

The Christian East

THE RECOGNITION OF THE VALIDITY OF ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS BY THE PATRI- ARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA.

*Letter from His All-Holiness the Patriarch Meletios II to His Grace
the Most Reverend Dr. Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Τῷ Μακαριωτάτῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Καγτοβαρίας
καὶ Πρωτῷ Πάσῃ Αγγλίας Λόρδῳ Κόσμῳ Λάγγι,
ἀδελφῷ ἐν Κῷ ἀγαπητῷ

Χαίρειν ἐν Χριστῷ τεχθέντι

Ἡ ἐορτὴ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ
Αυτρωτοῦ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἀρίστη ἐστὶν εὐκαιρία ὅπως διὰ
γραμματῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλήν ἡμῖν Μακαριό-
τητα. ἤκομεν δὲ πεπληρωμένην ἔχοντες τὴν καρδίαν χαρᾶς
ὅτι "ἐτέχθη ἡμῖν Σωτὴρ ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Κύριος, ἐν πολλῇ
Δαγλῖδ", ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐχῶν διαπύρων ὑπὲρ τῆς υἱείας ὑμῶν
καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ εὐσταθείας τῶν Ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλη-
σιῶν ὧν προΐστασθε.

Προσκομίζομεν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐορτίων
προσρήσεων καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστον ταύτην, ὡς ἡγοῦμεθα ἀγγελί-
αν ὅτι ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς Ἁγία Σύνοδος τῶν Μητροπολιτῶν τοῦ
Ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ Πατριαρχικοῦ Θρόνου Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπερήσθη
μὲν ἐκ τῶν γενομένων αὐτῇ ἀνακοινώσεων περὶ τῶν τιμῶν
αἰτίες ἀπενεμήθησαν τῷ ἀξιώματι ἡμῶν ἐν Λονδίνῳ ὑπὸ τῆς
ὑμετέρας Χάριτος καὶ τοῦ πληρωματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Αὐτῆς
καὶ περὶ τῶν εὐτυχῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἅτινα τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τοῦ
ἁγίου Πνεύματος προέκυψαν ἐκ τῆς ἐπαφῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου
Αγτιπροσωπείας μετὰ τοῦ Συνεδρίου Λάμπεθ προέβη δὲ ἐπὶ
τὴν λήψιν ἀποφάσεως ἀναγνωρίζουσης τὸ ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως ὀρθο-
δόξου ἐγκυριον τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἱερωσύνης.

ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ λέξει ἡ ἀπόφασις οὕτω:
"Ἡ Ἁγία Σύνοδος ἀναγνωρίζει ὅτι αἱ δηλώ-
σεις τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων αἱ διαλαμβανόμεναι εἰς τὴν
"Περὶ ληψιν, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῆς Ὁρθοδό-
ξου διδασκαλίας. ὅσον τὸ Συνεδρίον Λάμπεθ
ἀπεδέχθη τὰς δηλώσεις τῶν Ἀγγλικανῶν ἐπισκόπων
ὡς ἀκριβῆ ἀπόδοσιν τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς πρά-
ξεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀγγλίας καὶ τῶν μετ'
αὐτῆς κοινωνουσῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκδέχεται ταύτας
ὡς βῆμα σημαντικὸν πρὸς ἑνώσιν τῶν δύο Ἐκκλη-
σιῶν. Ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τὰς δηλώσεις ταύτας τὰς οἰ-
κειοποιούμενας ὑπὸ τοῦ Συνεδρίου Λάμπεθ ὑπάρχει
πλήρης ἱκανοποίησις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστολικῇ δια-
δοχῇ καὶ τῇ πραγματικῇ μεταλήψεως τοῦ σώμα-
τος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας

ὡς ἱλαστηρίου θυσίας καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς
 μυστηρίου, ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ἀλεξανδρείας αἰρεῖ τὰς
 ἐπιφυλάξεις αὐτῆς ἐναντὶ τοῦ ἐγκύρου τῶν
 ἀγγλικανικῶν χειροτονιῶν καὶ προσχωρεῖ εἰς
 τὴν ἀπὸ 28 Ἰουλίου 1922 ἀπόφασιν τοῦ Οἰκου-
 μενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἀναγνωρίζουσα ὅτι οἱ
 ἀπὸ ἀγγλικανῶν ἐπισκόπων κειροτονημένοι
 ἱερεῖς προσερχόμενοι εἰς τὴν Ὁρθόδοξον Ἐκ-
 κλησίαν οὐκ ἀναχειροτονοῦνται ὅπως οὐδ' ὑπὸ
 ἀγγλικανῶν βεβαπτισμένοι ἀναβαπτίζονται."

Χαίρομεν βλέποντες ὁλονέν καταπίπτον
 τοῦ φραγμοῦ τό μεσοτοιχόν καὶ συχαίρομεν τῇ ἡμετέρα
 μακαριοτητι ὅτι ἔσχε παρὰ Θεοῦ τὸ εὐτυχίμα τῆς πρωτο-
 βουλίας τῆς τοῦ ἔργου προωθήσεως. Δψη αὐτῇ τε καὶ ἡμῖν
 ὁ ἐν Βηθλεεμ τεχθεὶς Κύριος τὴν χαρὰν τῆς συμπληρώσεως
 αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἑορτῇ Χριστουγέννων 1930

Τῇ ἱεραρχῇ μακαριότατῃ
 ἀγαθῇ ἐν Χρ. Ὁδὲ
 εὐχ. Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ

(TRANSLATION.)

To the Most Reverend Dr. Cosmo Lang, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England.

Greeting in the New Born Christ.

The Feast of the Nativity, according to the Flesh, of the Redeemer of our souls being a most suitable occasion for us, as it were, to visit your Beatitude, our friend, by means of a letter, we come to you hereby with a heart that is filled alike with joy, that "unto us is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord," and with fervent prayers both for your health and for the peace and stability of the holy Churches of God over which you preside.

At the same time, together with our greetings for the Feast, we send you as our gift the news, which we are sure will be good news, to you, that having derived the greatest gratification from the accounts which it has received, both of the marks of honour which were rendered in London, alike by your Grace and by the general body of your Church, to the office which is ours, and also of the happy results which by the favouring breath of the Holy Spirit have emerged from the contact of the Orthodox Delegation with the Lambeth Conference, our Holy Synod of the Metropolitans of the Apostolic and Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria has proceeded to adopt a resolution recognizing the validity, as from the Orthodox point of view, of the Anglican Ministry.

The text of that resolution is as follows: "The Holy Synod recognizes that the declarations of the Orthodox, quoted in the 'Summary,' were made according to the spirit of Orthodox teaching. Inasmuch as the Lambeth Conference approved the

declarations of the Anglican bishops as a genuine account¹ of the teaching and practice of the Church of England and the Churches in communion with it, it welcomes them as a notable step towards the Union of the two Churches. And since in these declarations, which were endorsed by the Lambeth Conference, complete and satisfying assurance is found as to the Apostolic Succession, as to a real reception of the Lord's Body and Blood, as to the Eucharist being *thusia hilasterios*² Sacrifice, and as to Ordination being a Mystery, the Church of Alexandria withdraws its precautionary negative to the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Ordinations, and, adhering to the decision of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, of July 28, 1922, pronounces that if priests, ordained by Anglican Bishops, accede to Orthodoxy, they should not be re-ordained, as persons baptized by Anglicans are not re-baptized."

We rejoice to see the middle wall of partition being thrown down more and more, and we congratulate your Beatitude that under God you have had the felicity of taking the initiative in furthering that work. May the Lord Who was born in Bethlehem give to you and to us the happiness of its completion.

In Alexandria upon the Feast of Christ's Nativity, 1930,

Your Beatitude's Beloved Brother in Christ,

MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

¹ The words in the Resolution of the Lambeth Conference are "sufficient account."

² We transliterate the term, *thusia hilasterios*, and do not translate it by propitiatory sacrifice or expiatory sacrifice, because, as generally used, those terms present conceptions which are not attached by the Orthodox to *thusia hilasterios*. The words used by the Anglican Bishops in their discussions with the Orthodox Delegation, as recorded in the *résumé*, and endorsed by the Lambeth Conference, are—

"... that the Anglican Church teaches the doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice as explained in the Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Pope Leo XIII. on Anglican Ordinations; and also that in the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Anglican Church prays that 'by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion,' as including the whole company of faithful people, living and departed."

—Lambeth Conference Report, 1930, p. 139.

LETTER OF THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH PHOTIOS.¹

No. 3520. To His All-Holiness Photios, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch.

Both in a written statement which we delivered to it and by word of mouth, we apprised the Holy Synod of the Apostolic Throne which we occupy, at its regular autumn session, of all that took place in London last July during the first official contact of the Holy Orthodox Church with the Anglican Hierarchy during its assembly for the Lambeth Conference.

Your All-Holiness and the Holy Synod over which you preside has been accurately apprised as to what was then effected in London, by the reports of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira, our most highly esteemed brother. Accordingly, we do no more here than communicate to your All-Holiness, in the first place, a written copy of those personal judgments upon what took place in London at which, as a member of the Delegation, we arrived and which we put before our Holy Synod and, in the second place, the

¹ Translated by J.A.D. from *Orthodoxia*, Jan., 1931.

Resolution in passing which, after it had considered them, our Holy Synod concurred unanimously.

[Here follows verbatim an exact copy of the Resolution of the Alexandrian Synod as in the Letter of the Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the original Greek and official English translation of which are printed above.]

As your All-Holiness and the Holy Synod over which you preside will have noted with satisfaction, the Holy Synod over which we preside judged it to be right and proper not only to express itself as concurring with our appreciation of what was done in London and with the estimate that the declarations exchanged between us Orthodox and the Anglican Bishops and recorded in the *résumé* of the Minutes of our Discussions, are in complete accord with the spirit of our Holy Church, but to dismiss its former hesitation in regard to the Validity of the Anglican Ministry and to announce publicly that the Church of Alexandria has acceded to the decision, previously taken by the Great Church of Constantinople upon that question, recognizing the Anglican Ministry in each of the degrees and in the same manner that it recognizes the Roman and the Armenian Ministries.

Accordingly, we trust that the Synods of those of our sister Churches which have hitherto deferred their decision upon this question will now come into line with the above solution of it.

For, as we have reason to know, the cause of the hesitation referred to was a lack of certainty as to the teaching of the Anglican Church upon the Mysteries and the Apostolic Succession.

Thus, for example, in his letter of January 10, 1925, which was printed in *Orthodoxia* (A, 473), to the Œcumenical Patriarch, his Beatitude the Patriarch of Roumania writes: "But in order to make a definite pronouncement, we desire especially that the Anglican Church herself should precise her doctrine concerning the holy mysteries and particularly concerning Orders: does she hold it to be a mystery or not?"

That requirement having been satisfied, it is proper that the validity of Anglican Orders should now be recognized by all the Orthodox Churches. For that which, according to the same letter, was "one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the Union of the two Churches," has been "removed."

[After a few lines concerning the Conjoint Commission the Patriarch concludes:]

May the Lord fill your All-Holiness with understanding and with zeal for the guidance of the holy work of Re-union to the Glory of Christ our God.

In Alexandria, 20 November, 1930.

Your All-Holiness' Beloved Brother in Christ,

✠ MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

REPLY OF HIS ALL-HOLINESS THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO HIS ALL-HOLINESS THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

Your All-Holiness and Beatitude, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and of all Africa, our Beloved Brother and Fellow Minister, etc., etc.

[After thanking the Patriarch of Alexandria for sending him a copy of his Statement which he had duly read and considered with his own Holy Synod, the Œcumenical Patriarch proceeds:]

We took knowledge with joy and satisfaction, of the Synodical decision of which you have notified us the terms and by which our sister Church of Alexandria has acceded to the judgment and decision already adopted by us and by others of our sister Churches to the effect that for the Orthodox Church the Anglican Ministry possesses validity in the same degrees and in the same manner as do the Ministries of the Roman and Armenian Churches.

It is proper, indeed, that we should rejoice at the news of the official accession of our most holy and revered sister Churches of Alexandria to the judgment upon Anglican Orders arrived at as above. For that accession will undoubtedly prove an urgent incitement for the remaining Churches which have hitherto deferred a definite decision upon the matter, to take the same action and after its clear elucidation through first-hand contact established in London with the Anglicans, to proceed at once to the recognition of Anglican Orders. So that the judgment of the whole of our Holy Orthodox Church upon this important question may be manifestly and without exception unanimous and of general consent.

On account of the importance which we attach to this accession of the most Holy Church of Alexandria, we are ready and glad to communicate the fact to all our sister Churches, nothing doubting but that throughout them it will be heard of with joy and that where perchance hesitations still exist in regard to Anglican Orders, the weighty statements supplied by your All-Holiness and the decision taken in consequence of them by your Holy Synod will contribute greatly to their dissipation.

Your All-Holiness' Beloved Brother in Christ,

✠ PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

ENCYCLICAL OF THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE PATRIARCHS OR PRESIDING BISHOPS OF THE ORTHODOX AUTOKEPHALOUS CHURCHES.

Number 29.

His All-Holiness, our Beloved Brother in Christ, the Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria has formally notified us by letter that, having been made cognizant, through his own Statement, of the impressions and judgment in regard to Anglican Orders which he formed and brought away from his first-hand contact with the Anglicans, the

Synod over which he presides being satisfied that the fact that Holy Orders is received as a Mystery according to the doctrine of the Anglican Church has been plainly established, has published a resolution whereby it recognizes the Validity of the Anglican Ministry in the same degrees and in the same manner as it recognizes the Ministries of the Roman and Armenian Churches.

Wherefore we hasten with great pleasure to communicate to our sister Churches this accession of our most holy sister Church of Alexandria to the recognition of the Validity of Anglican Orders and at the same time forward them a copy of his All-Holiness' letter to ourselves.

Further, we are confident not only that our other sister Churches will take knowledge with pleasure of this decision of our most holy sister Church of Alexandria but that, in consequence of that decision which was reached itself only after laborious first-hand investigation and after thorough testing, those of our sister Churches which up to the present have not acceded by a definite pronouncement to the recognition of Anglican Orders, will now do so and that thus forthwith an unanimous judgment and decision of the whole of our Holy Orthodox Church upon this most weighty matter will be reached and made manifest.

[After the appropriate salutation follows the signature.]

Your . . . Beloved Brother in Christ,

✠ PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

REPORT OF HIS HOLINESS MGR. NECTARIE, ARCHBISHOP OF CERNAUTI AND METROPOLITAN TO THE HOLY SYNOD OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF ROUMANIA.

[This translation is by Canon J. A. Douglas with the collaboration of the Rev. Dr. L. Patterson. The notes in brackets are by the former.]

THE Congress of Churches, which was held at Geneva in 1920, published an appeal for Christian Re-union, the repercussion of which has been felt throughout the world. In the same year the Patriarch of Constantinople issued an Encyclical (to all Christian Churches), in which he gave expression to the general desire to find a means whereby Christian Union may be achieved.

In result, the World Conference of Life and Work, in which, except the Roman Catholic, every Christian denomination took part, was held in 1925 at Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. And further, the World Conference on Faith and Order, in which also, though again with the exception of the Roman Catholic, every Christian denomination took part, was held at Lausanne in Switzerland in 1927.

Many questions were discussed at those Conferences of both of which I was privileged to be a member, and among them that of the possibility of discovering a way of mutual approach among the Churches.

At Lausanne, where it was established that a very great affinity exists between them, the representatives of the Anglican, the Old Catholic and Orthodox Churches, conferred with and expressed to one another their desire to seek means of mutual collaboration with a view to nearer approach to each other.

In consequence, the Anglican Church invited the Orthodox and Old Catholics to send delegations to visit the Lambeth Conference of last year, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury informing the Œcumenical Patriarch in a letter dated February 24th, 1930, that, according to custom, the Great Conference, in which the totality of the Anglican Episcopate assembles every ten years, would be held this year.

In that letter, His Grace wrote: "Subject to the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God, no matter for discussion with which the Conference will be occupied will be of greater importance than the question how best, for the service of Almighty God and for the sake of the Lord Christ, we can strengthen still further those ties of sympathy and understanding which already exist between the Anglican Communion and other parts of the Church of God throughout the world. With none do we desire more heartily growth in sympathy, in mutual understanding and in brotherhood, than with the Holy Orthodox Churches of the East. I remember with satisfaction the presence of some representatives of the Orthodox Churches on the occasion of the Lambeth Conference held in London in 1920. I remember with joy all that has happened since which has brought the Anglican and Holy Orthodox Churches yet closer to each other. And I recall especially Your All-Holiness's own words in your letter written to me only last December, wherein you testify to the fact that on your part 'nothing will be left undone to maintain unbroken and to develop further our mutual brotherly relations.' In consequence, I now write to Your All-Holiness as occupying, in some sense, among the venerable Patriarchs and Metropolitans of the Holy Orthodox Churches the position of *primus inter pares*, to invite you, even at this comparatively late hour, to consider whether you would be able and willing to secure that a representative deputation of, let us say, some ten or twelve persons, discreet and well-learned theologians, and widely representative of the Autocephalous Churches as well as of the Church of Constantinople itself, should be present in London, not later than the first of July, in order to take counsel with various representatives of the Anglican Communion on the subject of our mutual relations."

I have quoted those passages from the letter of the Archbishop of

Canterbury to the Patriarch of Constantinople, because they make clear the particular objective of his invitation.

In forwarding a copy of this letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to our Patriarch and in transmitting thereby to our Orthodox Church of Roumania the Anglican Church's invitation to it to send a delegate to the Lambeth Conference, the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople wrote as follows:¹ "In view of the closer bonds and relations developed between our holy Orthodox Church and the venerable Anglican Church, and in general of the fact that the fruit of the meeting together and the common contact of those who take part in such assemblies and conferences of the Christian Churches is invariably the kindling of Christian love among all men, a resultant solidarity and both the engendering and the spread of a will to achieve the realization of the Peace of Christ upon earth, it is with delight that We and the Holy Synod of our Jurisdiction on the one hand have accepted His Grace's invitation and purpose to nominate a delegate to attend the Conference in question, and on the other hand are convinced that, in pursuance of the course indicated in His Grace's letter, our Sister Churches, to which we are communicating it, will also proceed to accept His Grace's proposal and will, each of them, nominate forthwith its delegate to attend the Conference in question. . . . Accordingly, in bringing this invitation to the knowledge of your august Beatitude, We express the hope that inasmuch as it is prompted by Christian love, you will accede to it without delay and will reply to us in the terms which we desire. . . ."

In consequence of this letter of the Œcumenical Patriarch to our Patriarch, his Beatitude as President of the Roumanian Holy Synod nominated me as the Roumanian delegate by a decree dated 8th May, 1930, which the Holy Synod confirmed in its session at Bucharest of 5th June.

Accordingly, I attended the Lambeth Conference in London, starting from home on June 15th and leaving London towards the end of July, 1930.

On arriving in London, by the kind courtesy of the Roumanian Legation I was at once introduced to its staff and was at pains to get into touch with the delegates of the other Orthodox autocephalous Churches, namely, the delegates (1) of Alexandria, the Patriarch Meletios, (2) of Constantinople, Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira, (3) of Antioch, Ignatios, Metropolitan of Epiphaneia, (4) of Jerusalem, Timotheos, Archbishop of the Jordan, who resides at Bethlehem, (5) of Yugo-Slavia, Irenăy, Bishop of Novisad, (6) of Cyprus, Leontios, Metropolitan designate of Paphos, (7) of Greece, Athenagoras, Metropolitan of Corfu, (8) of Bulgaria, Païssie, Bishop of Znepole, (9) of Poland, the Archimandrite Sava from Warsaw, and (10) the

¹ [So far as I know, this Encyclical of the Œcumenical Patriarch has not been published heretofore.—J.A.D.]

