aux évêques qui ont tenu le concile de Chalcédoine ; il approuve ce qu'ils ont décidé sur la foi ; mais il rejette ce qu'ils ont proposé dans leur 28^e canon et qui va contre les inviolables décrets de Nicée : " *Jura Ecclesiarum sicut ab illis CCCXVIII patribus divinitus inspiratis sunt ordinata permaneat*" (Epist. CXIV, 2). Il écrit le même jour à Marcien : " *Privilegia Ecclesiarum illibata permaneat*" (Epist. CXV, 17).

Ainsi le pape S. Léon n'a pas relevé dans le 28^e canon, et pas davantage Julien de Kos, ce que Bishop Gore y voit. Le pape n'a pas repoussé la formule : " Les pères ont à bon droit reconnu la primauté au trône de la vieille Rome, parce que cette ville est souveraine." La raison en est, peut-on croire, que cette primauté (τὰ πρεσβεία) ne visait pas le privilège apostolique ; cette primauté répondait à la conception que l'on se faisait dans le monde romain de l'ordo urbium, et à l'importance qu'on y attachait. " Nous devons," écrit Galla Placidia à Pulchérie au lendemain du brigandage d'Ephèse, " attribuer le *primatus* en tout à la ville éternelle, qui a rempli le monde entier de la domination de sa *virtus*, et a donné à notre empire l'univers à gouverner et à conserver." Voilà bien le langage du temps. Mais Galla Placidia n'ignore pas pour autant le privilège " *apostolicae sedis in qua primus apostolorum beatus Petrus, qui etiam claves regnorum caelestium suscipiens, sacerdotii principatum tenuit.*"³ Le 28^e canon Chalcédoine n'a pensé qu'à l'ordo urbium : le pape S. Léon n'a pas vu dans ce que ce canon dit du *primatus* de la vieille Rome une négation du *principatus* du siège apostolique.⁴ Nous ne saurions être sur ce point plus chatouilleux que le pape.

Saint Léon défend contre l'évêque de Constantinople l'*universalis Ecclesiae status* qu'il croit trouver dans le sixième canon de Nicée, et qui, réservant au siège de Rome le premier rang, attribue le second à Alexandrie, le troisième à Antioche. Anatolios réclame pour le siège de Constantinople la parité avec le siège de Rome, mais la parité en second : c'est la une prétention qui doit remonter au temps de Théodose. La doctrine que lui oppose S. Léon est plus nouvelle, elle apparaît pour la première fois en 422, sous le pape Boniface

³ Cette formule sera relevée, au contraire, dans le *Nomocanon* de S. Méthode, où on lit : " il n'est pas vrai, comme affirme ce canon, que les saints pères ont accordé la primauté à l'ancienne Rome, parcequ'elle était la capitale de l'empire, mais c'est d'en haut, c'est de la grace divine que cette primauté a tiré son origine. . . ."

Tout le texte, traduit de slavon, dans B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance* (1924), p. 38-9.

⁴ Inter S. Leon., Epist. LVIII.

⁵ Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 87 : " (The fathers of Chalcedon) had no idea that their doctrine of the coincidence of ecclesiastical with secular jurisdiction could be in any way contrary to the prerogatives of Rome as the Apostolic See."

et nous ne ferons pas difficulté de reconnaître qu'elle est une interprétation arbitraire du sixième canon de Nicée, lequel n'a pas pensé à fixer ou à reconnaître un *ordo urbium*. L'empereur Justinien, dans sa *Novelle CXXXI*, confirmera la prétention du siège de Constantinople, et Rome un jour l'acceptera sans hésitation.¹ S. Léon aurait pu l'accepter tout de suite sans plus d'hésitation qu'Eugène IV : en confirmant le 28^e canon de Chalcédoine, il aurait certes encouragé l'ambition de l'évêque de Constantinople, et c'était un grave danger, mais il n'aurait rien sacrifié du privilège apostolique du siège de Rome.

IV

Il me reste à répondre à trois arguments subsidiaires de Bishop Gore. J'ai fait état des appels adressés par des évêques orientaux à Rome et je suis heureux de constater que Bishop Gore ne conteste pas le fait. Il observe seulement que ces appels n'impliquent pas nécessairement la reconnaissance d'une autorité de droit divin dans l'Eglise romaine. C'est entendu. Je remarque cependant que le concile de Sardique² qui le premier s'est prononcé sur les appels déclare "vouloir honorer la mémoire du bienheureux apôtre Pierre." Je remarque encore que le siège de Rome est le seul auquel on ait persévéramment fait appel, comme si les autres sièges, si glorieux fussent-ils, n'eussent rien qui attirât les appelants ou qui leur assurât une sentence définitive.