Archimandrite Constantinides of London. Your humble servant, Nectarie, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Bucovina, being conjoined with them, brought the number of delegates up to eleven.

As our first corporate act, we Orthodox delegates met together and decided our course of action. At our first meeting we constituted ourselves as a single Delegation of the whole Orthodox Church. Accordingly, we agreed it to be desirable that none of us should take an individual line, but that having arrived at a common mind upon each question which might be raised, we should discuss it as being unanimous, in our meetings with the non-Orthodox.

As our President we elected his Beatitude, the Patriarch Meletios, a man of the greatest intellect, vigour and experience, who, on no occasion whatever, took action without having ascertained that the whole Delegation was in agreement to take it.

(A) OUR PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS.

After we had reached this understanding among ourselves, we were ready to enter into contact with the representatives of the Anglican Church.

But before our discussions, we fulfilled a programme consisting of unofficial meetings, visits, festivities, services in Anglican Churches, ceremonies in schools and other institutions, excursions in the country and so on.

Saturday, July 5th,¹ had been reserved officially for a most delightful excursion to Canterbury, the cradle of the Anglican Church and the Cathedral City of the Most Reverend Dr. Cosmo Lang, the Anglican Primate. Throughout that day we enjoyed in Canterbury opportunities of individual contacts, especially at a lunch in the Missionary College of St. Augustine, when the Orthodox and other Churches were toasted as sister Churches.

Those who sat down to that lunch comprised 308 Anglican Bishops, 11 Orthodox delegates, 1 Armenian Orthodox delegate and 1 Old Catholic.²

On Sunday, July 6th, the Delegation laid wreaths at 8 a.m. on the Cenotaph in Whitehall.³

On the same day, the Opening Liturgy of the Lambeth Conference was rendered in the great Cathedral of St. Paul, which is the third largest in Europe.

The procession, one after another, of the 308 Anglican Bishops

¹ [Archbishop Nectarie having written, by mistake, Sunday, July 6th, we have corrected not only this detail, but one or two others as to which he has made slight mistakes.]

² [No Old Catholic delegate was present, the Old Catholic delegates not arriving until July 14th.]

³ [Archbishop Nectarie has written "on the Grave of the Unknown Soldier." Wreaths were laid there by the Patriarch Meletios on his arrival in London and by other members of the Delegation on July 11th.]

on entering and on leaving the Cathedral was strikingly impressive. Behind them all came the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, assisted by the Archbishops of Wales and of Ireland, celebrated the Liturgy. All the 308 Anglican Bishops received the Holy Communion after its consecration.

The Orthodox hierarchs, having been assigned a place of the greatest honour,¹ were present as guests and had every opportunity to observe both the ceremonial of the Liturgy itself and the corporate act of Communion of the Anglican Episcopate.

The Armenian Orthodox and Old Catholic delegates were also present, but were assigned stalls apart from the Orthodox Delegation.

On Tuesday, July 8th, the Orthodox Delegation was received with the most dignified ceremonial conceivable by the plenum of the 308 Anglican Bishops in Lambeth Palace, when the Archbishop of Canterbury welcomed the Delegation as a whole in a detailed speech and made special reference to the individual delegates of the Churches represented in it.

In reply the Patriarch of Alexandria gave voice to the Delegation's appreciation of its distinguished reception and expressed its conviction that the discussion of the Union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches was possible because (1) the two Churches were near to each other alike in Faith and Order and (2) the Anglican Church never proselytizes the Orthodox.

Subsequently the Archbishop of Canterbury held a Reception in Lambeth Palace.

At that Reception the individual members of the Orthodox Delegation were personally presented to his Grace, and I myself addressed him in the following words:² "I am charged to convey to this august Conference of the Anglican Church and to your Grace, its President, the greeting of his Beatitude the Roumanian Patriarch and of the Holy Synod of our Orthodox autocephalous Roumanian Church. In the invitation to send a delegate to this great congress of the Anglican Church, the Roumanian Orthodox Church sees proof of the will of the Anglican hierarchy to enter into the friendliest relations with our Church. On our side nothing hinders us from fostering the same sentiments or from a reciprocal approach towards the closest possible solidarity. Those Anglicans who live in Roumania rejoice at every bond of intimate affection which draws our Churches together and, indeed, our beloved Queen Marie, who is a member of the Anglican Communion, in her own person constitutes such a link between us."

After the Archbishop of Canterbury had remarked, "That,

¹ [The Choir was reserved for them and by the Primate's express direction the Patriarch Meletios occupied his own Throne.]

² [I.e., in the drawing-room of Lambeth Palace.]

indeed, is a very strong bond," I went on: "We hope and desire that the Anglican Church will continue to manifest ever more and more the love and sympathy which it has shown us hitherto. And I assure your Grace that we, on our side, will not fail to render you the same esteem and goodwill."

The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his gratitude for what I had said.

On Wednesday, July 9th, the members of the Delegation met the members of the Archbishop of Canterbury's permanent Eastern Churches Committee. Bishop Gore and the Patriarch Meletios presided over the meeting, during which, the relations of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches coming under discussion, Bishop Gore pointed out that there were three categories of questions which might be discussed, viz.: (1) our doctrinal, and particularly our sacramental, differences, if any; (2) economy (permissible concessions and dispensations of the law); (3) the actual present position, i.e., the (need of) Intercommunion. The Patriarch Meletios, who continued the discussion, pointed out the most formidable practical difficulties and specified in particular the question of the Anglican hierarchy. Among others, Archbishop Germanos, I myself, the Archbishop of Jordan and the Bishop of Novisad also took part in the discussion.

The question of the recognition of ministries being generally agreed to be the most delicate of all Re-union questions, the Anglicans desired to learn by word of mouth from us Orthodox what prospect that question would have of favourable solution, if it were placed on the agenda of our official discussion.

Accordingly, through the Patriarch Meletios as its spokesman, the Delegation explained the mind of the Orthodox Church on the matter.

We drew attention to the fact that the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Roumania had intimated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople the following conditions under which in its judgment the Anglican hierarchy could be recognized. It being agreed that the consecration of Archbishop Parker was canonical, still the validity of Anglican Orders depends upon what Anglicans believe in regard to the doctrine of Holy Orders. Do they believe that a bishop receives a sacramental gift and a divine Grace? Do the Anglicans believe that their bishops have received the same divine *charisma* for binding and for loosing, which we believe ours to possess? Do they, as we of our bishops, believe that their bishops are used to be ministers of that *charisma* and have received power and authority to celebrate the sacraments and be ministers of their grace? On the answer to those questions would depend the recognition of the Anglican Hierarchy by the Orthodox Church.

Developing that "*Roumanian thesis*," the Patriarch of Alexandria

THE CHRISTIAN EAST

added the question of Episcopal succession, namely, as to whether, as do we Orthodox, Anglican bishops hold themselves to be successors of the Apostles.

And further, the Patriarch expressed the opinion that if, in our official discussions with them, the Anglicans should make satisfactory statements on those points, great progress would be made towards a final understanding.

At that juncture, I submitted the "*Roumanian thesis*."

In regard to that thesis, inasmuch as the Orthodox Roumanian Church played a predominant part in the discussions at Lambeth and its position was taken as their basis, it is desirable that I should record here both the resolutions of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Roumanian Church in regard to Anglican Orders and the correspondence with Constantinople, to which the letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople, numbered 4838/1922, led.¹

"To the Holy and Venerable Metropolitan of Ungro-Vlachia, Exarch of all Roumania and Presiding Bishop of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox autocephalous Church of Roumania,² our Beloved and Cherished Brother and Fellow Minister in Christ the Lord, Miron Christea, who art dear to us and whom embracing fraternally we salute with delight.

"The Most Holy Church of Constantinople, kindled from the beginning with zeal for universal union, and always keeping in mind the Lord's words of prayer to His heavenly Father just before His Saving Passion, has always followed with keen interest every movement in the separated Churches, and has examined with care and study every and any expression of faith of theirs which might point towards a *rapprochement* with Orthodoxy. Further, it has concluded with real joy that amongst them the Church, which has manifested the most lively desire to remove the obstacles towards a *rapprochement* towards, and, indeed, to full union with the Orthodox Church, is the Episcopal Anglican Church, which herself, having first received the light of Christianity from the East, has never ceased both to remember the East and to account as an important end a sincere *rapprochement* towards full union in Christ Jesus with the Orthodox in the East.

"Therefore the great Church of Christ³ (now) under our presidency, necessarily honouring the readiness of this Church in former periods, and especially in the last twenty years, entered into many sincere brotherly relations with it, and recently established a special com-

¹ [We utilize the translation of the body of this letter given in G. K. A. Bell's *Documents on Christian Unity*, 1920-24, pp. 94-7. The opening address of the letter is, of course, peculiar to the Roumanian Church. The rest constitutes an Encyclical which was sent to the Patriarchs and Presiding Bishops of all the Orthodox autocephalous Churches.]

² [Roumania did not declare itself a Patriarchate and was not recognized as such by the other Orthodox Autocephalous Churches until 1923.]

³ [The great Church of Christ is a title of the Church of Constantinople.]

mittee, with instructions to report upon the still existing points of difference on the basis of a scientific inquiry, and on the method of their removal, with a view to accomplishing a full union of the two Churches in the same Orthodox Christian spirit.

"Perceiving in its labour that on an important question—namely, the validity of Anglican ordinations—the Holy Orthodox Church had not yet officially delivered any opinion either as a whole or through any of the particular Holy Synods, although there have been many discussions on the matter from time to time among her theologians, and that an authoritative investigation and canonical solution of this important question would greatly facilitate the desired union by removing one of the more serious obstacles that oppose the goal of re-union which is sought on either side, and is dear to God, the Committee brought under the judgment of our Holy Synod a special report scientifically treating the above-named question. Our Holy Synod studied this report of the Committee in repeated sessions, and took note:—

"1. That the ordination of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury by four bishops is a fact established by history.

"2. That, in this ordination and those subsequent to it, there are found in their fullness those orthodox and indispensable visible and sensible elements of valid episcopal ordination—namely, the laying on of hands and the *Epiklesis* of the All-Holy Spirit, and also the purpose to transmit the *charisma* of the Episcopal ministry.

"3. That the Orthodox theologians who have scientifically examined the question have almost unanimously come to the same conclusions, and have declared themselves as accepting the validity of Anglican ordinations.

"4. That the practice in the Church affords no indication that the Orthodox Church has ever officially treated the validity of Anglican Orders as in doubt in such a way as would point to the re-ordination of the Anglican clergy being regarded as required in the case of the union of the two Churches.

"5. That expressing this general mind of the Orthodox Church the Most Holy Patriarchs at different periods and other Hierarchs of the East, when writing to the Archbishop of the Anglican Church have been used to address them as 'Most Reverend Brother in Christ,' thus giving them a brotherly salutation.

"Our Holy Synod, therefore, came to an opinion accepting the validity of the Anglican priesthood, and has determined that its conclusion should be announced to the other Holy Orthodox Churches in order that opportunity might be given them also to express their opinion, so that through the decisions of the parts the mind of the whole Orthodox world on this question might be known.

"Accordingly, writing to your well-beloved Beatitude and informing you of the considerations which, in this question, prevail with

us, we have no doubt that your Beatitude also, investigating this question with your Holy Synod, will be pleased to communicate the result of your consideration to us, with a view to a further improvement of our relations in regard to union with the Anglican Church, in the good hope that the Heavenly Ruler of the Church will supply that which is lacking through His all-strengthening grace, and will guide all who believe in him to a full knowledge of the truth and to full union, that there may be formed of them one flock under a Chief Shepherd—the true Shepherd of the sheep, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.

✠ MELETIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"1922, August 8th."

The above Encyclical having been submitted to it, after protracted consideration of its contents the Holy Synod of Roumania resolved that the following reply should be dispatched on behalf of the Orthodox Roumanian Church to the Patriarch of Constantinople:—

Copy of the letter of our Holy Synod, dated 10th January, 1925.

"After protracted and thorough investigation of the contents of your All-Holiness's Encyclical of 8th August, 1922, by the Holy Synod of our Church, We are now in a position to inform you of our mind thereupon.

"Inasmuch as We also are inspired by the same spirit as is the Holy Church which forms the Flock of the Sacred and Œcumenical Throne of Constantinople, we have no higher hope than to witness the fulfilment of the Prayer which the Saviour uttered before passing to his Death, 'That they all may be One.'

"Assuredly, our Holy Church has no doubt of its imperative duty to attempt the bringing into unity all the vigorous but divided sections of Christianity in order to form a single Christian front in the world conflict between the Good and the Evil. And we are no less sure that whether its witness thereto has been great or small, everything which represents the common Christian conscience has set its mind to labour by the goodwill of the Christian Churches for the healing of Mankind from the cruel shocks and bloodshed of the Great War. Certainly there are obstacles in the way of united Christian effort. None the less, their anxiety as to the actual world situation stirs all Christians to attempt the amelioration of that situation.

"Being zealous, therefore, not only for that purpose, but also for the vision of the uniting of the divided branches of Christendom into the one stem, it is with warmth that we welcome the will of the Anglican Church to achieve the closest ties with the Apostolic Orthodox Church through the latter's recognition of her Orders.

"We are familiar with the different lines of the approach by which, and especially in the latter half of the last century, the Anglican Church has initiated the mutual approach of our Churches. They command our respectful appreciation. And, we are convinced that they have not remained without practical result.

"Moreover, we could not be unaware of the practical aid of many kinds which our 'separated sister' has rendered and continues to render to her, and our, sister Orthodox Churches in their terrible afflictions and persecutions.

"But even if all this be so, we must still face the fact that the path which must be traversed before we attain the goal, where we 'may be one,' is neither short nor easy. It is just for that reason that duty of promoting and of making easier the work of Re-union presses with the greater weight upon us all.

"Further, we think it right to add that, while in no Church is the will to Union more strong than in the Anglican Church, the expression which it receives in that Church is different to that for which we usually look, namely, it is of the practical nature which is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon.

"The Anglo-Saxon genius is not indifferent to the attraction of the theoretical, but it prefers theories to be wide and undefined. The fact that it thus differs much from us Orthodox imposes both upon us and upon them that before we proceed to a final pronouncement upon the validity or the non-validity of their Orders, a closer and more precised understanding should be reached between us and them.

"The idea of working to bring about the absorption of one Church by another is far from our mind. On the contrary, what we desire is to take time for mutual discussion in order that we may know them as they are and that they may know us as we are, and especially that by our reaching an understanding with them on certain matters, the close bonds which exist between us and them should be made still stronger.

"Thus it is obligatory both on us and on them that we and they should thus make easier the path of the mutual approach of our Churches to Union and should assist each other to remove the misunderstandings which at present impede it.

"In truth, the Church is not an invisible Church or *societas sanctorum*—a society of saints whom God alone knows. Rather, and above all, it is a visible Church, or *societas sacramentorum*, determined by unity of Faith and organized around a hierarchy in succession to the Apostles.

"Indubitably, certain of those requirements are presented in a measure by the Anglican Church.

"But if, in due course, it can be demonstrated that the hierarchy around which the Anglican Church is organized is of Apostolic origin,

then one of the gravest obstacles to Re-union with it would be removed.

"After giving the most careful consideration to the conclusions which your All-Holiness has communicated to us in your Encyclical and after studying the doctrine of the official documents of the Anglican Church in regard to the Mystery¹ of Holy Orders, the Holy Synod of Roumania has divided its investigation of the question into two categories, (1) the historical and (2) the theological.

"(1) From the historical point of view, the case is most favourable and we are of opinion that, without making any concession whatever, there is nothing to prevent our recognition of the Validity of Anglican Ordinations.

"(2) A real difficulty arises, however, when we consider the question from the theological standpoint. Thus we must ask:

"Do Anglicans regard Holy Orders as a *Mysterion*? If we, in their 39 Articles, compare Article 25 with Article 36, in order to discover their dogmatic conception of Holy Orders, we are left with a conception which is vague and undefined.

"We judge that our difficulty in recognizing Anglican Orders consists in that ambiguity and that, accordingly, the whole Orthodox Church should combine by stating that difficulty to help the Anglican Church to remove it by a clear explanation of its doctrine.

"In short, the mind of the Orthodox Roumanian Church upon the questions of an Orthodox recognition of Anglican Orders is as follows:—

"(1) We are convinced that, if we can proceed to the recognition of the Validity of Anglican Orders, one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the Union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches will have been removed.

"(2) We desire Re-union with all our heart and are eager to remove any obstacle to it.

"(3) As touching the fact of the validity of the consecration of Archbishop Parker, we can perceive no difficulty in the way of Re-union.

"(4) On the other hand, in order that we may be able to pronounce positively that Anglican Orders are certainly valid, we need that of her own action the Anglican Church should make a precise statement as to what is her teaching in regard to the Holy Mysteries in general and as to Holy Orders in particular; *sc.*, *does she or does she not hold Holy Orders to be a Mystery?*

"(5) It follows that the key to the solution of this question is in the hand of the Anglican Church. But we shall, indeed, account ourselves happy, if we are privileged to create the occasion and to provide the incentive for her using it.

"In communicating our mind upon this question to your All-

¹ [*Taina*, the Slav equivalent of the Greek *mysterion*.]

Holiness, we are bold also to assure you of our certainty that if all the sister Orthodox Churches identify themselves with our proposal to invite her to state her doctrine in regard to the Holy Mysteries and especially in regard to Holy Orders, the Anglican Church will appreciate our great desire for Union with her and will be encouraged to take action to remove such obstacles as lie in its way.

"Until that time, we shall not cease to pray for 'the stability of the Holy Churches of God and the union of all men,'¹ in unshakable faith that the Holy Spirit who bringeth all things to fulfilment, will aid the labours of all who spend themselves for the Cause of the Salvation wrought by our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the life-giving Spirit be Glory. Amen!"

The position stated in the above letter came to be referred to in our deliberations as a Delegation, as the "*Roumanian thesis*" and the Anglican Church was formally asked to answer the question propounded in it.

The "*Roumanian thesis*" made a markedly good impression even at that preliminary session, the Anglicans declaring that it had been formulated in a very persuasive manner and that they would communicate it to the Archbishop of Canterbury with a view to its being studied in the Lambeth Conference.

Thus having stated our question, we left it to the Anglicans to precise their position by replying whether they recognized Orders as a divine *charisma*.

At this preliminary discussion, as President of the Orthodox Delegation, the Patriarch of Alexandria declared in the name of all sections of Orthodoxy that we, for our part, desired to speak quite freely and altogether without restraint; that the will to union on the Orthodox side was no less than on the Anglican side; that for us Orthodox the approach to it was perhaps easier, inasmuch as our dogmatic position was more precised; and that we had come to London to seek in love for an understanding whereby we might establish close ties between our Churches.²

Thus at the outset of our discussions the representatives of the Orthodox Church made it plain that they could make no concession in regard to the faith of our fathers, that is to say, in regard to any precised dogma or oecumenical canon of our Church. All that they could do was to answer enquiries as to that which we hold to be the Orthodox Faith, and in return to receive answers as to what is held by the Anglican Episcopate in regard to such doctrines as that of the Nature of the Church, and so forth.

Accordingly, official theological Discussions were arranged between

¹ [A frequent Intercession in the Orthodox Liturgy. See *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Brightman, Faith Press, 1922, p. 13 and *passim*.]

² [Being a member of E.C.C., I was present and can bear witness alike to the plain speech and to the winning friendliness of the Orthodox spokesmen.—J.A.D.]

the Delegation and representatives of the Lambeth Conference in order to clear the minds of both. In result, the latter came to the conclusion that the doctrine possessed by the Orthodox Church is to be pronounced as being in the tradition of the doctrine of our Lord Christ and His Apostles, as expressed and interpreted in the writings of the Holy Fathers and as precised in the dogmas of the Seven Œcumenical Councils.

Thanks to the preliminary achievements of these preparatory elucidations of principle, it will be possible in the future to proceed to ascertain what are the points of diversity and what are the points in common between the two Churches.

As to the good intentions and to the good faith of the Anglican Church there can be no doubt. Moreover, since the last Lambeth Conference in 1920, an advance of no small importance has been made on the part of the Anglican Episcopate. For the Anglican Church has published certain suggestions for the formulating terms of Union between the two Churches under the title of *Suggested Terms of Intercommunion*.

In regard to those terms, no opinion has yet been expressed by the Orthodox Church, an omission which has created a not very favourable impression and for which our Delegation made excuse on the ground of the great crisis through which the Patriarch of Constantinople and, indeed, the whole of the Near East has passed since their publication.

It is of first importance that the "Terms" of that document should be studied. Its contents are as follows:—

[Except that the notes and appendixes are not given, a full translation of the Terms follows.]

Though the above Suggested Terms of Union¹ were presented on behalf of the Anglican Episcopate² to the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1922, hitherto they have been neither communicated to the other Orthodox Autocephalous Churches, nor discussed by them. Accordingly, the individual members of the Delegation being unacquainted with it, we asked for time to study the document. Meanwhile, having met under the Presidency of his Beatitude the Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, we came to the conclusion that, although we regarded them as, in some cases, deficient and not as fully meeting the Orthodox position, still they would well form the basis of a discussion and might be amended.

Accordingly, as delegates of the Orthodox Church, we decided to

¹ [To the Orthodox mind there is no distinction between Union and full Intercommunion. Economic Intercommunion is another matter.—J.A.D.]

² [Archbishop Nectarie makes an error here. The Terms were communicated to the Œcumenical Patriarch with the approval of Archbishop Davidson by his Eastern Churches Committee as a *ballon d'essai* in order "to provoke discussion," but not as the formal and authenticated proposals of the Anglican Episcopate.—J.A.D.]

ask the Anglican representatives whether the positions assumed in these "Terms" express the Anglican position and whether the totality of the Anglican Episcopate endorses them.

The result of our contacts with the representatives of the Anglican Church prior to our official Discussions was as above. During those contacts, each side felt the pulse of the other, in frank, personal conversations, as well as in the conferences in which we carried on our preliminary discussions.

(B) THE FORMAL CONFERENCES OF THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

We were requested to publish neither the *procès-verbaux* of our official Discussions, nor the particular opinions expressed by the members of either body which participated in them. Therefore, I shall refer only to those statements which, though recorded in the full *procès-verbaux* in my position as being made on either side, are also set forth in the official *Résumé*¹ of our Discussions.

Sessions, or meetings, of the Orthodox Delegation with the sub-committee of Anglican Bishops took place officially on July 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th, 1930.

[Archbishop Nectarie here gives the list of the Anglican Bishops who formed the Sub-Committee of the Lambeth Conference's Committee on Unity. See below, p. 27.]

The Discussions had official character but were not plenipotentiary. Their conclusions were to be submitted to both Churches and to await authoritative endorsement from the respective authorities of the Churches, and among them, of course, from our Holy Synod.

THE FIRST DISCUSSION OF JULY 15TH.

After a formal welcome by the Bishop of Gloucester and a reply from the Patriarch of Alexandria, the former asked whether, if the Lambeth Conference proposed it, the Orthodox Church would agree to the setting up of a Conjoint Doctrinal Commission. The Patriarch answered in the affirmative.

The questions formulated in its private discussions by the Orthodox Delegation were then dealt with.

The first of those four questions was prefaced by an enquiry on the Orthodox part as to whether the "Suggested Terms" express the mind of the Anglican Church and, if not, as to wherein they differ from it.

The reply of the Anglican Bishops was to the effect that, though they had not been communicated officially to all the Anglican Churches, they may be taken as representing in general the mind of the Anglican Church.

¹ [Sc., the *Résumé* published in *The Lambeth Conference, 1930*; for their text, see Minutes of the Conference below, p. 43.]

The Patriarch of Alexandria explained that the reason why the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches had not expressed an opinion upon the "Suggested Terms" was that, owing to the critical times in the Near East and especially in Turkey, they had not been circulated among them.

The Delegation asked whether the "Suggested Terms" admitted of elucidation and amendment in general and as to the Holy Eucharist and Holy Orders in particular.

In development of that enquiry,¹ it asked especially whether Anglicans accept Holy Orders as a Mystery and as being in unbroken succession from the times of the Apostles. And further, whether they believe that the bread and wine become² the Body and the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and that the Reception of the Holy Eucharist is a spiritual sacrifice, necessary for salvation.³

The Bishop of Gloucester proposed that this question should be referred to the Conjoint Commission for consideration and report.

The Patriarch accepted the proposal in the name of the Delegation.

Question II.

The Delegation then asked: "In the Anglican Church what is the body which decides authoritatively upon differences of Faith?"

The Bishop of Gloucester replied that the supreme authority in the Anglican Church is a Synod of its Bishops, the decisions of which, however, must be accepted by the Synods of all the provinces and churches of the Anglican Communion.

A general discussion followed, during which it is to be noted that the Bishop of Gloucester remarked that in the Anglican Church the laity have a voice in matters of Faith.

The Patriarch of Alexandria said that an assurance excluding the laity from voting upon matters of Faith would be hoped for. And the Bishop of Gloucester said that the Anglican Bishops present were ready to prepare a statement agreeing that such was their opinion.⁴

¹ [These two questions were dealt with fully in the second and third Discussions. See below, pp. 21 and 22.]

² [Archbishop Nectarie translates the *poiountai* of the Greek original by *devin*, i.e., become, equals *fiat*. See my article in our previous issue, p. 162.]

³ *Impartasirea Sfintei Euharistii este un sacrificiu spiritual trebuincios pentru mântuire*. [Archbishop Nectarie has paraphrased the question, substituting *impartasirea*, which equals the Greek *metalepsis* of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution for the *prosphora* of the original question, see the Greek text in our previous issue, p. 184. He has also omitted *hilasterios* and has added *necessary for salvation*. This Report was written some months before the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution was drafted. It is also noteworthy that as he records the questions and answer, the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist is to be identified with the act of the Communion of the faithful rather than with the act of Oblation of the minister. See my article in our previous issue, p. 162 seq.—J.A.D.]

⁴ [The members of the Delegation, however, no less than the Anglican Bishops, safeguarded the non-exclusion of clergy other than Bishops and of the laity from official discussions on matters of faith. See §§ 4 and 5 of the *Résumé* below, p. 44.]

Question III.

If a member of the Anglican Church shall have preached in contradiction of the Faith of the Church, what is his status in the Church? And how is it decided?

The Anglican Bishops answered that bishops are tried in Church Courts, consisting of several bishops, priests in the consistorial courts of their diocese and laymen by their bishop, on a report from their priests, and that Excommunication is recognized in the Anglican Church.

THE SECOND SESSION OF JULY 16TH.

The Anglican Bishops enquired whether they could be referred to a document which would give them definite information as to the exact belief of the Orthodox Church in regard to the Holy Eucharist and to Holy Orders as well as to all the Sacraments. The Patriarch explained the significance of those Sacraments and stated that the Orthodox Church receives (1) as of particular importance, the *Catechism of Peter Mogila* and the *Confession of Dositheos* and (2), as of secondary importance, the *Confession of Metrophanes Krito-poulos* and the *Answers of the Patriarch Jeremias II.* to the Lutherans of Tübingen. In addition there were the Dogmas and Canons of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and the systematized dogmatic Theology of the Orthodox Church.¹

Question IV. Holy Orders.

After, as we have noted above, considerable discussion had taken place on this question, the Orthodox Delegation put forward its question: "Does the Anglican Church accept Ordination as a Mystery and its being in succession from the Apostles?"²

In answer it was stated that the Anglican Church applies the word Sacrament particularly to two of the Mysteries of which the Eucharist is one. If, however, the criterion of a Sacrament is that in them all alike a divine Grace is imparted under a visible sign, then Holy Orders also may be accounted a Sacrament. For the intention that the Holy Ghost should be imparted in Ordination is apparent from the words employed in the Ordering of a priest and the Consecration of a bishop, whereby it is asked that the Ordinand or Consecrand may receive the Holy Ghost.

The Patriarch remarked that those of the thirty-nine Articles which deal with Holy Orders have a Calvinistic colour and are

¹ [The Patriarch's answer must be read in the light of his own avowal that the Orthodox Church possesses no authentic formulation of its dogmatic teaching, that the documents which he quoted are "imperfect and of insufficient authority," and that Orthodox dogmatic theologians often "demonstrably incline to Roman Catholicism or Protestantism." See § 23 of his Report in our previous issue.]

² [The question is slightly varied from the original. See the Patriarch's Statement, in our previous issue § 13, p. 184.]

compatible with Calvinistic doctrine. For the removal of misconception, it was desirable that Ordination should be declared to be an act whereby a special *charisma* is given to the Ordinand and not merely his "appointment to a particular post."

The Anglican Bishops replied that whatever ambiguity exists in the thirty-nine Articles must be interpreted in conformity with the Book of Common Prayer.

Apostolic Succession.

The Anglican Bishops stated that they recognized the necessity of Apostolic Succession and that they believed in it.

The Bishop of Gloucester quoted the Preface to the Anglican Ordinal, by which the episcopal succession is maintained to have been in existence from the times of the Apostles and that Ordination being administered by the laying of the hands of bishops upon the Ordinand constituted a link with the Apostles in an unbroken chain.

The Patriarch of Alexandria declared himself satisfied with the statement of the Anglican Ordinal and that he recognized that the consecration of an Archbishop under it is valid.

On the other hand the Orthodox remarked that Anglicans recognize the Orders of non-episcopalian and nonconformist pastors. The Anglicans replied that that was exceptional and a dispensation.

Question V. Economy.

The Patriarch explained that such dispensations were recognized in the Orthodox Church under the title of Acts of Economy.

The Anglican Bishops asked: "*What is Economy?*" The usage of the terms, (1) the rule or norm, and (2) economy, was explained to them. In the region of canon law the former must be observed strictly, but in cases where the motives are for God's Glory and no harm can ensue to the Church, the strictness of the rule may be relaxed.

THE THIRD DISCUSSION OF JULY 17TH.

This session was occupied with the Holy Eucharist. In it the Anglicans expounded their doctrine of Communion in the Holy Sacrament. They recognized that the elements are changed and quoted many extracts from their forms of Prayer for the consummation of the Holy Mystery for Communion. Considerable discussion followed. The Patriarch of Alexandria expressed the judgment that of the formulæ of Consecration the American is the nearest the Orthodox, and the hope that the Lambeth Conference might exercise its authority and lay down a formula which would both reconcile them all and be near to that of the Orthodox.

Question VI. Practical Questions Raised by the Anglican American Bishops.

It was stated that in America there are about three million Orthodox, of whom two million have no Orthodox priests. These resort to Anglican priests and ask for Baptism, the Marriage Blessing and Burial. The Anglican American Bishops asked what they were to do? Were they to leave them without spiritual relief?

In answer, the Delegation stated that in the East there were cases of Anglicans who, being without priests, ask for the services of Orthodox priests. A binding decision on the matter could not be given by the Delegation, but would be given by an Orthodox Pro-Synod which would be held in the near future.

Further, we Orthodox took counsel together and made a provisional proposal for common action.

It was agreed both that the services asked of Anglicans by the Orthodox should not be refused and that *vice versa* the Orthodox should render the spiritual help asked of them by Anglicans. Only there must be no proselytism and no passing to and fro from one Communion to the other. Thus whenever Anglicans baptized an Orthodox person, they should forthwith notify the competent Orthodox authority in order that that person might be registered thereby as Orthodox. Whenever an Orthodox person asked the Marriage Blessing, it should be given him, but he should not pass over to Anglicanism and the matter should also be communicated to the Orthodox ecclesiastical authority. On their side, the Orthodox should do the same.

THE FOURTH SESSION OF JULY 18TH.

The Bishop of Gloucester referred to the Discussion of Economy of July 16th, and asked whether it was to be summed up thus: "The Church has full authority¹ to use Economy upon matters which concern the advantage of the Church,"—*i.e.*, which are for the interest of the Church—"upon condition that it does not clash in any fundamental fashion with the Faith."

The Patriarch stated that the Bishop had understood and summed up the matter correctly.

The discussions in regard to the Sacraments being resumed, the Anglican Bishops asked what was the attitude of the Orthodox Church in regard to the Holy Eucharist when Anglicans asked to receive it from Orthodox.

The Orthodox replied that in principle that could not be done. But they quoted exceptional cases in which their Church had administered the Holy Eucharist to Anglicans. Thus the late Serb

¹ [See the Minutes of the Discussion below, p. 41, where the words *from its Divine Founder follow authority.*]

Patriarch Dmitri had authorized it to be given to Anglicans. The Roumanian Patriarch Miron Christea had communicated her Majesty Queen Marie, and though the Patriarch of Alexandria had refused, when asked by the Armenians of Khartum, the Metropolitan of Corsica had permitted it to be given to Armenian refugees in Corfu.

During the discussion of this matter, enquiry was made as to whether the Orthodox Church in America was unified and as to whom cases of spiritual help should be notified. The reply was made that in America the Orthodox are under bishops according to their nationalities, *i.e.*, under Russian, Greek, Roumanian bishops, and so on. But if there was no such bishop, notification should be made to the autocephalous Churches of Europe through the representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Patriarch made the following summary of the Orthodox position in regard to Intercommunion.¹

In regard to sacraments and rites other than the Holy Eucharist, the Orthodox Church made no objection to their being ministered by an Anglican priest. It required, however, that Orthodox children baptized by an Anglican priest should be registered as Orthodox, and that their baptism should be notified to the proper Orthodox authority. The same should be done in the matter of marriages. The only point which could give rise to a discussion was the question of the Holy Eucharist.

In view of the fact that the practice of Anglican priests giving Holy Communion to Orthodox had come into being without protest from the Orthodox authorities, that practice might continue, but without any presupposition that the Orthodox Church gives its official authorization and it being understood that, as in cases of the other sacraments, Orthodox priests are unavailable.

The Patriarch Meletios further expressly asked that by one or more of its resolutions the Lambeth Conference should take cognizance of the questions which had been discussed, and remarked that an elucidation concerning the Anglican Church and its practice was much looked for in the Near East. He enquired whether an encyclical, after the type of the *Responsio* to Leo XIII. of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and especially dealing with Holy Orders as a Mystery, could be addressed to the Œcumenical Patriarch by the Archbishop of Canterbury in conjunction with the other Anglican Metropolitans. In case that were impossible the Patriarch suggested that it might be possible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to write a letter dealing with this subject, such as that which he wrote to the Œcumenical Patriarch, inviting him to arrange for the visit of the Delegation.

¹ [*Sc.*, provisional Economic Intercommunion.]

The Bishop of Gloucester said that the matter would be taken into consideration.

Further, the Patriarch asked whether the Anglican Church accepts the Seventh Œcumenical Council. The Bishop of Gloucester replied that personally he had always been ready to accept the canons of that Council and asked whether the statement in the "Suggested Terms," touching Sacred Pictures,¹ met the requirements of the Orthodox Church. The Patriarch answered that it was deficient and that a much fuller statement had been made ten years previously by the Bishop of Gloucester at a meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, between Anglican theologians with himself and other Eastern theologians.

The Bishop said he would endeavour to arrive at an understanding.

On the conclusion of the official Discussions it was judged well to draw up a *résumé* of the agreements which had been reached.

[Archbishop Nectarie then gives a translation of the seventeen statements in the *Résumé*, for which see below.]

The Orthodox-Anglican Conference having thus come to an end, both sides prepared the *Résumé* of their discussions which had been conducted in a worthy manner, and approved it unanimously as correctly and truly expressing what had been said in their conversations by the Orthodox Delegation and the Anglican Bishops. The statements in that *Résumé* were to be presented for decision upon them to the competent bodies of either Church.

Finally, the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his gratitude to the Orthodox Delegation for having taken part in the Discussions.

According to the reply given as above by the Patriarch of Alexandria in the names of the Orthodox delegates, a Conference of a Conjoint Orthodox Anglican Committee was determined.

In conclusion, we should record that the attention of the Lambeth Conference was not occupied solely by questions relating to an understanding with the Orthodox Church. For us Orthodox, of course, such questions were predominant and, therefore, we attached

¹ *Sf., icoane.*

the greatest importance to them. But the attention of the Lambeth Conference was occupied with the problems which affect Anglican Church life in itself. These questions were dealt with in the plenum of the Conference in which 308 of their bishops took part.

The findings of their sessions have been published in a book entitled *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, London, S.P.C.K., and Macmillans, New York. The contents of that book are (1) "A List of Bishops," who attended the Conference, (2) "The Encyclical Letter of the Assembled Bishops." This deals with the Anglicans' Faith in Jesus Christ, with the Life and Conduct of the Christian Community (marriage, sex, race), with Peace and War, and the Unity of the Church—on p. 25 reference is made to the Orthodox Church—with the Anglican Communion, with the Clergy and with Youth and its Vocation, (3) the formal "Resolutions Passed by the Conference," in regard to the Doctrine of God, to the Life and Conduct of the Christian Community, to Marriage and to Sex, to Peace and War, to the Union of the Churches—among which, on pp. 48 and 49, is mention of the Orthodox Church—to the Organization of the Anglican Communion, and to Youth and its Vocation, and (4) "Reports of Committees." These deal with the questions enumerated above and show how they were discussed and dealt with in the appropriate Committees. The Discussions with the Orthodox are reported on pp. 131-137 and 138-140.

It should be noted that by its resolution 33, pp. 48 and 49, the mutual explanations of the Anglican Bishops and the Orthodox delegates, made during their Discussions, were declared to be satisfactory and acceptable by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference. That good progress had been made was thus recognized and the seventeen statements of the *Résumé* were printed in the Report to the Lambeth Conference.

Therefore, we are confident that the Delegation which represented the Orthodox Church—in which I was privileged to take part—thoroughly fulfilled its duty and that it remains only for the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches to endorse its utterances and in doing so to carry forward the work begun to the achievement of a full understanding.

An understanding, as between sister Churches, must prove a great gain alike for the Anglican Church and for the Orthodox Church. It must also hasten the Union of all Christian Churches into one Flock under the One Shepherd.

A great step forward has been taken. Assuredly, we are aware that we have a long way to go before we achieve that Union of our two Churches, which both we and they desire so sincerely. But we shall not cease to push forward, for our Church teaches us to pray for the peace of the whole world, for the stability of all God's Churches and for the "Union of all."

MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION AND THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS.

[We are authorized by the Bishop of Gloucester with the consent of the Archbishop of Thyatira, to publish this document, which was circulated in printed form in the Lambeth Conference as an annexe to the Report of the Committee on the Unity of the Church, of which the special Committee was a sub-committee.]