J'ai fait état de l'acceptation par l'épiscopat oriental de la formule du pape Hormisdas, de 515. La formule, en effet, est reproduite textuellement dans la lettre *Redditis mihi* (28 mars 519) de l'évêque de Constantinople Jean annonçant au pape Hormisdas sa soumission.³ Bishop Gore accuse Jean d'être un pauvre homme, "a poor weak man," qui a accepté toutes les conditions imposées par le pape Hormisdas et par l'empereur Justin : ceci rend déjà invraisemblable qu'il ait par son préambule vidé la formule de la signification que Rome lui donnait. Mais, en fait, cette préface n'affecte pas la formule et affirme l'union que Jean déclare vouloir entre son siège et Rome.⁴

¹ *Siège Apostolique*, p. 577. Kidd, *op. cit.*, T. iii, p. 336.

² Le concile de Rome de 485 écrira que les pères de Nicée (Nicée = Sardique) "confirmationem rerum atque auctoritatem sanctae romanae Ecclesiae detulerunt, quae utraque usque ad aetatem nostram successiones omnes Christi gratia praestante custodiunt." Collect. Avellan, 70 (ed. Guenther, p. 159). Je compte publier dans la *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* de Louvain une mémoire sur les recours d'Orient à Rome antérieurs au concile de Chalcédoine.

³ Collect. Avellan, 159 (p. 607).

⁴ "Ecclesias, id est superiores vestrae et novellae istius Romae, unam esse accipio: illam sedem apostoli Petri et istius augustae civitatis unam esse definio." Cela veut dire que l'évêque de Rome et l'évêque de Constantinople sont d'accord, et non pas qu'il "identified his own See with the Roman See," ce qui n'a pas de sens ! Rapprochez la lettre *Quando Deus* du même Jean au même Hormisdas, qui reprend les memes termes. Et la réponse d'Hormisdas à Jean *Consideranti mihi*. Coll. Avellan, 161 et 169 (p. 612-624).

Jean se soumet et signe sans y rien retrancher la déclaration exigée par le pape. Il affirme que la parole du Christ à Pierre, *Tu es Petrus* et le reste, se vérifie dans ses effets, parce que "in sede apostolica inviolabiliter semper custoditur religio." Il anathématise donc Nestorius, Eutychès, Dioscore, Timothée d'Elure, Pierre d'Alexandrie, Acace, Pierre d'Antioche. Il reçoit toutes les lettres de S. Léon sur la foi. Il veut suivre Rome en tout : "Sequentes in omnibus sedem apostolicam, et praedicamus omnia quae ab ipsa decreta sunt, et propterea spero in una communione vobiscum quam apostolica sedes praedicat me futurum, in qua est integra christianae religionis et perfecta soliditas." Il s'engage à ne pas recevoir dans les diptyches à l'avenir "sequestratos a communione Ecclesiae catholicae, id est, in omnibus non consentientes sedi apostolicae."¹ Le pape ne demande pas d'autre déclaration.

La signature obtenue de l'évêque de Constantinople (mars 519), l'empereur Justin donne des ordres (avril 519) pour que les évêques signent dans toutes les provinces.² On apprend plus tard que certains évêques répugnent à supprimer dans les diptyches des noms qui sont chers à leurs ouailles.³ Ces évêques appartiennent au diocèse d'Orient, "pars Orientalium."⁴ Une lettre subséquente de l'empereur Justin précise qu'il s'agit de "nonnullae urbes tam Ponticae quam Asianae et praecipue Orientales,"⁵ y compris Jérusalem. Ces Eglises nerefusent pas d'effacer des distiches les noms d'Acace, de Dioscore, des deux Pierres et de Timothée, mais ils refusent d'effacer les noms des évêques qui en chaque Eglise participèrent au schisme d'Acace (ce qui était plutôt insinué que réclamé par le formulaire).