1. FIRST MEETING, July 15, 1930
2. SECOND MEETING, July 16, 1930
3. THIRD MEETING, July 17, 1930
4. FOURTH MEETING, July 18, 1930
5. A RÉSUMÉ OF THE DISCUSSIONS

I. FIRST MEETING.

A Conference took place at Lambeth Palace on Tuesday, July 15th, 1930, between a special committee of Bishops attending the Lambeth Conference and the Delegation of the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

The following were present:—

His All-Holiness the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios.	Very Rev. Archimandrite Konstantinides (Church of Greece).
Most Rev. the Metropolitan of Thyatira, Germanos (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople).	Very Rev. Archimandrite Sabbas Sovietoff (Church of Poland).
Most Rev. the Metropolitan of Ephania, Ignatios (Patriarchate of Antioch).	Right Rev. Bishop of Znepolsky, Paissy (Representative of the Church of Bulgaria).
Most Rev. the Metropolitan of the Jordan, Timotheos (Patriarchate of Jerusalem).	Bishop of Gloucester (<i>Chairman</i>).
Right Rev. the Metropolitan of Novisad, Irenäy (Church of Yugoslavia).	Archbishop of Dublin.
Most Rev. the Metropolitan of Bukovina, Nectarie (Church of Roumania).	Bishop of Atlanta.
Right Rev. Metropolitan-Elect of Paphos, Leontios (Church of Cyprus).	Bishop of Chichester.
Most Rev. the Metropolitan of Corcyra, Athenagoras (Church of Greece).	Bishop Craig Stewart (Chicago).
	Bishop in Egypt and Sudan.
	Bishop of Fulham.
	Bishop of Gibraltar.
	Bishop of Guildford.
	Bishop of Montreal.
	Bishop of Nassau.
	Bishop of Northern Indiana.
	Bishop of Rhode Island.
	Bishop of Western Michigan.

After prayers the Bishop of Gloucester, as Chairman, welcomed the Delegation, and the Patriarch of Alexandria replied in the name of the Delegation.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that he desired that this Conference should be conducted in such a way as to lead to closer relations between the two Communions with a view to Intercommunion and

ultimately to re-union. He said that it would take much more time than was possible now to go exhaustively into the many difficult questions which were bound to be asked. For that reason he proposed to ask Question 6 of the questions addressed to the Orthodox Delegation beforehand, viz. :—

Whether the Orthodox Church would agree to the appointment of a Joint Commission on questions of Doctrine ?

The Bishop wished to know whether the Delegation would be in favour of setting up such a Joint Commission if it were proposed by the Lambeth Conference.

The Patriarch of Alexandria replied in the name of the Delegation that they agreed to this proposal.

FIRST QUESTION.

The Bishop of Gloucester then proceeded to discuss the questions which had been asked by the Orthodox Delegation :—

I. Are the *Terms of Intercommunion* drawn up and published under the auspices of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee regarded by the Committee of the Lambeth Conference as expressing the mind of the Anglican Church, and, if not, where and in what do they diverge from that mind ?

The Bishops of Fulham, Gibraltar, Western Michigan, Northern Indiana and Nassau all stated that the Terms, though not officially communicated to the different Provinces of the Anglican Communion, in their judgment represented the mind and doctrine of the Anglican Church.

The Patriarch of Alexandria stated that the Suggested Terms had not yet been considered by or circulated to the autocephalous Orthodox Churches because of the difficult position in which the Œcumenical Patriarchate found itself at the time they were sent, but the Delegation regarded them as a basis of discussion, if some improvement could be made particularly in Paragraph XI (of the Holy Eucharist) and Paragraph XII (of the Holy Orders of the Church). The Patriarch also stated that the points on which they required further information were embodied in questions IV and V in the Orthodox questionnaire :—

IV. Does the Anglican Church agree that Holy Orders is a *mysterion* and that in its unbroken succession it is a link with the Apostles ?

V. Does it agree that the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Christ and that the rendering of the Eucharist is a spiritual sacrifice, propitiatory for the living and the dead ?

The Bishop of Gloucester then proposed that the Suggested Terms

should be referred to the proposed Joint Commission, which should report to the two Churches.

The Patriarch agreed to this proposal.

SECOND QUESTION.

The Bishop of Gloucester quoted the second question from the Orthodox Delegation as follows :—

II. What is the supreme constitutional body in the Anglican Church which decides authoritatively in the matter of differences of Faith ?

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that the final authority in the matter of Doctrine in the Anglican Church would lie with the Bishops summoned as a Synod, and that their decision was finally valid on acceptance by the Synods of all the Provinces and Churches of the Anglican Communion.

A general discussion then took place in which the Patriarch, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Montreal, the Bishop of Rhode Island, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Nassau, the Metropolitan of Thyatira, the Bishop of Atlanta, the Metropolitan of Bukovina and the Metropolitan of Novisad took part. The situation in different provinces of the Anglican Communion was stated, from which it appeared that the General Convention or General Synod in certain provinces included the laity for purposes of consultation but in separation from the House of Bishops, with whom the final and governing decision lay, as well as the final statement of the point at issue. The Bishop of Gloucester stated that the Anglican Church laid great stress on the co-operation of the laity.

In the end, the Patriarch stated that the Orthodox Church awaited from the Church of England a statement in which it would be said that in questions of Faith the authentic decision would be given by the whole body of Bishops, without, however, excluding the co-operation and consultation of clergy and laity during the discussions.

The Bishop of Gloucester accordingly stated that the Anglican Bishops would be prepared to accept that statement as a correct expression of the Anglican position.

The Patriarch was understood to be satisfied with this reply.

THIRD QUESTION.

The Bishop of Gloucester quoted the third question as follows :—

III. If a member of the Anglican Church utter publicly opinions contrary to the Faith of the Church, what is his status in the Church and how is it decided ?

Replying to the Bishop of Gloucester, the Patriarch stated that "Member" meant first Bishops, next the Clergy, third teachers in theological colleges and fourth the general body of the faithful.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that the Church of England was not fond of condemnations for heresy, and was prepared to give a certain amount of freedom; and the method followed was as a rule public discussion and private remonstrance in preference to legal methods. The final authority, however, lay with the Ecclesiastical Courts. He quoted the instance of Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, who was tried by the Archbishop of Canterbury with five Bishops as Assessors in 1889, and the Bishop of Atlanta quoted the case of Bishop Brown who was quite recently tried by the Bishops for heresy in the United States.

The Bishop of Gloucester further stated that, in England, a priest or deacon would be tried by the Bishops' Consistory Court, and secondly by the Court of the Province. He explained that on account of the Establishment the State possessed a right to review the decisions of an Ecclesiastical Court before lending the authority of the State to carry them out. In America, the Bishop of Rhode Island stated that a priest was tried by a Court of Clergy, the sentence being pronounced by the Bishop, the appeal lying to a Provincial Court, with the House of Bishops as the supreme Court. In Canada, the Bishop of Montreal said, a similar practice was followed, the Supreme Court being the General Synod.

The Patriarch here again expressed his satisfaction.

He said that the procedure was similar in the Orthodox Church: first admonition—then trial and judgment; the sentence being pronounced by twelve Bishops in the case of a Bishop, and by the Spiritual Court of the Diocese in the case of a priest. Where the fault was incorrigible, deposition followed for Bishop or priest, cutting off from the body (excommunication) for a layman.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that in the Anglican Church the Bishop had power to excommunicate a layman after report from the priest, though ordinarily the laity excommunicated themselves.

The Patriarch said that the Anglican discipline was excellent more severe than the Orthodox.

He stated that the Orthodox had canons of Œcumenical Councils which defined the punishment and the duty of the Bishop to punish offenders for moral offences. He added that a certain amount of moderation was necessary in trials in some Orthodox Churches in non-Christian countries, for fear lest too hard a punishment might drive the offenders to leave their religion.

The Patriarch pronounced the Benediction and the Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.

✠ MELETIOS.

A. C. GLOUCESTR :

2. SECOND MEETING.

The Second Meeting was held at Lambeth Palace on Wednesday afternoon, July 16th.

After prayers the Minutes of the previous session were read in English and Greek and confirmed.

Teaching of the Orthodox Church.

The Bishop of Gloucester asked whether it would be possible to find the official teaching of the Orthodox Church on the Doctrine of the Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments.

The Patriarch replied that there were certain Confessions issued by the Orthodox Church in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries which were looked upon as important statements of Orthodox teaching, especially (1) *The Catechism of Peter Mogila and the Confession of Dositheus*, and in a secondary position (2) *The Confession of Metrophanes Critopoulos and the Answers of Jeremiah II to the Lutheran Theologians at Tübingen*. He said that a special importance, however, was attached by the Orthodox to the Decrees of the seven Œcumenical Councils, and that the Confessions had not the same standing as the Decrees since they had not been accepted by Œcumenical Councils. He added further, in reply to a question from the Bishop of Gloucester, that in case of difference of opinion the Orthodox Church would be guided by the opinions of the Church as expressed in the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom; a method which, the Bishop of Gloucester said, agreed with that of the Church of England.

The Bishop of Gloucester asked what authority was possessed by the Metropolitan Philaret's "Longer Catechism of the Russian Church" (1837).

The Patriarch replied that it was the work of one who had especially criticized the Church of Rome and by reaction was influenced by Protestantism. It had not, however, received any official disapproval and any person who made use of its teaching would not be out of order.

FOURTH QUESTION.

The Conference then proceeded to the consideration of question IV:—

Does the Anglican Church agree that Holy Orders is a *mysterion* and that in its unbroken succession it is a link with the Apostles?

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that it was well known that the word "Sacrament" (*mysterion*) was in the Anglican Church used in a special sense with regard to the great Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. If, however, the significance of a Sacrament lies in

it being the outward visible sign of a spiritual gift given, Holy Orders would be considered a Sacrament in that sense. The intention and meaning of the Anglican Church was, he said, shown by the words used in the Ordination of Priests and the Consecration of Bishops :—

(I) *Priest* : Receive the Holy Ghost, for the Office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven ; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments ; In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

(II) *Bishop* : Receive the Holy Ghost, for the Office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. And remember that thou stir up the Grace of God which is given thee, by this imposition of our hands : For God hath not given us the spirit of fear : but of power, and love, and soberness.

The Patriarch stated that the prayers and forms of Ordination in the Book of Common Prayer satisfied the Orthodox. He noted, however, that in the Thirty-Nine Articles there were certain phrases about Ordination which resembled Calvinist teaching, and in any case there was a want of clearness. In order to avoid any conflict between the Articles and the Prayer Book he would like a definite statement that Ordination is not simply the act of putting a man into a particular position, but an act by which a special *charisma* is given to the person being ordained analogous to the Order into which he is being ordained Bishop, Priest or Deacon.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that it might be accepted that if there were any ambiguity in the Thirty-Nine Articles they were in all cases to be interpreted by what the Prayer Book itself said.

The Patriarch stated that an expression in that sense was satisfactory to the Orthodox.

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

The Bishop of Gloucester, dealing with the latter part of the fourth question, said that the intention of the Church of England was expressed in the Preface to the Ordinal. He quoted especially :—

“ It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church ; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. . . . And therefore, to the intent that

these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the Church of England ; No man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.”

He explained that the Church of England had always followed the rule that every Bishop must be consecrated by three Bishops and every Priest Ordained by Imposition of Hands by a Bishop. The Church of England, therefore, had always carefully preserved Apostolic Succession and considered that there was undoubtedly thus a link with the Apostles.

The Patriarch said that they were not very far from the formula which would satisfy not only the theologians but also the whole body of the Orthodox Church. He said that the theologians were satisfied both by the Preface to the Ordinal and also by the fact that the theologians of the English Church always maintained the validity of Archbishop Parker’s consecration. He raised the question, however, of the attitude of the Anglican Bishops to Non-Episcopal Ministers, noting the Lambeth Appeal and what was said in the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, 1920, about the Church of Sweden. The Bishop of Gloucester said that the Church of England had on the one hand no doubt of the importance of the Apostolic Succession in the Christian Ministry and no doubt also that the restoration of proper Orders must be a part of corporate re-union. The Church, however, had never considered it its duty to deny the spiritual value of Ministries outside its own Communion, and he quoted the words of the Appeal to All Christian People (1920) :—

“ It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communions which do not possess the Episcopate. On the contrary we thankfully acknowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace.”

The Patriarch said that he saw in the Appeal an attempt on the part of the Church of England to persuade bodies not possessing the Episcopate to accept it. He noted that it was the custom of the Anglican Church to ordain any Non-Episcopal Ministers who sought admission to the Anglican Ministry, and asked whether re-ordination would be required from all Nonconformist Ministers if they were all to enter the Anglican Church to-morrow.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that in his opinion *corporate* re-union with Nonconformist bodies could not be carried out on the basis of re-ordination for all, but that the united Church would be

built on the historic ministry ensuring Episcopal Ordination for the future, though possibly allowing certain economic arrangements in the interim.

The Archbishop of Dublin stated that if such an arrangement were in the future to be allowed, the full ministry of non-Episcopal ministers would in his opinion be confined to non-Episcopal congregations, and that until any scheme of such a kind as that to which the Patriarch had referred were arranged the present practice of re-ordination would continue unbroken.

In no circumstances, said the Bishop of Gloucester, would a general superintendent be allowed to ordain.

The Patriarch said that in this kind of activity he saw the practice of the Orthodox which was known as Economy.

ECONOMY.

The Bishop of Gloucester asked the Patriarch to state what the principle of Economy implied.

The Patriarch replied that there were two principles in Orthodox theology :—

- I. The strict rule.
- II. Economy.

The first was a strict application of Canon Law. The second a turning aside from the strict law in certain circumstances, but always subject to the general spirit of the Church. He said, indeed, that the deflection from the strict letter of the law would always be in order that the spirit of the law might be better kept. He gave examples from Baptism and from the law relating to marriage between cousins.

The Bishop of Gloucester quoted a treatise on the Sacraments, by Professor Dyovouniotes (1913) :—

“ It must be borne in mind, however, that, as holding stewardship of the Divine Grace, the Church is able both to recognize the Priesthood and the Sacraments in general of schismatics and heretics among whom they are not accomplished canonically or the Apostolic Succession has been broken, and also for reasons which she herself regards as reasonable and necessary, to reject altogether the Priesthood and the Sacraments of schismatics and heretics among whom they are accomplished canonically and the Apostolic Succession has not been broken.”

The Patriarch said that while it was true that the Church had power to reject the Priesthood of schismatics it has no power to recognize Ordinations in Churches where the Apostolic Succession has been broken. He said that in the whole history of the Church there had been no example of such an Economy as that. Where

Priesthood of heretics possessing Orders with the Apostolic Succession had been recognized it had been after thorough examination which in other instances had led to the requirement of re-ordination.

The Bishop of Gloucester asked whether when new circumstances arose the principle of Economy might be applied in a new way, and especially in the cause of unity and charity. The Patriarch replied that in very many cases Economy was used in wider circumstances, but it could never be so used where it clashed with the fundamental grounds of faith.

The Conference adjourned at 4.30 p.m.

GEORGE CICESTR : ✠ATHENAGORAS, METROPOLITAN
OF CORCYRA
✠LEONTIOS, METROPOLITAN-ELECT OF PAPHOS.

3. THIRD MEETING.

The Third Meeting was held at Lambeth Palace on Thursday, July 17th, at 11 a.m.

After prayers the Minutes which had previously been agreed by the Secretaries were taken as read.

The Conference then proceeded to the consideration of the fifth question :—

V. Does the Anglican Church agree that the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Christ and that the rendering of the Eucharist is a spiritual sacrifice, propitiatory for the living and the dead ?

The Bishop of Gloucester replied that the Church of England at the time of the Reformation was concerned to reject (1) a material interpretation of the Eucharist and (2) the doctrine of Transubstantiation as taught by Latin Divines in the Middle Ages. This must be borne in mind in discussing the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist. He said that the best statement of the doctrine was contained in :—

- (1) The Catechism as follows :

Question : What is the inward part, or thing signified ?

Answer : The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

- (2) The following statement in Article XXVIII :

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.

- (3) The doctrine of the Eucharist as expressed in the Anglican Liturgy.

The Liturgy in different Anglican Churches took a different form. The Prayer of Consecration in the Scottish and American Liturgies contained the Epiclesis. The Proposed Prayer Book of 1927 and 1928 also contained it. It must be remembered that there were two tendencies in the Anglican Church :

- (1) a preference for the Western use ;
- (2) a preference for the Eastern use.

The Bishop of Rhode Island read the Epiclesis in the American Liturgy :

" And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us ; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine ; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood."

The Patriarch said that the form in the American Liturgy corresponded to the form in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

He quoted from that Liturgy, and asked whether it was agreeable to the Anglican Church.

The Archbishop of Dublin pointed out that the Church of England declared that when the faithful partook of the consecrated Bread they partook of the Body of Christ.

The Bishop of Nassau quoted words in the Prayer of Humble Access :

" Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink his Blood—— "

The Bishop of Gibraltar further pointed out that the Minister in giving Communion says :

" The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

The Bishop of Gloucester read from the Scottish Liturgy :

" And we thine unworthy servants beseech thee, most merciful Father, to hear us, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by his life-giving power, they may become the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life."

The Patriarch said that he understood from the various phrases quoted that the Anglican definitely believed that in the Eucharist

he received the Body and Blood of Christ. He asked whether after Communion the consecrated Elements remaining were regarded as the Body and Blood of Christ. The Bishop of Gloucester and other Bishops said " Certainly."

The Bishop of Gloucester then turned to the second half of the question concerning Propitiation. He said that the Church of England was again opposed to any doctrine which implied that the sacrifice was not once for all offered for sins, and so the Prayer of Consecration began with the following words :

" Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption ; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world—— "

He said that the best statement of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist was to be found in the Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Leo XIII's Encyclical on Anglican Ordinations :

" Further, we truly teach the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, and do not believe it to be a ' nude commemoration ' of the Sacrifice of the Cross, an opinion which seems to be attributed to us by the quotation made from that Council. But we think it sufficient in the Liturgy which we use in celebrating the holy Eucharist—while lifting up our hearts to the Lord, and when now consecrating the gifts already offered that they may become to us the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ—to signify the sacrifice which is offered at that point of the service in such terms as these. We continue a perpetual memory of the precious death of Christ, who is our Advocate with the Father and the propitiation for our sins, according to His precept, until His coming again.

" For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; then next we plead and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church ; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblation of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice."

The Archbishop of Dublin observed that the word " Propitiation " had misleading associations for Anglicans on account of the Roman doctrine of Pains and Penalties, and much preferred the Greek word " Hilasterio."

The Patriarch stated that the Orthodox doctrine was that one propitiatory Sacrifice was once offered for the whole world by Christ to the Father; that in the Eucharist that Sacrifice was presented to the Father. The Eucharist might therefore be called the offering of that Sacrifice, and the uniting with that Sacrifice on Calvary of those partaking in the Eucharist. But such an offering was in no sense a repeating. No Orthodox theologian ever taught that a Priest celebrating the Holy Liturgy obtained by his action remission of sins, for that was the work of the Divine Mercy, and if the Anglican Church wished for an Orthodox formulary repudiating Roman doctrine on that point and on the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, it could be provided.

After further conversation, in which the Bishops of Gibraltar, Guildford, Montreal, the Archbishop of Dublin and Archbishop Germanos joined, the Orthodox and Anglicans stated that they were agreed on these points.

The Patriarch then stated that if they were able to agree on the last words of the question, "for the living and the dead," they would be agreed entirely.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that at the Reformation the Church of England had been hesitating on the doctrine of the use of prayers for the dead, but referred to the words in the Prayer of Oblation, "that by the merits of death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion," as including the whole company of faithful people, living and departed. He said that the offering of prayers for the departed was now common.