L'empereur estime que le consentement du pape Hormisdas est nécessaire, il lui demande d'user d'indulgence, et encore ne lui demande-t-il cette indulgence que pour les Eglises qui résistent sur ce point bien secondaire, et non pour les Eglises qui ont déjà signé le formulaire, "et hoc exceptis urbibus ubi vestrae beatitudinis libellus iam in plenum admissus est."⁶ Le pape répond à l'empereur Justin qu'il entre dans ses vues et qu'il s'en remettra au jugement du nouvel évêque de Constantinople Epiphane : les évêques donc

¹ Collect. Avellan, 159 (pp. 608-9), *Ibid.* append. IV (pp. 800-1) : cf. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums* (1901), p. 71.

² Collect. Avellan, 167 (p. 621). C'est le rapport des légats au pape : "Noveris . . . edicta . . . per universas provincias quantocius destinari." Les légats notent que le peuple a acclamé l'union : "Qualia gaudia facta sint unitatis quae laudes quoque beato Petro apostolo et vobis relatae sint . . . perspicitis."

³ *Ibid.* 192 (p. 650), lettre de l'empereur Justin au pape Hormisdas, 9 juillet 520.

⁴ *Ibid.* 216 (pp. 675-6) : "Laetatur cotidie diversorum episcoporum libellos nobis satisfactionis offerri. . . . Post libellos quos dederunt et dant episcopi et per ipsos satisfecerunt sedi apostolicae."

⁵ *Ibid.* 232 (p. 701), 9 septembre 520.

⁶ *Ibid.* (p. 702).

qu'Epiphane aura admis à sa communion, le pape les tiendra pour sortis du schisme, étant bien entendu qu'ils auront signé le formulaire, "*libelli tamen qui a nobis interpositus est tenore servato*."¹

On pourra conclure de là que Bishop Gore n'est pas autorisé à dire que nombre d'évêques orientaux furent admis à la communion de Rome sans signer rien d'autre qu'une confession de foi orthodoxe. Sur ce point, il s'en est rapporté au P. Puller, dont l'exposé est à reviser de très près.²

Le dernier argument de Bishop Gore est une vieille connaissance scolaire. Si, dit-il, l'infaillibilité de l'évêque de Rome en matière de foi avait été elle-même un article de foi en Orient, le pape Honorius n'aurait pas été condamné comme monothélite par le sixième et le septième concile œcuménique. On me permettra de m'en tenir au verdict de Dom Chapman : "Aucun concile n'a par ses actes et ses paroles plus pleinement reconnu l'autorité et l'infaillibilité de Rome que le sixième concile qui a condamné—et condamné à bon droit—le pape Honorius."³

* * *

Serait-il possible de dégager de cet échange de vues quelques possibles points d'entente ?

I. Il ne peut être contesté que S. Pierre était le chef ou "*leader*" accepté des apôtres, et qu'il était accepté comme tel parce qu'il avait été traité comme tel par le Sauveur.

II. La papauté a pour anticipation ce "*leadership*" de S. Pierre. La papauté historique est prophétisée par le Christ dans le *Tu es Petrus*, étant bien évident que les événements de l'histoire ont projeté sur ce texte des clartés qui en rendent plus manifeste la signification réelle. La papauté est un fait providentiel, parce qu'elle a été, non pas permise, mais voulue de Dieu.

III. La papauté des premiers âges s'avère dans la sollicitude que l'Eglise de Rome a de toutes Eglises, dans l'autorité que lui donne le dépôt de la foi qu'elle conserve plus sûrement qu'aucune autre Eglise, dans le pouvoir qu'on lui reconnaît de corriger à l'occasion les autres Eglises : cette papauté-là est déjà en acte au temps de S. Irénée.

IV. Cette papauté des premiers âges était bien plus grecque que latine, car Rome était alors bien plus grecque que latine.

¹ *Ibid.*, 238 (p. 738). Lettre du 26 mars 521. L'Egypte seule se déroba à l'union. Quant à l'Illyricum oriental, il était plus romain que jamais : voyez *ibid.*, 213-5 (pp. 671-4).

² C'est ce qu'avait dit déjà Dom Chapman, *The First Eight General Councils and Infallibility* (1906), pp. 45-7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 67. Du même, *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius* (1907). Sur la question cf. E. Amann, art. *Honorius* (1921) du *Dictionnaire de la théologie catholique*.