The Bishop of Montreal quoted to a like effect from the Canadian Prayer Book, and the Bishop of Rhode Island from the American Prayer Book. The prayers from the Revised Prayer Book of 1928 were read and the Bishop of Rhode Island quoted in addition the following prayer at the Burial of the Dead:

"O God, whose mercies cannot be numbered; Accept our prayers on behalf of the soul of thy servant departed, and grant him an entrance into the land of light and joy, in the fellowship of saints; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Patriarch stated that the fear of the erroneous opinions of Rome accounted for the somewhat conservative fashion in which Anglican prayers had been framed, but thought that the American Prayer Book gave a more perfect expression of the mind of the Church and expressed himself satisfied with what had been said in the discussion. He hoped that the statement of Anglican doctrine which had been made on the various points might be made with the authority of the Lambeth Conference in order that others not present at

these discussions might have a better understanding of what had been said and done.

The Bishop of Gloucester said that the Joint Commission would take note of all that had passed and would report.

PRACTICAL QUESTIONS.

The Bishop of Gloucester then stated that since in America and other countries overseas very large numbers of Orthodox families were permanently out of the reach of their own clergy and must therefore either be deprived of Church privileges or become attached to Roman or other Churches unless they were ministered to by Anglicans, and since many Orthodox in such circumstances received sacramental ministrations from local Anglican Clergy at the request of Orthodox Clergy, he wondered whether such arrangements might be continued or would require the authorization of every Orthodox Church or of the Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church.

The Patriarch stated that it was to be preferred that the matter should come before the whole Orthodox Church, and that it was in the programme for discussion when the Pro-Synod met.

The Bishop of Gloucester then asked—

"whether the Orthodox Church accepts the validity of Anglican Baptism?"

The Patriarch stated that it was the practice of the whole Orthodox Church to accept Anglican Baptism.

The Bishop of Gloucester next asked—

"what policy the Orthodox Church desires to follow with regard to the administration of the Sacraments by Anglican Priests when no Orthodox Priest is available, and *vice versa*?"

He explained that in America it was well known that Anglican priests gave sacramental ministrations to Orthodox families isolated from their own Clergy, and asked whether such practices would continue.

The Patriarch replied that the Orthodox regarded Holy Communion as the highest spiritual and visible bond of union, and the last bond. That therefore sharing in that Sacrament was a sign of full agreement in faith. It would not be considered canonical either to receive or give Communion so long as unity in faith did not exist. The isolation of many Orthodox families and their deprivation of the Sacraments was a great grief to the Orthodox Church and was to be considered in the forthcoming Orthodox Synod. He stated, however, that as they were convinced that the Anglican Church did not proselytize they were ready to allow Anglican ministry to isolated Orthodox families in the Sacraments of Baptism and for Marriage and other Rites. He asked, however, whether the Anglican Church would be able to teach in the Orthodox faith those whom Anglican Clergy baptized, and

whether the local Anglican Bishop or Priest would be willing to give a list of Orthodox children under instruction to the Orthodox priest on his request.

The Bishops of Northern Indiana and Western Michigan stated that it was the regular practice of Anglican Clergy in such circumstances to instruct Orthodox children and to keep lists of those thus instructed. Mention was made of an Orthodox Catechism by Constantine Callinicos, of which the Living Church (U.S.A.) had just ordered 300 copies from the Metropolitan of Thyatira. It was stated further that there were a thousand American Priests ministering to Orthodox families in this way, and a hundred Anglican Churches being thus used.

The Patriarch was also assured that any books of teaching prepared by the Orthodox Church or prayers for Orthodox families would be used by Anglican Clergy ministering to Orthodox.

The Bishop of Gloucester then asked whether this custom now allowed would come up for authorization before the competent Authority of the Orthodox Church. The Patriarch replied that it would so come up.

The Patriarch summed up in the following way :—

In other Sacraments and Rites than the Holy Eucharist, it might be stated that the Orthodox Church had no objection to the performance of Baptism or any other rite by an Anglican Priest. He would ask, however, that children baptized by Anglican Priests should be registered as Orthodox and notification made to the competent Orthodox authority. He would also ask that Marriages solemnized by Anglican Priests should be registered as Orthodox Marriages, and notified to the competent Orthodox authority. The only point on which discussion might arise was in the question of the Eucharist. In view, however, of the fact that this practice of Anglican Priests giving Holy Communion to the Orthodox had gone on without any protest on the part of Orthodox authority, the practice might be continued without the Orthodox Church being supposed to give any official authority for it, it being always understood that in such cases no Orthodox Priest was available.

In reply to a question from the Bishop of Nassau as to whether he might give Holy Communion to Orthodox persons in his Diocese at the point of Death, the Patriarch said that the principle was the same from the Orthodox point of view.

The Patriarch gave the Benediction, and the Conference adjourned.

GEORGE CICESTR: ✠ATHENAGORAS, METROPOLITAN OF CORCYRA.

✠LEONTIOS, METROPOLITAN-ELECT OF PAPHOS.

4. FOURTH MEETING.

The Fourth Meeting of the Conference was held at Lambeth Palace on Friday, July 18th, 1930, at 11.30 a.m.

After prayers, the Patriarch of Alexandria said that he had just come from Buckingham Palace, and that the King of England had expressed great interest in the progress of the discussions between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches, and his pleasure that progress was being made.

ECONOMY.

The Bishop of Gloucester called attention to the proceedings of the Second Meeting of July 16th, and asked whether he was right in his recollection of the Patriarch's statement as follows :—

“ The Church has full authority from its Divine Founder to use economy upon matters which concern the advantage of the Church . . . upon condition that it does not clash in any way with the fundamental grounds of faith.”

The Patriarch replied that the statement was correct.

The Bishop of Gloucester then gave a brief summary of the conclusions with regard to sacramental ministrations reached on the previous day, and after that proceeded to the next question, asking what was the attitude of the Orthodox Church to the giving of the Sacraments by the Orthodox to Anglican laity isolated from Anglican clergy.

The Patriarch replied that on Orthodox principles Holy Communion should only be given by priests of the same Church to members of the same Church, but he quoted examples of the ministrations of the Sacrament by the Patriarch of Serbia, Dimitri, to Anglicans in an Orthodox church, and the giving of the Holy Communion by the Roumanian Patriarch Miron to the Queen Mother of Roumania Anglican.

The Metropolitan of Novisad stated that there was great astonishment—in theological circles, disappointment—at the Patriarch of Serbia's action, to which the Patriarch had referred, but he added that two or three members of the Holy Synod were present at the time, including the present Patriarch.

The Metropolitan of Corcyra stated that he had allowed Communion to be given to Armenian refugees in Corfu when they no longer had an Armenian priest.

The Patriarch of Alexandria said that he had received application from Armenians in Khartoum that Orthodox clergy might be allowed to give Holy Communion to them, having no Armenian priest, but

had felt sorrowfully obliged to refuse. He said that the question was still under consideration, and that it would certainly be brought before the Pro-Synod of the Orthodox Church for a decision.

The Bishop of Gloucester next asked whether any steps had been taken towards the unification of Orthodox Church Government in North America.

The Patriarch replied that the situation was very difficult, and that there were Greek, Syrian, Russian and Roumanian Bishops at present in the United States. He thought that the best solution for the present was that Orthodox Christians should regard themselves as being under the control of the Bishop of the language which they themselves used, until the Orthodox Church as a whole decided on the form of organization to be followed in America.

In the course of further conversation, in which the Metropolitan of Thyatira, the Metropolitan of Novisad, the Bishop of Montreal, and the Bishop of Fulham took part, it was stated that, where Bishops of a particular autocephalous Church were concerned, application in case of doubt should be made to the Patriarch or Head of that Church in Europe, and in other cases to the Œcumenical Patriarch.

The Bishop of Gloucester then asked how soon the Pro-Synod was likely to meet, and the Patriarch replied that the meeting would probably be held within a year and would have the power of deciding on questions of an urgent character.

The Patriarch then expressed the hope that a resolution or resolutions of the Lambeth Conference would deal with the matters which had been under discussion between them, and stated that in the East generally an explanation with regard to the Anglican Church and its ministry was eagerly awaited. He asked whether it would be possible, following the model of the Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Leo XIII, for a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury or from the Metropolitans of the Anglican Church to be sent to the Œcumenical Patriarchate dealing particularly with the question of Holy Orders as a *mysterion*. Failing this, he suggested that possibly the Archbishop of Canterbury might write a letter to the Patriarch of a character similar to that in which he invited the Œcumenical Patriarchate to send a delegation, dealing with the subject.

The Bishop of Gloucester said that he hoped that some statement would be included in the report of the Committee and that the whole matter would receive consideration.

The Patriarch then asked whether the Anglican Church accepted the Seventh Œcumenical Council. The Bishop of Gloucester replied that he personally had always been quite prepared to accept canons of the Seventh Œcumenical Council. He asked whether the statement in the suggested "Terms of Intercommunion" with regard to Ikons was satisfactory to the Orthodox. The Patriarch replied that

it was an insufficient statement, and suggested that a sufficient statement had been made ten years ago by the Bishop of Gloucester at a meeting of Anglican theologians with the Patriarch and other Eastern theologians in the Jerusalem Chamber. The Bishop of Gloucester said he would endeavour to find some record of the statement, but he said that the whole matter was a somewhat complicated one and best discussed by the Joint Commission which it was proposed to appoint.

The Committee then proceeded to the discussion of a *résumé* which had been prepared beforehand, and went through the paragraphs in detail. The Orthodox Delegation arranged to take the *résumé* away with them with the hope that they would add their signature the following morning.

At this point the Archbishop of Canterbury came in, expressed his warm thanks to the Delegation, and especially to the Œcumenical Patriarch and to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and his satisfaction with the progress that had been made and the conclusions reached. The Patriarch of Alexandria expressed satisfaction on his own part and gratitude for himself and the Delegation.

The Conference then adjourned into Lambeth Palace Chapel, where the Archbishop of Canterbury offered prayers and gave a blessing. The Patriarch of Alexandria also gave a blessing.

GEORGE CICESTR: ✠ATHENAGORAS, METROPOLITAN
OF CORCYRA.

A RÉSUMÉ OF THE DISCUSSIONS, JULY 15-18TH, 1930, BETWEEN THE
PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA WITH THE OTHER ORTHODOX
REPRESENTATIVES AND BISHOPS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION
AT LAMBETH PALACE.

1. It was agreed that a Joint Commission of Orthodox and Anglicans should be appointed for the consideration of questions of doctrine.

2. It was agreed by the Anglican Bishops that the "Terms of Intercommunion suggested between the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with her and the Eastern Orthodox Church," published under the auspices of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Eastern Churches Committee in 1921, though not officially communicated to the different Provinces of the Anglican Communion are not inconsistent with the mind and doctrine of the Anglican Church.

3. It was agreed by the Orthodox Delegation that the suggested "Terms of Intercommunion," though they had not yet been officially

considered, would form a useful basis of discussion with certain modifications.

4. It was stated by the Anglican Bishops that in questions of faith the authentic decision would be given in the Anglican Communion by the whole body of Bishops without, however, excluding the co-operation of clergy and laity during the discussions.

5. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation that the final authority in matters of Doctrine in the Orthodox Church lies with the whole body of Bishops in Synod, without excluding the expression of opinion by clergymen and laymen.

6. It was stated by the Anglican Bishops that in the Anglican Communion the Bishop has jurisdiction in questions of faith and discipline through his own court in the first instance, with due provision for appeal to the Provincial Court or a similar body.

7. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation that in the Orthodox Church spiritual causes are tried in spiritual courts, sentence being given in the case of a Bishop by a Court of Bishops, in the case of other clergymen by the Bishop through his own court.

8. It was stated by the Anglican Bishops that in the Anglican Communion Ordination is not merely the appointment of a man into a particular post, but that in Ordination a special *charisma* is given to the person ordained, proper to the Order, and that the nature of the special gift is indicated in the words of Ordination, and that in this sense Ordination is a *mysterion*.

9. It was stated by the Anglican Bishops that the Preface to the Ordinal declares "that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests and Deacons," and that to preserve unbroken succession the rules regarding Ordination have been framed "to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the Church of England."

10. The Orthodox Delegation stated that they were satisfied with regard to the maintenance of the Apostolic Succession in the Anglican Church in so far as the Anglican Bishops have already accepted Ordination as a *mysterion*, and have declared that the Doctrine of the Anglican Church is authoritatively expressed in the Book of Common Prayer, and that the meaning of the XXXIX Articles must be interpreted in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer.

11. It was stated by the Anglican Bishops that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," and that "the Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," and that after Communion the consecrated elements remaining are regarded sacramentally as the

Body and Blood of Christ; further, that the Anglican Church teaches the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice as explained in the Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Pope Leo XIII on Anglican Ordinations; and also that in the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice the Anglican Church prays that "by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His Passion," as including the whole company of faithful people, living and departed.

12. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation that the statement of Anglican Doctrine thus made with regard to the Eucharistic Sacrifice was satisfactory and would be agreeable to the Orthodox Doctrine, if an explanation were to be set out with all clearness.

13. It was stated by the Anglican Bishops that in different parts of the Anglican Communion, Anglican clergy at the request of Orthodox clergy provide sacramental ministrations to Orthodox laity who are out of reach of their own Church's ministrations, that such clergy always desire to keep the Orthodox to whom they minister faithful to the Orthodox Church and are ready to teach them the Orthodox faith and to notify Orthodox Bishops or priests of persons thus receiving their ministration or instruction.

14. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation that the whole question of arrangements in such circumstances is to come up for discussion at the forthcoming Synod of the whole Orthodox Church.

15. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation that it is the practice of the whole Orthodox Church not to rebaptize after Anglican Baptism.

16. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation that in its forthcoming Pro-Synod the Orthodox Church would probably not object to recognizing the Baptism of Children and their instruction from Orthodox books by Anglican clergy or to marriage or any other rites being performed by Anglican clergy (in case of need and where no Orthodox priest is available), provided that all persons baptized or married are properly registered as Orthodox, and their names notified as soon as possible to the competent Orthodox authority.

17. It was stated by the Orthodox Delegation with regard to the Holy Eucharist that pending a formal decision by the whole Orthodox Church and therefore without giving the practice official sanction for which it has no authority, it is of opinion that the practice of the Orthodox receiving Holy Communion from Anglican priests in case of extreme necessity and where no Orthodox priest was available, might continue, provided that an Orthodox authority did not prohibit such a practice.

✠ ARCHBISHOP OF THYATIRA, G. A. C. GLOUCESTR :

STICHERA OF THE LAST KISS.

Euchologion, pp. 417-419.

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

Δεῦτε τελευταῖον ἀσπασμὸν
δώμεν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ θανόντι
εὐχαριστοῦντες Θεῷ·
οὗτος γὰρ ἐξέλιπε τῆς συγγενείας
αὐτοῦ
καὶ πρὸς τάφον ἐπέιγεται
οὐκ ἔτι φροντίζων
τὰ τῆς ματαιότητος
καὶ πολυμόχθου σαρκός·
ποῦ νῦν συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλοι;
ἄρτι χωριζόμεθα,
ὄνπερ ἀναπαύσαι Κύριος, εὐξώ-
μεθα.

Ποῖος χωρισμὸς ὁ ἀδελφοὶ
ποῖος κοπετός, ποῖος θρήνος
ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ροπῇ;
δεῦτε οὖν ἀσπασασθε
τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν·
παραδίδοται τάφῳ γὰρ
καλύπτεται λίθῳ
σκοτει κατοικίζεται
νεκροῖς συνθάπτεται·
πάντες συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλοι
ἄρτι χωριζόμεθα
ὄνπερ ἀναπαύσαι Κύριος εὐξώμεθα.

Ἄρτι ἡ τοῦ βίου πονηρὰ
λυέται πανήγυρις πᾶσα τῆς μα-
ταιότητος·
πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ σκηνώ-
ματος·
ὁ πηλὸς μεμελάνωται
τὸ σκεῦος ἐρράγη ἀφῶνον
ἀναισθητὸν νεκρὸν ἀκίνητον·
ὄνπερ παραπέμποντες τάφῳ
Κύριον εὐξώμεθα δοῦναι
εἰς αἰῶνας τοῦτ' τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν.

Οἷα ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἐστίν
ἄνθος καὶ ἄτμις τε καὶ δρόσος
ἐωθινή ἀληθῶς·
δεῦτε οὖν κατἰδῶμεν
ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους τρανῶς·
ποῦ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος;
καὶ ποῦ ἡ νεότης;
ποῦ εἰς τὰ ὄμματα
καὶ ἡ μορφὴ τῆς σαρκός;
πάντα ἐξηράνθη ὡς χόρτος
πάντα ἠφανίσθησαν·
δεῦτε τῷ Χριστῷ παραπέσωμεν ἐν
δάκρυσι.

Hither, brethren, for it is
Time we gave the latest kiss,
Thanking God, if heavy-hearted.
He, from kin and kith departed,
Swift to grave-ward is now ta'en,
No more caring for the vain
Toils of earth, or fleshly sin.
Where are now his kith and kin?
Us and him now death doth sever:
Prithee rest him, Lord, for ever.

Brethren, O the wrench to part!
Beating breast, and aching heart!
Lamentation, bitterness!
At this moment of distress,
Come then, kiss him, while ye may,
Whom, with us but yesterday,
We commit here to the tomb,
Seal'd with stone, the house of gloom,
Mid dead men, from all his late
Friends and kinsfolk separate.
Let our orison be this:
Grant him, Lord, eternal bliss!

Life ill-spent and all hey-day
Folly now is past away.
Now the soul hath left her berth,
Body turneth black as earth.
Broken is the vessel choice,
Motionless, with ne'er a voice,
Dead, insensate lieth it.
As we bear it to the pit,
Pray we, "Lord, at our request
Grant him everlasting rest."

What is human life? A flower,
Smoke, or dew of matin hour.
Hither, gaze within the tomb.
Where is youth and beauty's bloom,
Grace and sparkling eye? Alas,
Vanish'd, wither'd all as grass.
Come, beside of Christ, may we
Weep and fall on bended knee.

Μέγας ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς
μέγας στεναγμὸς καὶ ἀνάγκη
ὁ χωρισμὸς τῆς ψυχῆς·
ἄδης καὶ ἀπώλεια
ἡ τῶν προσκαιρῶν ζωῇ
ἡ σκία ἡ ἀνύπαρκτος
ὁ ὕπνος τῆς πλάνης
ὁ ἀκαιροφάνταστος
μόχθος τοῦ βίου τῆς γῆς·
πόρρω ἐκφευξόμεθα κόσμου
ἅπαν τὸ ἁμάρτημα
ἵνα τὰ οὐράνια κληρονομήσωμεν.

Δεῦτε οἱ ἀπόγονοι Ἀδὰμ
ἴδωμεν εἰς γῆν βεβλημένον
τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμῶν
ὄλην τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀποβαλλό-
μενον
λελυμένον ἐν μνηματι
σαπρία σκολιῶν
σκοτει δαπανώμενον
γῇ καλυπτόμενον·
ὄνπερ ἀφανὴ λελοιπότες
τῷ Χριστῷ εὐξώμεθα δοῦναι
εἰς αἰῶνας τοῦτ' τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν.

Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴ
μέλλει μετὰ βίας ἀρπᾶσθαι
ὑπὸ Ἀγγέλων φρικτῶν
πάντων ἐπιλάθεται
τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ γνωστῶν
καὶ φροντίζει τὰ μέλλοντα
κριτήρια στήναι
τὰ τῆς ματαιότητος
καὶ πολυμόχθου σαρκός.
Δεῦτε τὸν Κριτὴν δυσωποῦντες
παντες ἐπευξώμεθα
ἵνα συγχωρήσῃ Κύριος
ἃ ἔπραξεν.

Πάντα τὰ τοῦ σώματος νυνὶ
ὄργανα ἀργὰ θεωροῦνται
τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ κινητά·
πάντα ἀνενέργητα
νεκρά, ἀναισθητά·
ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ κατέδυσαν
ἐδέθησαν ποδες
χεῖρες ἡσυχάζουσι
καὶ ἀκοὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς
γλώσσα τῇ συγῇ συνεκλείσθη
τάφῳ παραδίδοται·
ὄντως ματαιότης πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώ-
πινα.

Deep the wail, sob, sigh and grief,
Deep the groan, when, loth or lief,
Soul to body saith, Adieu!
Hell and ruin full in view,
Mortal life she doth esteem
Passing show, an erring dream,
Fleeting shadow, and, in plain,
Earthly labour spent in vain.
Henceforth every worldly sin
Shun we, heav'n thereby to win.

Draw, ye sons of Adam, nigh:
Look interr'd where he doth lie.
Portrait of yourselves ye see:
Rotting in the grave is he.
All his beauty cast away,
Food, whereon the worm may prey.
Mouldering in the gloom of night,
Hid by earth from mortal sight.
Ere we leave our brother, pray
Christ vouchsafe him rest for ay.

When, compell'd by Angels dread,
From the flesh the spirit fled,
World and friend the soul forgot,
Thinking of her future lot,
When before the Judge she must
Own to vain and carnal lust,
Lord, we pray thee, pardon all
Her offences, great or small.

Now all organs, that before
Work'd the body, work no more;
Active hitherto; but how
Lifeless, senseless all are now!
For the eyes have quench'd their light,
Chain'd the feet are, left and right,
Hands lie idle, deaf to sound
Is the ear, the tongue-tip bound.
To his long home man is ta'en:
Sooth, all mortal life is vain.

Ὁρώντές με ἄφωνον
καὶ ἄπνον προκείμενον
κλαύσατε πάντες ἐπ' ἐμοὶ
ἀδελφοὶ καὶ φίλοι
συγγενεῖς καὶ γνωστοί·
τὴν γὰρ χθὲς ἡμέραν
μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐλάλουν
καὶ ἄφνω ἐπήλθέ μοι
ἡ φοβερά ὥρα τοῦ θανάτου.
Ἀλλὰ δεῦτε πάντες
οἱ ποθοῦμενοί με
καὶ ἀσπάσασθέ με
τὸν τελευταῖον ἀσπασμόν·
οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ μεθ' ὑμῶν πορεύσομαι
ἢ συλλαλήσω τοῦ λοιποῦ·
εἰς Κριτὴν γὰρ ἀπέρχομαι
ἐνθα προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστι·
δοῦλος γὰρ καὶ δεσπότης
οὐκ ἀρίστανται
βασιλεὺς καὶ στρατιώτης
πλούσιος καὶ πένης
ἐν ἀξιώματι ἴσῳ·
ἐκαστος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων
ἢ δοξασθήσεται ἢ αἰσχυνθήσεται.
Ἀλλ' αὐτῷ πάντας καὶ δυσωπῶ
ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
προσεύξασθαι Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ
ἵνα μὴ καταταγῶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας
μου
εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς βασιάνου
ἀλλ' ἵνα με κατατάξῃ,
ὅπου τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς.

Προκείμενον, Ὦχος γ'.

Μακαρία ἡ ὁδὸς
ἣ πορεύῃ σήμερον,
ὅτι ἡτοιμάσθη σοι
τόπος ἀναπαύσεως.

Στίχος

Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχίμου,
εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου.

In the above *stichera*, where necessary, the words *she*, *her*, and *sister*, must be substituted for *he*, *him*, *his*, and *brother*.

Viewing me lain on my bier,
Speechless, breathless, let a tear
O'er me, you my brethren, with
All my lovers, kin and kith.
Though but yesterday with ye
I was holding converse free,
In the twinkle of an eye
Came my dreadful hour to die.
Hither, who soe'er me miss,
Give me now your latest kiss.
For with you as heretofore
I shall walk and talk no more,
Sith toward the Judge I fare:
No respect of person there.
Serf and thane together stand,
King and soldier hand in hand,
Good man, beggar, great and small,
Common rank for one and all.
Every man to weal or woe,
'Cording to his works, shall go.
I entreat and beg, that ye
Ceaselessly all pray for me
Unto Jesus, to the end
That he never may me send,
For my past iniquity,
To the place of misery,
But may seat me in supernal
Homes of light, in life eternal.

Prokeimenon. Tone 3.

Blest is the way whereon to-day
Thou journeyest:
Because we see prepared for thee
A place of rest.

Stichos.

Turn, my soul, apace
To thy resting-place.

The Christian East

SUGGESTED TERMS OF INTERCOMMUNION BETWEEN
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCHES IN
COMMUNION WITH HER AND THE EASTERN
ORTHODOX CHURCH.

I.

Of the Christian Faith.

WE accept the Faith of Christ as it is taught us by the Holy Scriptures, and as it has been handed down to us in the Creed of the Catholic Church,¹ and as it is expounded in the dogmatic decisions of the Œcumenical Councils as accepted by the Undivided Church.

II.

Of the Canon of Scripture.

We accept the Canon of Scripture as it is defined by St. Athanasius,² and as it has been received by the whole Catholic Church; namely, the twenty-two books of the Old Testament which are contained in the Hebrew Canon, and the twenty-seven books of the New Testament. As regards the other books, which are called sometimes Deutero-canonical, sometimes ἀναγινωσκόμενα, sometimes *Apocrypha*, we also accept the teaching of St. Athanasius: "for greater exactness I add this also . . . that there are other books besides these [books], not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and wish to be instructed in the word of godliness . . . the former [books] . . . being included in the Canon, the latter being [only] read";³ and the teaching of St. Jerome "that the Church may read them for the edification of the people, not for the confirmation of the authority of ecclesiastical dogmas."⁴

¹ See Section IV.

² *Festal Epistle* xxxix.

³ S. Ath. *Ep. Fest.* xxxix (ed. Bened., Paris 1698, ii p. 962): ἀλλ' ἐνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθημι καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως, ὥς ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηγεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εἰσεβείας λόγον . . . καὶ ὁμως, ἀγαπητοί, κἀκεῖνων κανονιζόμενων καὶ τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων κτλ.

⁴ *Prol. in Libros Salom.*: Sicut ergo Iudith et Machabaeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recepit, sic et haec duo volumina [Ecclesiasticum et Sapientiam] legat ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.

III.

Of the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture.

We believe that Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, as St. Athanasius says, "The sacred and inspired Scriptures are sufficient to declare the truth."¹ And elsewhere, "These are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsts may be satisfied with the oracles contained in them. In these [books] alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to them, nor take aught from them";² and, as St. Augustine says: "In those things which are plainly laid down in Scripture all things are found which comprise faith and morals."³ As touching Tradition, we accept it, in the words of the *Longer Catechism* of the Russian Church, "as a guide to the right understanding of the Holy Scripture, for the right ministration of the Sacraments, and the preservation of sacred rites and ceremonies in the purity of their original institution"; and "we must follow that tradition which agrees with the divine revelation and with Holy Scripture."⁴

IV.

Of the Creed of the Church.

We accept as the creed of the Catholic Church that which is sometimes called the Creed of Constantinople, and in the formularies of the Church of England is called the Nicene Creed; which was put forth by the Council of Chalcedon and has been accepted by the whole Catholic Church.

V.

Of the Exposition of the Faith of the Council of Chalcedon.

We accept also as explaining the Creed the Exposition of Faith which was put forth by the Council of Chalcedon.

VI.

That no one may put forth any other Creed.

Whereas it is stated in the Exposition of faith of the Council of Chalcedon that "these things having been defined by us with all possible accuracy and care, the Holy and Œcumenical Synod hath

¹ S. Ath. *contra Gentes* i § 3: αὐτάρκεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ θείαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Cp. *de Synod.* 6, ad *Episc. Aegypti* 6.

² S. Ath. *Ep. Fest.* xxxix: τὰτα πηγὰς τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν διψῶντα ἐν τοῦτοις ἐμφορεῖσθαι λογίω· ἐν τοῦτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον ἐναγγελλίεται· μηδεὶς τοῦτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρέσθω τι.

³ S. Aug. *de Doctrina Christiana* ii 9: in eis enim quae aperte in Scripturis positae sunt inveniuntur illa omnia quae continent fidem, moresque vivendi, spem scilicet atque caritatem.

⁴ *Longer Catechism.* English Translation in *The Doctrine of the Russian Church.* By the Rev. R. W. Blackmore (Aberdeen 1845), p. 36.

decreed that it is unlawful for any one to present, or compile, or compose, or believe, or teach to others, any other creed; and that those who dare either to compose another creed, or to bring forward, or to teach, or to deliver another symbol to those wishing to turn from paganism or from Judaism or from heresy of what sort soever, to the full knowledge of the truth, these, if bishops or clerics, be deposed, the bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clerical office; and, if monks or laics, they be anathematized."¹ We recognize that it is unlawful for a Church to demand any further statement of faith as a necessary condition of intercommunion; but that it is not unlawful for the several Churches to use as their baptismal creed some other creed agreeable to the tradition of the Church, as in the Western Church that which is called the Apostles' Creed is and always has been so used. Nor is it unlawful for a Church to use any other similar document in the services of the Church, or for the instruction of the Faithful, provided that it is agreeable to orthodox doctrine.

VII.

Of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Whereas there has been a difference, as between the East and the West, in the language used concerning the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, so that it has been the custom in the East to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and in the West that He proceeds from the Father and the Son, we recognize that both forms of expression may rightly be used, and that they are intended to express the same faith. While we reject every proposition or form of expression which implies the existence of two principles or ἀρχαὶ or αἰτίαι in the Holy Trinity, we accept the teaching of St. John of Damascus and of the earlier Greek Fathers that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son.²

VIII.

Of the Filioque Clause.

And whereas in the Western Church at some time in the sixth or seventh century the words *Filioque* were added to the Creed, we agree

¹ *Expos. fidei Conc. Chalc.* (Mansi *Concilia* vii 116): τούτων τῶν μετὰ πάσης πανταχόθεν ἀκρίβειας τε καὶ ἐμμελείας παρ' ἡμῶν διατυπωθέντων, ὥρισην ἡ ἀγία καὶ οἰκουμένη Σύνοδος ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδὲν ἐξείναι προφέρειν ἢ γον συγγράφειν ἢ συντιθέναι ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ διδάσκειν ἑτέρου· τοὺς δὲ τοιμῶντας ἢ συντιθέναι πίστιν ἑτέραν ἢ γον προκομίζειν ἢ διδάσκειν ἢ παραδίδόναι ἑτέρον σύμβολον τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐξ ἑλληνισμοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἢ γον ἐξ αἰρέσεως οἰασθησῶν, τοὺς, εἰ μὲν εἰεν ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοί, ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ τοὺς κληρικούς τοῦ κλήρου, εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες ἢ λαῖκοι εἰεν ἀναθεματίζεσθαι αὐτούς.

² On the *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* and the *Filioque* clause see the extract from the Report of the Bonn Conference of 1875, printed in Appendix I. This Report was carefully examined by a committee of the province of Canterbury in 1875. See Occasional paper of the *Eastern Church Association*, No. X, Parker, Oxford, 1904.

in acknowledging that this addition was not made "in an ecclesiastically regular manner"; and that in assemblies of Easterns and Westerns the one Creed of the Universal Church ought to be recited without those words; but we are also agreed that, since the added words are used in an orthodox sense, it is lawful for any Church which has received the Creed as containing these words to continue so to recite it in the Services of the Church.

IX.

Of Variety of Customs in the Church.

St. Augustine divides the usages of the Church into three classes: viz. (1) those customs which have the authority of our Lord and of the Scriptures, of which he says "Our Lord Jesus Christ has put us under a light yoke and an easy burden, as He says Himself in the Gospel; and therefore He has bound together the society of the New People by sacraments in number very few, in observance most easy, and in meaning most excellent: as Baptism consecrated in the Name of the Trinity, the Communion of His Body and Blood, and anything else that is commended in the Canonical Scriptures"; (2) "those things which we hold on the authority, not of Scripture, but of tradition, which are observed throughout the whole world," and of these he says it is to be understood that they are retained "as commended and enacted either by the Apostles themselves or by plenary Councils whose authority in the Church is most salutary"; and (3) "those things which are different in different places and countries. . . . All such things are free to be observed or not; and there is no better rule for a serious and prudent Christian than to act in such wise as he sees that church to act in which he chances to find himself."¹ The Patriarch Photius also writes: "In cases where the thing disregarded is not matter of faith and does not involve a falling away from any general or catholic decree, where different customs and usages are observed in different places, a man who knows how to judge would be right in deciding that neither do those who observe them act wrongly, nor those who have not received them break the

¹ S. Aug. *Ep. liv ad Ianuarium* 1-3: Primo itaque tenere te volo quod est huius disputationis caput: Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, sicut Ipse in Evangelio loquitur, leni iugo suo nos subdidisse et sarcinae levi: unde sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione praestantissimis, societatem Novi Populi colligavit, sicut est Baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, Communicatio Corporis et Sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in Scripturis canonicis commendatur, exceptis iis quae servitutem populi veteris . . . onerabant. . . . Illa autem quae non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quae quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur datur intelligi vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel plenariis Conciliis, quorum est in Ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri. . . . Alia vero quae per loca terrarum regionesque variantur . . . totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observationes: nec disciplina ulla est in his melior gravi prudentie Christiano quam ut eo modo agat quo agere viderit ecclesiam ad quam forte devenerit. Quod enim neque contra fidem neque contra bonos mores esse convincitur, indifferenter est habendum et propter eorum inter quos vivitur societatem servandum est. Cp. S. Ath. *de Synodis* 5.

law."¹ We agree, therefore, to recognize those customs which have the authority of our Lord, of Scripture, and of the Universal Church; while, as to those which are different in different parts of the Christian world and for which there is not the authority of Scripture or of any general Council, we agree that each Church do retain its own customs.

X.

Of the Number of the Sacraments.

Inasmuch as the number of the Sacraments has never been authoritatively fixed either by tradition from the Apostles or any decision of an Ecumenical Council, their number has been differently reckoned in the Church at different periods. It was not until the sixteenth century that the number was defined in the Roman Church, or until the seventeenth century in the Eastern. We recognize that the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are pre-eminent above the rest.² In the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of

And the Patriarch Jeremiah in his reply to the Nonjurors (1718) says: "We hold likewise that the Holy Sacraments are seven in number; but two only exceed in necessity, and are such as no one can be saved without them. For, as for Baptism, it is our Lord's saying that *Whosoever is not born again of Water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God.* And of the Eucharist, he says: *Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.*" "Reply of the Patriarchs to the Nonjurors" in George Williams', *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1868), p. 46.

England the title Sacrament is only used of these two as (1) having an outward visible sign ordained by Christ Himself, and (2) as generally necessary for salvation.³ But we agree further that the

¹ 'Εν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι πίστις τὸ ἀθετούμενον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν τε καὶ καθολικὸν ψήφισματος ἐκπτώσις, ἄλλων παρ' ἄλλοις ἔθων τε καὶ νομίμων φυλαττομένων, οὔτε τοὺς φύλακας ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε τοὺς μὴ παραδεχομένους παρανομεῖν, ὁρῶς ἂν τις κρίνῃ εἰδὼς διορίσασθαι (Φωτίου τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ἁγιοτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπιστολαί, Βαλέττα, London, 1864, p. 156).

² The Patriarch Jeremiah in his second answer to the Protestants, 1576, writes: "Ἄν γὰρ τὰ κυριώτερα τῶν μυστηρίων τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ κοινωνία ἡ θεία ἐστὶ, καὶ ὧν δίχα σωθῆναι ἀδύνατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα παρέδωκεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, τὰ λοιπὰ φημι ἄχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ, ὡς λέγομεν (Συμβολικὴ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀνατολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὸ I. E. Μεσολωρα, Athens, 1885, vol. i, p. 228).

So Kritopoulos in his Confession, published in 1661 (*Ὁμολογία Μητροφάνους τοῦ Κριτοπούλου*, ib. pp. 313, 314) distinguishes three Sacraments as necessary, Baptism, the Holy Communion (ἡ ἁγία κοινωνία), and Penance (ἡ μετάνοια). Besides these there are other rites, also called Sacraments, which ought to be received, παρὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τρία ἀναγκαῖα μυστήρια εἰσὶ καὶ τινες τελεταὶ μυστικαὶ καὶ κείναις ὁμωνύμως καλούμεναι παρὰ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὸ μυστικὸν τε καὶ πνευματικὸν ταῦταις ἐμπεριέχεσθαι· οἷον τὸ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα εὐθὺς παραλαμβανόμενον ἅγιον χρίσμα, ἡ τάξις τῶν ἱερέων, ὁ πρῶτος γάμος καὶ τὸ εὐχέλαιον.

³ Cp. *Homilies appointed to be read in Churches*, 1563, Of Common Prayer and Sacraments: "As for the number of [the Sacraments], if they should be considered according to the exact signification of a Sacrament, namely, for the visible signs, expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sin, and of our holiness and joining in Christ, there be but two: namely Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. For although Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin, yet by the express word of the New Testament it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not expressly commanded in the New Testament to be used in Absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the Lord's

title Sacrament may be used of other rites and ceremonies in which there is an outward and visible sign and an inward and spiritual grace, and in that sense it is rightly used of other institutions, such as ordination, penance, confirmation, marriage, and the anointing of the sick; and in relation to some of these Sacraments, since the customs of the different Churches have varied and still vary, we agree that each Church have liberty to retain its own usages.

XI.

Of the Holy Eucharist.

The Church has at all times desired to fulfil the Lord's command by the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and we desire in all things to obey the teaching of Scripture and the regulations of the Universal Church. But whereas there has been much controversy, and many divisions have arisen, as to the more exact definition of the nature of the presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist; and whereas there is no decree of any Œcumenical Council touching the manner of the presence of Christ; and whereas some of the terms that have been used have been used with different significations in different parts of the Church: we agree that this is a Divine Mystery which transcends human understanding, and that the Church has expressed sufficiently its belief in its Liturgies; and we agree further that the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as it is taught in the Liturgies of the Orthodox Church, and in the Liturgies of the Church of England and those of the Churches in communion with the Church of England, is adequate and sufficient.

XII.

Of the Holy Orders of the Church.

In order that the Word of God might be preached and the Sacraments duly administered our Lord instituted a Ministry for His

Supper are: and therefore Absolution is no such Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are. And though the Ordering of Ministers hath its visible sign and promise: yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other sacraments besides the two above-named do. Therefore neither it, nor any other Sacrament else, be such Sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But in a general acception, the name of a Sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word, the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly and of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven Sacraments: but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like, not meaning thereby to repute them as Sacraments in the same signification that the two forenamed Sacraments are. And therefore Saint Augustine weighing the true signification and exact meaning of the word, writing to *Ianuaris* [*Ep. liv 1*], and also in the third book of Christian Doctrine [*de Doct. Christ. iii 9*] affirmeth that the Sacraments of the Christians, as they are most excellent in signification, so are they most few in number, and in both places maketh mention expressly of two, the Sacrament of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord."