V. A partir de Dioclétien l'Orient s'établit à part de l'Occident, et le catholicisme occidental a tendance à se serrer plus étroitement autour de Rome, tandis que le catholicisme oriental s'assujettit plutôt à la cour impériale comme à son centre d'attraction. La papauté n'est pas pour autant abolie en Orient, alors même que l'Orient s'organise en patriarcats et entend être *sui juris* : la papauté a son rôle à Ephèse, à Chalcédoine, et il n'est pas de communion catholique sans elle. Cela l'Orient ne le conteste pas, à moins de se séparer de l'unité, comme a fait l'Egypte monophysite au scandale de tout l'Orient.

Voilà ce qu'un historien peut représenter à Bishop Gore, c'est à savoir ce que la papauté est dans l'histoire des premiers cinq siècles de l'Eglise. C'est une papauté qui ne se définit qu'avec le temps, comme aussi bien c'est avec le temps qu'elle s'organise juridiquement. Et assurément Chalcédoine n'est pas plus le terme du développement du dogme de la papauté que le terme de l'évolution du *Kirchenrecht*, mais à Chalcédoine la papauté appartient ensemble à l'Orient et à l'Occident et c'est la grande leçon de l'histoire de ces premiers siècles.

PIERRE BATIFFOL.

AN AUTOGRAPH OF ST. ATHANASIUS THE GREAT.

I WONDER if our Orthodox friends have noticed a publication by the British Museum—it appeared this summer—which makes it probable, after an examination in the coldest archaeological and palaeographical light, that it possesses an important relic, in the form of an autograph letter from the hand of St. Athanasius himself? Probably not, for little enough notice of it has been taken in our own country, and the readers of *The Christian East* may, therefore, like to have the facts before them.

A facsimile transcript and translation of the letter are to be found in *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, by H. Idris Bell, O.B.E., together with a careful discussion as to the ascription to the Saint. Mr. Bell remarks :—"A definite decision is impossible. The most we can say is that there is at least a reasonable probability that we have in the present document a specimen of the hand of the great champion of Orthodoxy," and the grounds for this opinion may be summarised as follows :—

The papyrus is of the middle of the fourth century A.D. : the recipient one Paphnutius, an ascetic, whose correspondence has come down to us to the extent of six or seven letters : the writer an

Athanasius. "The hand," says Mr. Bell, "is an easy, bold and rather handsome one, betraying a practised writer, but on the other hand it is rather of an official type. It suggests rather a private person of education than a professional scribe." The Athanasius who wrote the letter enumerates "Theodosius, . . . Antiochus, Didyma, our mother, all they of our household": among the extant letters of St. Athanasius is one *Ἰωάννη καὶ Ἀντίοχῳ ἀγαπητοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ συμπεριβυτέροις*: Antiochus, a common name earlier in Egypt, is infrequent in Christian times.

The date, then, and the mention of Antiochus in the household of the writer, point in the direction of St. Athanasius. The style lends a slight corroboration. "It is very noticeably superior to the average of papyrus letters," says Mr. Bell, "and even to that of the present series (*i.e.*, the archive of Paphnutius) itself, proceeding from a cultivated circle. Particular stress may be laid on the separation of noun and adjective in the concluding clause, *ἐρωμένον σε ἡ θεία διαφυλάξει πρόνοια*. This is an essentially literary device, so far removed from the usual style of papyrus letters that it at once arrests attention. . . . The unusual phrase *ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ* points in the same direction, and the sentence *I therefore entreat you repeatedly, remember us; for the prayers which you offer are taken on high owing to your holy love, and according as you ask in your holy prayers, so will our state prosper* has an unmistakably literary flavour."

It is to be hoped that some Athanasian scholar will examine the vocabulary and style of the letter even more closely to search for resemblances to the known works of the Saint. Meanwhile, the reasonable degree of probability of the ascription cannot but make this document of the highest interest to students of the Orthodox East.

S. GASELEE.

ATHENS REVISITED.

WHEN one has been away from Greece for many a year, one is glad to be back again in the old familiar atmosphere and notice the changes that have come, although the familiar old landmarks are still there to console one for the other changes.

Far from Greece, one is apt to lose touch with the influence of the Church which is so strongly felt in Greece itself. It is on the spot that the atmosphere of the Greek Orthodox Church is felt, and this, because it is pre-eminently Greek in every sense. And so powerful a thing is it, that it predominates almost to the exclusion of even

the great pagan associations of the place. Here, indeed, is the Church of the Greek people, in all its antiquity and traditional richness.

What a delight to see once more the familiar churches of Athens and its suburbs, the tiny brown dome of the Kapnikaréa at the bottom of Hermes Street, against a background of purple and blue mountain! How all the little booths outside it are loaded with church ware, such as Eikons of silver, and hand-painted Eikons, every kind of incense in little earthenware jars that suggest the very essence of the religious East, and in the scent of incense burning in the open vessel of red clay containing red cinders!

There are the wooden stamps bearing the letters "IXNK," which are used on the loaf of oblation, and wooden crosses made from olive trees from Jerusalem, also strings of beads from the Holy Land. At these stalls then do the faithful housewives buy their wooden stamps for the Prosfora (loaf) which they send as an offering to the church for the Eucharist. Inside the church is the same old Candelonaftra (the woman who looks after the tiny candles that are lit by people who enter, go in for a moment to say a prayer, and light a candle before the Eikons). And on this afternoon, there came into the church three little schoolgirls belonging to the people, and just out of school, who on their way home stopped to perform a religious duty with all the solemnity of their elders.

It was so charming a picture, I cannot recall it without a glow myself, at the memory of those three little maidens, as it comes back to me, tiptoeing to kiss the Eikons which they could hardly reach, at the same time making their cross reverently before each in turn.

And outside the sound of traffic and the footsteps of many people hurrying about the day's business goes on uninterruptedly round this old Sanctuary, which contains the peace of God and the faith of the three little maidens.

Another time there was the Sunday service at the Cathedral, at which the Archbishop of Athens was officiating.

During one part of the service he sat on his throne of gold, mitre on head, staff in hand. The quiet dignity of his face, above all, the expression of benign kindness and gentleness on his face, as his eyes dwelt on the congregation, struck me in a forcible manner. Here, indeed, was the worthy leader of the flock over which he had been called to minister.

In the side aisles the women and children stood, or sat, apart from the men, who filled the nave. There was a great congregation of all classes worshipping together. What an interesting congregation it was! The officers ink haki, with their look of earnest attention, the poor workman, cap in hand, with the wrapt expression you so often see on the faces of the poor when in church.

The service was intensely beautiful, partly because of the melodious unaccompanied singing, partly because of the effect of the Deacon's magnificent voice echoing through the church as he read the Gospel from the "Amvon," high up, the shafts of coloured light pouring through the windows and falling on to his green and gold robe and long fair locks. The intense silence of the people, heavy with prayer; the intoning of the priests; the blessing given by the Archbishop, holding his jewelled cross on high, as he stands at the entrance to the centre gate of the Eikonostasion and his words thrill through the full church.

A moment after and he is distributing the Antidoron to the congregation, who receive it from his hand, a very charming picture of the Shepherd feeding His flock.

No, there seems no falling off in worshippers, for to go to church in Greece is part of the people's life, as being an expression of their faith and the everyday customs which are so intimately interwoven. Religion is to them entirely connected with the worship of the supernatural as the soul's expression of a very imaginative people. It is an intimate and very human affair of life itself, and, for that reason, so fresh and poetic an element in their lives.

For instance, the continual reading of a prayer by the priest for anyone who wishes him to do so is a very usual custom. Generally they go to one of the smaller churches for this service, which always takes place in the afternoon.

On the north side of the Acropolis Rock, in fact in the oldest quarter of the town of Athens, of classic and mediæval days, there are a host of little churches, very ancient and very beautiful, both in form and interior. In wandering through the narrow streets I have often, in passing one of these churches, heard the intoning of the reader, while the faint smell of incense has been mingled with the spring air, which tells me that a Paraclysis is being read for someone's benefit.

A Paraclysis is literally a prayer offered by the priest. Against a background of dark shadow lit by the multi-coloured dull golds, reds and blues of the Eikons and other decoration of St. Nicholas Ranghavas there is a priest, wearing his dalmatic, near a little table in the centre of the nave. He is reading the special prayers for the occasion, most of which are taken from the service of Vespers. The reader chants some of the Psalms. The women hold lighted candles. The oil in the Kandyles is replenished, the priest gives his blessing to the people by sprinkling them with the piece of Basil dipped in water, and holding up the Cross for them to kiss, after which they all disperse.

It is a homely scene and not without attraction, for it gives the democratic side of the Greek Church in all its simplicity and kindli-

ness. The priest who conducts these services is one of the people; except for his office he is one of themselves. He participates in their joys and their sorrows; lives their lives, and ministers to them at the great moments of birth, marriage and death.

The great strength of the Church lies in this fact, that the priests never lose touch with the people's lives. In the humbleness of faith that animates both, there is, perhaps, a deeper spirituality and faith than the more educated would be capable of.