Of the Sacraments, S. John of Damascus treats only of Baptism and the Eucharist (*de Fide Orthodoxa* iv 9, 13).

Church and the Apostles ordained ministers by the laying on of hands with prayer, and the Catholic Church has laid down rules for the continuation and ordering of the Ministry. We desire always to fulfil the commands of Christ, the intention of the Apostles, and the rule of the Church. We agree that "from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons"—and it has always been our intention that these Orders "be continued and reverently used and esteemed";¹ and we agree that in accordance with our common usage and the canon of the Council of Nicaea every bishop be consecrated by three other bishops at least, and that all priests and deacons be ordained by bishops with the laying on of hands and prayer; and that in Ordination the Holy Spirit is given for the work of the Ministry; and we consider that the forms of Ordination used in the Orthodox Church and in the Church of England are adequate and sufficient.

XIII.

Of the Sacred Ikons.

Since there has been much difference of opinion touching the use of Ikons, and since there are differences of usage between the East and the West, we express our agreement with the Second Council of Nicaea that the tradition of "making pictorial representations is agreeable to the history contained in the Evangelic Message, for a confirmation of the real incarnation of God the Word, and serves to our profit in this regard";² and we agree further that worship (*λατρεία*) pertains to the Divine Nature alone,³ and we accept the words used by the Bishop at his consecration in the Russian Church: "I will take care that the homage due to God be not transferred to holy images nor false miracles be ascribed to them whereby the true worship is perverted and a handle given to adversaries to reproach the Orthodox; on the contrary I will study that images be respected only in the sense of the Holy Orthodox Church as set forth in the Second Council of Nicaea." And for other matters we agree that each Church may have liberty to preserve its own distinctive customs, and that in the Western Church figures of Christ and the Saints be allowed which are carved and sculptured contrary to the custom of

¹ *The Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, according to the order of the Church of England*, Preface. Compare also the words used by the Bishops in the Lambeth Conference of 1908 and 1920: "We who speak are bearers of the sacred commission of the ministry given by our Lord through His Apostles to the Church."

² *Definitio Conc. Nicaen. II* (Mansi *Concilia* xiii 377) καὶ συνελόντες φάμεν ὅτι τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐγγράφους ἢ ἀγράφους τεθεσπισμένους ἡμῖν παραδόσεις ἀκανοτομήτως φυλάττομεν· ὅτι μία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς εἰκονικῆς ἀναζωγραφῆσεως ἐκτίπνωσις, ὡς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος συνάδουσα, πρὸς πίστωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ οὐ κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καὶ εἰς ὁμοίαν λυσιστέλειαν ἡμῖν χρησιμεύουσα.

³ *Ibid.* τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν ἢ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει.

the Eastern Church ; and that the Eastern Church should show reverence to the Sacred Ikons in accordance with its own customs and the teaching of the Second Council of Nicaea ; and that neither Church should accuse the other of idolatry or false teaching.

APPENDIX

Propositions adopted by the Bonn Conference.

I.

1. We agree in receiving the Œcumenical Creeds and dogmatic decisions of the ancient undivided Church.
2. We agree in acknowledging that the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner.
3. We acknowledge on all sides the representation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as it is set forth by the Fathers of the undivided Church.
4. We reject every proposition and every method of expression in which in any way the acknowledgment of two principles or ἀρχαί or αἰτίαι in the Trinity may be contained.

II.

We accept the teaching of S. John Damascene on the Holy Ghost, as it is expressed in the following paragraphs in the sense of the teaching of the ancient undivided Church.

1. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father, as the Beginning (ἀρχή), the Cause (αἰτία), the Source (πηγή), of the Godhead.¹
2. The Holy Ghost does not issue out of the Son (ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ) because there is in the Godhead but one Beginning (ἀρχή), one Cause (αἰτία), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.²
3. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son.³
4. The Holy Ghost is the Image of the Son, who is the Image⁴ of

¹ *De Recta Sententia*, n. 1; *Contr. Manich.* n. 4.

² Ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγεται, Πνεῦμα δὲ Υἱοῦ νομαζόμενον (*De Fide Orthod.* i 8).

³ Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκφαντορικῇ τοῦ κρυφίου τῆς Θεότητος δυνάμει τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐκ Πατρὸς μὲν δι' Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευομένη (*De Fide Orthod.* i 12). Υἱοῦ δὲ Πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον (*Ibid.*). Διὰ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον (*Cont. Manich.* n. 5). Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Λόγου προῖον (*De Hymno Trisag.* n. 28). Τοῦτ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ λατρευόμενον . . . Πνεῦμα ἕκκον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον· ὅπερ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεται, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ φανερούμενον καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὑπαρξιν (*Hom. in Sabb. S. n. 4*).

⁴ Εἰκὼν τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα (*De Fide Orthod.* i 13).

the Father, issuing out of the Father and resting in the Son as His revealing power.¹

5. The Holy Ghost is the personal production out of the Father, belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because He is the Spirit of the mouth of God declarative of the Word.²

6. The Holy Ghost forms the link between the Father and the Son, and is linked to the Father by the Son.³

THE MINORITIES IN IRAQ.

By F. N. HEAZELL.

IRAQ is an old name revived, now used to describe the modern Arab State in Mesopotamia, which has its capital at Baghdad. Many changes have taken place in the government of the country and some of them are very unjust to the Christian, and other, minorities who dwell in that land.

Our chief interest is in the Assyrian nation which has always had an attraction for Christians of the West. Their ancient history, their language, their customs in daily life, link them to Bible times ; above all, their loyalty to the Christian Faith through centuries of persecution under Moslem rule has called forth a wide sympathy for this romantic race. During the War the Assyrian Patriarch and his people were driven from their homes in Kurdistan into Persia ; there they were again attacked by the Turks, and being destitute, fled to Hamadan in 1918 to seek protection from the British forces who were operating in that region. Finally, they found a resting-place in the huge refugee camp set up at Baqubah, on the River Diala. The Assyrians had fought for the Allies, and the British sense of justice for a people who had lost everything in their cause, provided for their temporary needs for a whole year in a wonderful way. They had implicit faith in the British nation, for as far back as 1847 and many times since, British consuls had championed their rights against Moslem oppression and now they trusted that their freedom was safe in British hands.

The League of Nations gave them their first great awakening

¹ Τοῦ Πατρὸς προερχομένη καὶ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ ἀναπανομένη καὶ αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἐκφαντικὴν δυνάμιν (*De Fide Orthod.* i 7). Πατὴρ διὰ Λόγον προβολεὺς ἐκφαντορικοῦ Πνεύματος (*Ibid.* i 12).

² Τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐνπόστατον ἐκπόρευμα καὶ πρόβλημα ἐκ Πατρὸς μὲν, Υἱοῦ δέ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ὡς Πνεῦμα στήματος Θεοῦ, Λόγου ἐξαγγελτικόν (*De Hymno Trisag.* n. 28).

³ Μέσον τοῦ ἀγεννήτου καὶ γεννητοῦ, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ τῷ Πατρὶ συναπτόμενον (*De Fide Orthod.* i 13). The above translation is incorrect. It should be: 'The Holy Ghost is not either begotten nor unbegotten, and is linked to the Father by the Son'.

when the Mosul award of 1925 adopted the Brussels line and created a new frontier which left out half of the Assyrian homelands. They had asked that they might have the right to reside, as formerly, in their old villages of Kurdistan, which had been theirs before the Turk came out of Mongolia; and they were willing to accept such new conditions of government as the League of Nations might decide. But the League went against them and said they must go back as subjects of the Turk and submit to the mercy of those who were in the very act of massacring all of their kith and kin on whom they could lay hands. It was a flagrant denial of the very principle for which the League of Nations exists, and one of those decisions based on expediency rather than justice; it abandoned the weak who had trusted it, lest the strong should repudiate its jurisdiction.

In 1928 some attempt was made by the British High Commissioner to settle them on vacant lands in Iraq, and 3,000 families were placed in malarial districts south and east of Amadia; but it was well known that these places were evacuated by the Kurds long ago, because of their unhealthy conditions. Unless the Assyrians are transferred to the foothills, where there is ample accommodation, their extinction is a matter of mathematical calculation. I have before me a letter from an English friend who visited Mosul in the autumn of 1930, who says: "The conditions at the moment are appallingly bad, and a slow process of oppression and extermination is being continually carried out. It is practically impossible to describe the ghastly conditions under which these Christian people are compelled to live in some of their villages. The Christians are forced by their Moslem masters to live in such utter degradation that their children are born diseased, half-starved, and half-insane." Many of the people are now dying of malnutrition and disease, and are compelled to live under conditions that are a disgrace to civilization.

An appeal was presented to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in September, 1930, asking for consideration. The Commission met again in June of this year to hear witnesses; the evidence will not be made public until September next.

At the present time the situation is very perplexing as the correspondence in *The Times* of June and July last has shown. In May, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union decided to present a further petition and memorandum, carefully drawn up by experts. This petition had reference to the protection of Christian and Kurdish minorities, whose welfare is one of the specific obligations laid upon, and accepted by, Great Britain as the Mandatory Power. The petition was transmitted on May 14th by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to the Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva, together

with proposals for a draft declaration to be made by the representatives of Iraq on application for admission to membership of the League of Nations. Professor Gilbert Murray, the Chairman of L.N.U., withdrew this petition and memorandum on the eve of its consideration by the Mandates Commission. He now says (*The Times*, July 8th), and we accept his statement, that this document was withdrawn on "a pure question of form and correctness," as it had not first been submitted to the Foreign Office before transmission. He adds, "the withdrawal of the document implies no change of view about the merits of the case." We now learn that the petition was unacceptable to the Foreign Office, though the letter of protest from Mr. Henderson was not sent until after the petition had been withdrawn.

It is clear then that the merits of the case, set forth in the petition, which was withdrawn on technical grounds, stand, and that the Foreign Office has little sympathy for the minorities and will not allow suggestions to be made as to what should be said by the Mandatory Power to the Arab Government about the freedom of the oppressed. It appears to us, we hope it is not so, that the Foreign Office has blocked the way for a merciful treatment of a number of mixed races, who have no way of making themselves heard except by their representations to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Lord Lugard writes in *The Times* of July 12th that "the Mandates Commission is as fully alive to the interests of the minorities as they (the correspondents) are themselves." That may be true. But the members of the Mandates Commission have never lived under the conditions imposed by the Arab State, and the recent petition drawn up by the L.N.U. was intended to strengthen the hands of the Commission by placing before them the point of view of those who know these conditions by bitter experience. We have waited for twelve years and still nothing has been done to satisfy the just claims of an oppressed people.

We believe the British Government acted unwisely when it entered into an alliance with the Arab State and renounced all responsibility for the minorities. King Feisal undertook by Art. III of the Treaty of 1922, to frame a law securing the religious and educational rights of the several communities. This has not been carried out, and we know of not a few instances where these educational rights have been set aside. It is said that these rights will be secured by the Council of the League of Nations and that it is not the business of the Mandates Commission; but it is surely the business of the Mandates Commission to consider how best this can be done, and the Council of the League will be largely influenced by their definite recommendations.

The withdrawal of the League of Nations Union petition we cannot but regard as a disaster. With our knowledge of the way the law is

administered for Christians in a Moslem State, we have a profound distrust in the policy which would give the Arab State the privilege of membership in the League without first securing the fulfilment of what many members of the League of Nations Union regard as matters of vital responsibility affecting the suffering minorities. Further, in any undertaking given by the Arab Government it will be necessary that all pledges should carry with them penalty clauses, since however desirous the central authorities at Baghdad may be to administer good government, they are quite unable to secure effective administration in the villages where the minorities are subject to subordinate officials.

We may sum up the present position in a few words: nominally, the welfare of the minorities at the present time is still in the hands of the Mandatory Power, as trustees of the League of Nations. Actually, the internal administration is controlled by the Arab Government; the Mandatory Power having gradually relaxed its supervision, preparatory to the surrender of the Mandate next year, when it is proposed to admit Iraq to membership in the League of Nations.

The policy of the Arab Government is to make these minorities into Iraqis and members of the body politic, without reference to their different nationalities. From the Moslem point of view this may be satisfactory; but from the Christian side, it would be disastrous. The Assyrian people are an ancient race, who by inheritance and by long settlement in the country have every right to a place in the land of their birth, and to freedom from religious persecution. This has been asked for in the petitions presented to the League of Nations, which appear to most men not unreasonable; but up to the present the request has been made without effect. The policy has ever been—Moslem rights of religion must at all costs be respected; but for Christians, no consideration can be shown for fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the Moslem population.

If the Christian minorities are absorbed into the Arab State it will deprive them of entity of race, religion, language and education, and gradually, we fear, by a process of attrition, eliminate an ancient race of Christian people from among the rightful dwellers in the land.

CHURCH LIFE UNDER THE SOVIET.

(The following notes were written by a Russian Orthodox priest, whose name we suppress, who recently escaped from Russia.)

THE Russian Orthodox people, in the mass, remains faithful to the Orthodox Church of the Patriarch Tikhon. At the head of it stands the Metropolitan Peter. He has been in exile on the Khe Island in the Arctic Ocean since 1925. His name is always commemorated first at all services. In practice, the Russian Church is governed by the Metropolitan Sergius, formerly of Finland, who is regarded as the representative of the successor of the Patriarch, and the Holy Patriarchal Synod is under him. The Metropolitan Sergius obtained from the Soviet authorities the legalization of Church government. The government promulgated an instruction, on the basis of which the Russian Orthodox Church exists. The churches, being State property, are let out on a free lease to not less than 20 believing persons. The ecclesiastical departments, considering the churches their property, look after their maintenance, and repair and superintend the revenue and expenditure. The Communists stand at the head of the Church departments.

When Metropolitan Sergius secured an agreement with the Soviet authorities, he issued an order throughout the churches to pray for the government in the liturgical prayers. The form of the prayer was put forth as follows: "For the country of Russia and its rulers, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." This arrangement did not please all the clergy. There were bishops and priests who considered this unacceptable, and separated from the Metropolitan Sergius. Among them was one of the biggest churches in Petrograd, to which many people flocked. When the Government order was issued imposing a tax on the sale of candles in the churches, then in the churches which had seceded from Metropolitan Sergius, they refused to sell candles. This and other such circumstances served as a pretext for the arrest of Archbishop Dimitri, the clergy and 15 laymen. They were kept for a whole year in prison. In July, 1930, the examination was completed. Archbishop Dimitri and 6 priests and several laymen were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, and two priests, Sergius Tikhomirov and Nikolai Prozorov were shot. These men proved themselves manly confessors of the Christian faith. They were not afraid to tell the truth to the godless Soviet power. In the hearts of believers their image is preserved for ever, as of priests who have fallen not for the counter-revolution (they were not guilty of anything), but for open and fearless witness to the Christian faith and for the conviction of their executioners.

In spite of the fact that in Russia the Church has a legal position, the persecutions are not weakening in the least. The outbursts of the Soviet authorities in strife with the Church are sometimes violent, and sometimes they slightly subside. Generally, the whole Church in Russia is on Golgotha. It seems that all the powers of hell have fallen upon the land of Russia, in order to crush and annihilate the Christian faith and the Church of God. The houses of God are closed. It costs the believers great pains to save them. The clergy are deprived of the most elementary rights of humanity. None of the clergy receive provision cards; they are banished from the towns and forced to find a refuge where they can; they have no right to an independent room or a place to live in. In 1927 a decree was issued to banish all clergy having an income of more than 3,000 roubles per annum, and in 1930 they began to banish them one by one. Only those were left in their rooms whose sons took part in the civil war on the side of the Reds. The clergy live in Russia under the heavy threat of banishment either to Solovki or to Siberia or to the southern border: in order to banish more, especially in the provinces, the following pretext was devised. A big tax was imposed upon priests, which they are not in a position to pay. The defaulter is arrested and sent to forced labour, to wood-cutting or to getting peat. His sermons are placed under observation. If anything in the sermons does not please the inspectors, the priest is reported, arrested, and banished. In exile life is terrible. Apart from the work being beyond their strength, the clergy have to endure all sorts of deprivations, insults, brutalities and mockeries. The food is vile. In some cases the exiles have returned home, other bishops and priests have died in exile. In 1930 there were in exile at Solovki more than 400 clergy, and in the Tversky province on peat work more than 100. In the summer of 1930 at Petrograd alone, 44 priests were arrested. With regard to the clergy there are no limits to the cruelties of the Soviet authorities. In 1929 there was exiled from Petrograd a meritorious arch-priest. On the way to exile he was blinded. All the attempts to obtain the liberation of this priest failed. The children and families of the priests were also deprived of all civil rights. The children may be given only elementary education. The intermediate and higher courses are forbidden them. Again it is impossible to get work anywhere. At the labour exchange they are not given employment and without the exchange there is no work to be had. There is no free work. The position of the children of the clergy is desperate. In some cases, peasants have adopted the children of the clergy, and in this way they are able to get on a little. Lately, such peasants have been denounced as Koolaki (rich peasants) and persecuted. One can plainly and

definitely say, that the clergy wear the martyr's crown. Having no place to lay their heads, unable to buy food, footwear, clothing and other household necessities, they bear with all resignation their living cross. In their personal life they have become frankly ascetics. Deprived of all recreation and the most harmless pleasures, they have become more moral, purer. In their sufferings they have earned love, respect, and the most practical support from their flock and a specially reverent relation to them. At times a passer-by will insult a priest in the streets, but it also happens that as a priest goes along the street in the customary priestly dress the passers-by will go down on their knees and ask for his blessing. The Russian people (the faithful, of course), love and trust their clergy, and support them in every way as also they support the churches and their ornaments. If need arise in the church, or for the payment of taxes, it is sufficient to ask, as they will readily meet you halfway, and will sacrifice what they can, both money, bracelets, rings, even betrothal rings, if there is an indispensable need in the church. They will give the last thing, they will deny themselves everything to maintain the services and not to give an occasion for closing the church. They love the church, and willingly visit it, when they are free.

The atheists try with all their might to paralyse the influence of the church on the people. They have immense State resources at their disposal, they publish many atheistic reviews, papers, posters, here, there and everywhere, they arrange lectures in factories and workshops. The Press is on their side, and capital, and the protection of the Soviet authorities. This was one of the reasons for the introduction of the five days' shift (*i.e.*, the workers work four days, and on the fifth they rest) and it was the wish of the Communists to abolish the celebration of feasts by Christians. But in spite of all this, the atheists cannot boast of their successes. It is true, they seduce and attract many. Their destructive work is powerful. But still the Russian people in the mass does not follow them, does not sympathize with them, their meetings are poorly attended. The nuclei of atheists in the factories and workshops do not increase in numbers, they are already diminishing. The lectures of the atheists have so bored the workers, that they have often been broken off by the workers themselves. It seems that there is no atheistic review in which there have not been complaints about the failure of their work, and that it becomes harder and harder to fight with religious convictions which the people stoutly defend.

The believing Russian people, not only the simple, but also the intelligentsia, use the Sacraments as before; they often fast; they confess and partake of the Holy Sacraments; they observe ceremonies. Civil funerals have been introduced into Russia.