This wonderful faith is illustrated even more abundantly among the refugees from Asia Minor and Thrace.

What an example it is to see these people, robbed of everything that makes life worth living, carrying on so bravely!

Clinging to their faith, which is even stronger than it was in prosperity, believing and trusting. Never cast down in persecution, living in the simple worship of their faith, brave beyond words, for their suffering must, indeed, be, at times, more than they can bear. . . . There is a settlement of them near the seashore at Phalerum, which I passed one day. A collection of tiny wooden huts with one just a little larger than the others, over which there is a simple wooden cross. It was the church the refugees had built themselves, and the aged priest sitting outside the door was a refugee himself.

He had escaped, he told me, with his flock, and continued to minister to them as in their village, near the sea, as their present abode was. It was just a little bare place, with a rough wooden screen shutting out the altar from the rest of the church, a few crudely coloured Eikons, and a couple of cheap oil lamps burning before the Sanctuary. It was all they could manage. Of what matter was it, however, as long as the priest was there with his flock? To the people gathered there to hear him recite the office of the day, in the familiar words of the faith they loved more than anything, the church amidst the huts that, alas, are all that is left to them, is for them their true home.

Yet the pathos of it struck me more than anything else I had seen in Greece; it was so illustrative of the tragedy that had befallen a whole world. Amidst all the cruel things one heard of in those days, there was in this passive tragedy, so to speak, something that made one want to weep most.

Kalithea is a suburb of Athens, and lies between the town and the sea at Phalerum. Archaeologists say that it is the site of the ancient Sikelia, so called because of the three hills in the shape of Trinacria, or Sicily, which are quite close by. Kalithea lies, indeed, near these hills, bare and scarred, of red rock, and on which the wild asphodel and anemones grow in spring. There are villas with gardens, in which pomegranate trees grow, rich with great crimson blossoms,

and oranges and lemons, while the ethereal pink and white of the pear and almond blossom just adds a more delicate tone to the whole.

The views of mountain, sea and Athens, or rather, the delicate outline of the Parthenon and Propylea, from the villa, is intensely beautiful. There is no hour at which this wonderful ruin is not beautiful; so radiant, so fresh and so flower-like is it; as fragrant as a daffodil with the morning dew on, have I seen it in the early dawn of a spring day . . . or transfigured with the golden light of sunset against the purple-shadowed mountain behind.

Amid such surroundings, which stimulate the imagination, it is not surprising that the people who live in Greece should "see visions and dream dreams," in the Biblical sense.

"I dreamed a dream," the old man told me, when I asked him about the tiny little church in his own grounds, little more, indeed, than a chapel, facing the common at Kalithea.

"Years ago I was very ill, and while asleep one day, I saw a beautiful woman dressed as a nun standing by my bedside. She told me I should get well. I cried out: 'It is Saint Barbara,' and the others heard me. When I got well, I went to Kalamas, and tried to find out whether there was a church, or even an Eikon, of the Saint. But I could find nothing. I had several Liturgies said, and more than once the Saint was revealed to me in my dreams. I christened girls by the name of Barbara; and yet could I not find her church. When, finally, one day I went again to Kalamas and, after the Liturgy, a peasant came to me and told me of a place known as Saint Barbara near the old ruins of the monastery of Vlacharena. So we dug and found the foundations and walls of a church, and a marble plaque of reddish colour engraved with the Saint's picture, and belonging to the fifth century A.D. We were overwhelmed by emotion, and after paying reverence to the Eikon, we carried it to the nearest church, and left it there for the people to see.

"I built up the old foundations again into a church, and I have built this little chapel, and dedicated it to Saint Barbara. The valuable marble plaque is reinstated in its new church, and I have made a copy of it for this chapel."

It is in the traditional Byzantine style, the Saint is holding a bunch of grapes, at which a bird is plucking, near a pomegranate tree. There is a wreath of myrtle round the figures, and you have all the symbolic designs used by the artist of old.

Thus the piety of this man has provided a place of worship for those unable to climb the hill, where the parish church is. No consecration has yet taken place, but one day the tiny bell was calling us all to prayer, and we found that there was a Paracletis going on. The Archbishop had sent the Antiminsion, a square cloth depicting the burial of Our Lord, which has been blessed for this purpose of

the consecration of a church, and which enabled a service to be held. The Antiminsion was laid over the table in the Sanctuary. This Antiminsion is also used on the battlefield, or at sea when it is necessary to hold a celebration of the Eucharist.

There are classical associations, too, in the hamlet of Sikelia, to use its classical name, for on the eve of that ill-omened expedition to Sicily which was to prove the doom of Imperial Athens, the Oracle at Delphi delivered itself of an apocryphal saying connected with this very locality of Sikelia.

The Oracle told the Athenians, when they consulted her what they should do, "to enclose Sikelia," in other words to fortify this part of outlying Athens, which would be liable to an attack from the enemy. But Alcibiades, eager for glory, read another meaning into the words of Pythia. History tells us with what results.

As is so often the case in Greece, there is that blending of classical and Christian, especially to be found in the churches, which are more often than not built on the sites of old pagan temples. Kalithea, in the days when it was Sikelia, is not likely to have been an exception to the rule, as I soon discovered. For on the hill lying to the south, is the church of Hagia Sotira, which is the parish church of Kalithea, and there are to be seen fragments of sculptured marble that must have adorned the Temple of the Goddess Hera. A piece of cornice here, a capital there, a fallen column, and the evidence is clear before us of the existence of the ancient place of worship. Classical ground, to be sure, every inch of it!

These are the delights in store for one in Greece. Still more interesting did the walk up the hill become, when I found the church full of the people of Kalithea, who had gathered *en masse* to assist at the consecration of a Deacon.

All the candelabra in the church were lighted, and there were festive garlands everywhere, as if for a marriage. Indeed, it was in some ways akin to a wedding ceremony, this taking of the Church for a spouse.

The Bishop sat upon his throne. After the recitation of the Creed and the Sanctification of the Holy Gifts (*Tiμα Δωρα*) in the Liturgy, and the chorus has sung the hymn to the Virgin, "Axios Estin," the about-to-be ordained Deacon is conducted by other Deacons to the Bishop, who says aloud to him, "Kelevson, Kelevson" ("Call, oh my Lord, this man to be ordained"). The Bishop and priests with the Deacon then withdraw into the Sanctuary, and while the chorus chants the hymn, "Rejoice, O Esaias," etc., out of the Greek marriage ceremony, leads the newly consecrated Deacon three times round the Altar. Troparia are chanted, connected with the festive character of the service, after which the prayers of consecration are read over the Neophyte, in order to endow him with the Gift of the

Holy Ghost. These prayers are not read aloud, and while the Bishop is reciting them, the chorus sings the "Kyrie Eleison" over and over again. Finally, the Deacon emerges, wearing his vestment, which is a plain white gown across which he wears the Orarion, in the same way as does an Anglican Deacon, on which the congregation cry out, "Worthy, Worthy," and the service is ended.

In this classic land you are back in the days of the old, yet ever new, things. And when you have been reading Pausanias' description of Greece and the Acts of the Apostles, you will then begin to understand that, although both were written many centuries ago, you may still capture the atmosphere of each, which take on an extra significance when one is living in Greece.

E. KEPHALA.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE—*Cont. from p. 154.*

Celebrations of the Sixteenth Centenary of the Great Council of Nicæa will be held throughout the Christian World in May and June next year. The Orthodox are considering holding an Œcumenical Conference in Jerusalem as part of their Commemoration. If so, an Anglican delegation will be invited. The American Church has appointed a Committee, with Bishop Gailor and Dr. Emhardt among its personnel, to prepare a programme for America, and we understand that what is to be done in England is under consideration by the authorities.

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The death of the Bishop of Zanzibar (Dr. Weston) is as great a loss to the whole Church as to his Diocese. In particular we grieve at his loss as a devoted friend of Reunion with the East. "I want to die," he wrote one of our editors last April, "in communion with Constantinople." That desire was not realised in the letter, but assuredly it was in the spirit. *R.I.P.*

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The Fellowship meetings organised by the Bishop of Khartum at Heliopolis are always intensely interesting and have produced important results. We were particularly glad to have an admirable statement made by the Armenian Bishop Thorgam as to the position of his Church. It is doubtful whether we can find room for it, but we should wish it in print.

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The Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev has returned to Belgrad from Palestine and Antioch. The Patriarch Photios of Alexandria recently visited Jerusalem, and was received with great distinction. The Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem undertook a sea voyage in November, stopping in the Bosphorus and going on to Bucharest when, such a visit being unprecedented, the King and Queen, as well as the Metropolitan, gave him a warm welcome.