But the greater part of the departed are brought into church, the service is sung, and after that they are committed to the earth. In this connection we must notice some very interesting facts. In 1928 there died one of the prominent professors of the military medical academy. The administration announced a civil funeral. But it transpired that the professor had ordered in his will, that he should be buried with Church rites, though no wreaths were to be laid on his grave. And so he was carried into the Sergievsky Cathedral. The cathedral was filled with his admirers, students, professors, and simple worshippers. It was remarkable and interesting to note that almost all his admirers were in the cathedral at the time of the service, and only a small group of representatives of the authorities and workers of the Soviet party did not enter the church. But the cathedral was filled, and it holds about 4,000 persons. One of the priests of the cathedral delivered a wonderful funeral oration, in which he pointed out the merits of the deceased and characterizing him as a wonderful believing soul, he pointed out the vanity and helplessness of human thought before the gates of eternity, he developed the Orthodox view of death and the future life, contrasting with this the hopelessness of solving the questions of life and death from the strictly materialistic point of view. All listened attentively, especially the young men. Who knows, perhaps, whether the pastoral word did not fall at that minute into some soul and plant there the germ of Orthodox Christian faith? And this was felt and said in love and gratitude for this professor, whose admirers carried him a long way afterwards on their shoulders to the grave. Here is another case: they sang the service of one of the best people of Russia, Anatolii Theodorovitch Kon. He was a democrat in his views. The revolutionaries reckoned him as one of themselves. And he left an order before his death, that they should bury him according to the Orthodox rite. He was brought into the church of the Sign of our Lady. The church was full of people. There were official persons, and professors, and students, and workers, and democrats. And on this occasion the Arch-priest of this church preached a similar funeral sermon. After the service he was carried to the cemetery of the Alexander-Nevsky monastery.

In Russia there exists a secret monasticism, and especially among the intelligentsia. People, disillusioned in all their worldly ideals, driven to extremes by the criminal actions of the ruling party, having no comfort or consolation anywhere, have recourse to God and see the final meaning of earthly life in pure self-denying service of Him. For they secretly take vows upon themselves. And thus one may occasionally witness such a picture as the following. In one of the hospitals a woman doctor worked for more than 30 years. All loved and respected her: she was a

licensed worker. At length she died and was brought into church for the requiem. A number of people were gathered together, doctors, students, male and female, of the medical institute, fellow-workers and many admirers. What was the astonishment of all, when they saw in the coffin not a woman doctor, but a consecrated veiled nun, with a quite different name. But this did not in any way diminish her merits, on the contrary it focussed upon her all the more the attention and cordial love of all who came to honour her memory. All were surprised that she was able to hide this great service of God from curious, worldly eyes. After the service, all who were present in church, escorted her to the cemetery.

The grace of God is powerful in the Orthodox Church: it is active even in the souls of men who have fallen away and departed from the faith. At the time of the revolutionary upheaval there were amazing cases of the action of God's grace. Amid unbelief, chaos, fear, terror, and the unenlightened darkness of evil great miracles are frequently accomplished. In Russia there are many wonder-working and specially revered ikons. And how many favours many believers receive through these holy ikons from the Lord and the Mother of God! If the Orthodox Christian soul in Russia were free to express itself, how it would announce to the world the extraordinary operations of Divine Providence. We quote the following case as an instance. On a fine day, two people arrived in Petrograd from Kharkov and went into the church with the wonder-working ikon of the Mother of God "of ready succour" (Skoroposlooshnitsa). They had never been in Petrograd before, but a wonderful thing had occurred in the family. By revelation the church and ikon of the Heavenly Queen "of ready succour" had been shown them, and through it they received an unusual favour. And so they arrived in Petrograd, and by the description given in the vision they found the church, and offered a prayer of thanksgiving to the Mother of God, and on the same day they went back.

There were cases of the conversion of communists to God. One communist, who took a great part in State affairs, renounced communism, repented and became a priest and at the present time is officiating in the country. He is a fearless confessor, afraid of nobody. He has entered into disputes with the atheists and vigorously accused them, and in the affirmation of Orthodox views he has had enormous success. An engineer passed the whole civil war in the service of the Reds, and was an unbeliever. And then he fell ill. He lost the use of his legs, and could not walk. Then he remembered God, and all his sins, and vowed to God that if God would give him back the use of his legs, he would renounce his materialistic views, and dedicate himself to the service of God as a priest. God heard his prayer and restored his health. On

his return from Turkestan, where he was serving, he received ordination from the Metropolitan Benjamin, and until his death he served as priest in one of the big churches of Petrograd. He celebrated the divine liturgy with extraordinary love, he constantly preached sermons sharply criticizing the contemporary atheism and unbelief. The people honoured him and loved greatly to hear him. Where cannot the grace of God manifest itself The Lord does not wish that men should perish, but that all should be saved. What means has not God, to work on fallen human souls! In one of the hospitals there occurred the following incident: A father, a communist, was dying, and had rejected God. The doctors said that there was no hope of recovery. His wife and two children came to say farewell to him. Then his eldest son, a boy of five years, began to speak. "Daddy, do you know why you are suffering so grievously? You remember how you were furious against the ikons and trod them underfoot. You know, we must pray to the ikons. I was in church, and there they spoke about this, that we must honour them. Now God has punished you for this. And now, if you would confess before God, that you have insulted Him, the Lord would restore you to health. I am sure of this." These wonderful, sincere words of the young son to the dying father produced their effect. The father began to weep. What had happened in his soul, remained a secret. But he recovered, he left the Party, and became a believer. This case was attested by the sisters and the doctor of the hospital. Another case was as follows. The beloved son of a communist was severely ill. He was in agony and was dying. The father went out into another room, and appealed to God in these words: "O Lord, if Thou dost exist, heal my son and I shall believe in Thee." The grace of God did not tarry to manifest itself. The son recovered, and the father kept his word. He left the Party, became a believer, and spoke about this openly without fearing anybody.

Here is one more case. In the church, where I ministered, a gentleman came to me one day and said, "We wish to have a funeral service for our son in your church. My son was taught as a student in the communistic University, and was reckoned as an atheist, so far as the professor was capable of dealing with him individually. The atheists placed great hopes in him. But he was a mystic, and begged me before his death (he died of consumption), that we should bury him according to the Orthodox rite. Therefore, Father, do not worry, if his comrades and the authorities come into the church." In fact, many people assembled, especially young men. And I am persuaded, that many, listening attentively to the divine Liturgy and the beautiful rite of burial with its intimate and supremely touching

prayers and hymns, thought of the vanity of those things to which they devote the best years of their youth, and perhaps they will, with the co-operation of God's grace, turn also to God with prayer for the forgiveness of their errors.

With regard to the confession of religious beliefs, we can here also observe much that is interesting and instructive. The faith is persecuted in general. In the public services, infidels are preferred to believers. Therefore it happens that many hide their convictions. A certain duplicity is admitted. But there are occasionally amazing cases of open confession. In the "clearance" which took place recently, attention was paid to people's attitude towards religion. There were in the public service men openly known for their fervent faith in God, but they were fine workers. It was difficult to find any motive for their removal except their piety. And so one might witness such things as this. In one of the bank departments a very religious lady worked. All communists knew this, but they all respected her, because she was a fine worker. When the time of the "clearance" came on, the manager turned to her and said: "We know your convictions but you are a good worker, do not defend your faith keenly, say that you are wavering or doubtful, and perhaps you may be allowed to remain in the service." Not long before the "clearance" she applied to a very popular Archpriest with the question, what she should do if they asked her whether she believed in God? He said to her: "Remember then the words of the Saviour, 'Every man who confesses me before men, I also shall confess before my Father in heaven'" (Matt. 10.32-33). She remembered these words of the Saviour and to the question of the President, whether she believed in God, she replied, "I believe and confess our Lord Jesus Christ, and I acknowledge a life after death." A deathly silence ensued. Nobody expected such an answer. The President of the commission said: "You are, perhaps, wavering and doubtful: consider that the danger of discharge from the service threatens you." But she maintained again her views and remained inflexible, adding: "Do what you like with me." Then one of the communists on the clearance commission rose and said: "What further defects can you show in this fellow-worker?" All were silent. "There's nothing the matter with her," he said, "and there is not enough in religious convictions only, to discharge her from the service." And this fellow-worker remained in the service.

In Russia discussions are often arranged on religious subjects. The atheists and Orthodox priests enter into them. Archbishop Hilarion acquired special popularity in the discussions. He criticized Marxism and Materialism with remarkable boldness and determination. A fine, attractive orator, a deeply believing man,

he smashed all the arguments of the atheists and was a fine apologist of Christianity. On that account he was subjected to life-long confinement in Solovki. At Solovki he was much weakened by the intolerable régime and bad food. By great efforts permission was obtained to transfer him to the south, but on the way he fell ill of typhoid fever, and died at Petrograd in the prison. His body was given up for burial. The Metropolitan of Petrograd, Seraphim, conducted the funeral service in the new monastery of Our Lady. He was buried there in the cemetery.

For the last two years interest has been revived in discussions among the workers. The workers, dissatisfied with the continuous and monotonous agitation of the atheists, began to demand that they should permit Orthodox priests to enter into the discussions, as at one time the appearance of priests before workmen was forbidden. Priests began to enter workshops and factories in Petrograd and Kronstadt and had such enormous success, that the atheists confessed their powerlessness to contend with them. The Education authority could not permit the priests to have such a victory. One of them was arrested, and was kept in prison for two months: he was forbidden to enter into discussions, and the discussions were generally forbidden.

In 1929 the rector of the communist Academy in Moscow, gave a kind of address to a group of professors about the controversy of the atheists with the priests. "Now as far as we are concerned," he said, "we could finish at once with religion, shut all the churches, shoot all the bishops and priests or exile them to the marshes, and there would be an end to the whole business. But that's not the point. This is what I must say. This is the phenomenon which is noticed in our Academy: in proportion as the students become acquainted with the Gospel, the history of the Christian Church and other theological matters, they imperceptibly become religious. After school they go to the workshops and factories, they organize religious circles and become active helpers of the Churchpeople in spreading religion among the workers. We are no longer strong enough to fight with this." Poor Rector of the communist Academy! He forgot that the word of God, the word of the Gospel of Christ is living and active. It penetrates into the souls of the young ardent boys and there produces its effect. The teaching of our Saviour Christ, his infinite love for mankind, his innocent redemptive sufferings, his forgiveness of his enemies has not all this been able to grip and to humble the enquiring minds and hearts of young boys? And is it not true that in the reading of stories from the history of the Christian Church, when they tormented and tortured Christians, burnt them at the stake, drowned them in the sea, and they bore all with resignation, offered praise and honour to God and

fully forgave their enemies, in the reading of all this would not the hearts of the young people quiver? The grace of God through the word of God has undoubtedly broken the intellectual fabric of the atheists, warmed their hearts and guided them to an acknowledgment of God and His greatness. Otherwise how are we to explain the authoritative pronouncement of the head of the college, that the pupils are becoming religious?

At the beginning of the Revolution, a priest in Petrograd sat in a military prison. There was a church and services were sometimes performed. Over the royal doors of this church this picture was painted by a very well-known artist: Our Saviour, Christ, sits with bound hands on a chair in a room of the colour in which all the rooms of this prison were painted, and from his eyes large tears fall upon his knee. On his head is the crown of thorns. From below the Saviour looks as if he were alive. Then one day after the night office, when all had gone away, the priest remained to shut the doors. The chief commissioner of the prison, a communist, came up to him and said: "Father, you know I have had orders to close this church. But I cannot look at this picture without tears. As long as I am here, I shall not close the church. Worship and pray." His face was terribly drawn with pain. He could not conceal his emotion. His conscience tortured him. And the priest thought: How pitiable and unhappy you are, you have suffered, but perhaps you have taken part in the condemnation of innocent people to death. When you stood before the suffering Saviour, you felt all the horror of those terrible acts, all the recklessness of the many bloody innocent sacrifices and it has become terrible to you.

All these scenes from the life of the Orthodox Russian Church clearly bear witness, that faith in God has not expired in Russia, that the grace of God has not dried up, that faith in God is strong and powerful, and that it has withstood the attack of atheism and godlessness. In spite of the vigorous efforts of the atheists to finish with the Church once for all, the Russian Church has stood firm and by its sufferings and the blood of its martyrs has made a future for itself, and showed that it could not be crushed by any powers of hell. The socialists and atheists of all ranks must know that religion is the life of the soul, which ever struggles on towards the Lord God in whose image it is made and that if it has been preserved in the soul of the people during this awful and tempestuous attack of anti-religious forces, then it is eternal, unshakable, and an indispensable part of human existence on earth.

ARCHPRIEST S.

AN IKON OF OUR LADY OF VLADIMIR.

A little flame
 Star-bright within a corner of the room,
 It flickers, to and fro beneath the frame,
 As often frail Aenemonies are blown
 In spring.
 The paint is cracked with age, the colours dim
 And darkened with the smoke of many lamps;
 Still round her neck the Baby's hands are shown,
 They touch her face, that calm enduring face
 That looks upon the sorrows of the world.
 "O pray for us."
 No single thought is this, in loneliness,
 But like a note sustained through endless space
 Is ever heard.

V. ST. GEORGE.

OUR BOOKSHELF

THE VALIDITY OF ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

By MGR. CHRYSOSTOM PAPADOPOULOS, *Archbishop of Athens*.Translated and prefaced by J. A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D., B.A. London :
 The Faith Press (paper 2s., cloth 3s.).

A VERY real temper of friendliness marks the Archbishop of Athens' *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations*, which contains a summary of the history of the Orthodox investigation of the validity of Anglican Orders. While the Archbishop, as is not unnatural, does not commit himself to any free expression of his own opinions, he makes what is hardly less valuable a contribution to the discussion, viz., a manifestation of goodwill, the presence of which in such a debate is of high importance. Those who look back to the discussion of this question by the authorities of the Roman Church more than thirty years ago, cannot but reflect on the absence of such a friendliness of disposition in some of those most closely associated with that enquiry.

Considerations of space forbid me to linger upon the most interesting Preface, in which Canon Douglas sets out the relation of the Greek Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre to the Jerusalem Patriarchate; a subject of whose very existence many were unaware until it came into public notice in connection with the British post-War administration of Palestine.

The book presents a conspectus first of the Latin examination of the question, and then of the Orthodox. Very little sympathy is shown for those on the Roman side who treated with any seriousness the allegations concerning Parker's consecration. The importance of Archbishop Parker in the Anglican line of succession is recognized and the evidence for his consecration has accordingly been scrutinized by Orthodox enquirers with corresponding care: but I would point out that the line of descent through Parker is not the only one existing in the Anglican Communion. Two lines of descent run parallel with one another, viz., the English and the Irish, the Irish being completely independent of the English, and representing the body of Irish bishops to the number of thirteen, who after 1558 abandoned the Papal obedience. The two Churches of England and Ireland, situated in different islands, have kept their respective lines of succession remarkably free from mutual penetration, even though from 1800 to 1870 they formed one United Church of England and Ireland. Accordingly, the Anglican succession does not stand or fall, in its entirety, with Parker.

But questions of this kind do not count for much in this book. When we come to those who examined the English position from the Orthodox side, it is made plain that very much larger questions are at issue than the mere technical validity, on grounds of historical descent, of Anglican ordinations. Church life is lived as a whole, and ordinations cannot be isolated from the totality of the experience of the Church in which the ministry has its being. A ministry might be, on grounds of descent, technically valid, but its ministrations would not for that reason be necessarily acceptable to the Orthodox Churches. The Church to which a ministry belongs must satisfy the requirements of Orthodoxy, before the acts of its ministry can be acknowledged or its sacraments be partaken of. Greater than all historical technicalities is dogmatic soundness, and the condition precedent in any association between Churches that is to be closer than a mere friendly economic understanding, is a Unity of Faith.

And it is here that Orthodoxy walks very cautiously. It is plain that, in the case of the Church of England, the Thirty-nine Articles present a real difficulty. They speak the language sometimes of negation, sometimes of ambiguity, and the Orthodox ask, "Is this Anglicanism's Confession of Faith?" Many explanations will be needed before Orthodoxy and Anglicanism can walk hand in hand if the Articles are to be taken as the final standard. It will be observed that in the book before us declarations or affirmations by the Church of England are called for (pp. 48, 49, 53, 54, 58) to supplement or elucidate or replace statements in the Articles which are viewed as defective or ambiguous.

While this is not to be wondered at, and certainly not to be resented, Anglicanism may well submit that the Thirty-nine Articles, what-

ever wider purpose they were thought of as serving in the sixteenth century, must to-day be viewed as a statement made in face of a particular situation and to meet a particular challenge. Five hundred years had passed since the tragic breach of 1054, and in those five hundred years the inevitable penalty that waits on separation had made itself apparent in the West. The additions in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. of 1564 represent the difference between Rome when she parted from the East and Rome in the days of Elizabeth. And accordingly, when the Church of England drew itself together after the Marian crisis, its formulation of Articles of Religion inevitably had Westernized Rome in view, and gave evidence of a reaction away from positions with which contemporary Rome seemed to be identified. But the debate was a Western one, and Orthodoxy was so completely in the background as to be virtually forgotten. The bare references to certain Eastern patriarchates (the omission of any reference to Constantinople is not without its significance) in Article XIX are intended only to show how wide is the range of ecclesiastical error, and that Rome is no more infallible than any other patriarchal see. No likelihood of any direct contact with the Eastern Churches presented itself, and no necessity for such qualification in the defence against Rome as would render all statements unexceptionable to Orthodoxy was felt. Accordingly it is only reasonable that the statements of the Thirty-nine Articles should be compared with and checked by the formularies of the Prayer Book of 1662, which coming a hundred years later reflect the changed outlook of a period in which the Roman controversy had come to excite less interest.¹ But, more than this, it should be noted that while the formal authority of the Articles is still upheld in some Churches of the Anglican fellowship, their authority varies with different Churches. In some, as *e.g.*, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Church in America, or the Province of South Africa, their pressure is less felt than in the Churches of England and of Ireland. And yet the solidarity of all those Churches remains unimpaired. Historic Anglicanism undoubtedly owes much to the Articles, but the norm of Anglicanism to-day would be assent to the Book of Common Prayer with its local adaptations rather than to the Thirty-nine Articles. And in these varying attitudes to the Articles lies an important possibility. So long as the Articles have statutory force in the Church of England, it is difficult for Anglicanism to advance towards Orthodoxy immediately and as a whole with a broad and united front. It is inevitable that, so long as such

¹ The Church of England may legitimately point to the history of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles as an indication of its mind concerning a historical document whose pressure it deliberately lightened by legislation without formally abrogating its authority, thus restoring to its signatories something of the flexibility enjoyed by the clergy of the days before Confession-drafting became general in the West.

statutory force exists, serious repudiations of the approach to Orthodoxy from within the Church of England, at least, should be made, and such repudiations cannot be treated as indefensible or merely vexatious. The Articles, even if not Articles of Faith, are Articles of Religion having unrevoked legal authority, and to ignore them is disingenuous. But within Anglicanism, as I have said, there are other Churches whose position is more free, and it would seem to lie with those Churches to move forward in advance of their sister-Churches which are less free. It would be quite simple, I should think, for the affirmations asked for by Orthodoxy to be furnished by certain Anglican Churches in their corporate capacity, such as those of America, South Africa and Scotland. Such affirmations could be made officially by these Churches as autonomous organisms, whereas in the case of the Church of England they could only be made at present by self-constituted groups speaking in their own name and not with the official voice of the Church.

But the action of simple Churches of the Fellowship, which were free to move faster than their sisters, acting individually and yet retaining their solidarity with the others, would have important consequences, certainly by way of economic intercommunion, possibly even in the dogmatic sphere, and would emphasize the fact that, even if different historical conditions lie behind the different Churches and compromise the freedom of some, nevertheless there is nothing in Anglicanism *per se* which stands in formal contradiction to the defined Faith of the undivided Church.

I doubt if any other method than this is practicable under present conditions. For separate Churches to advance at their own time is a simple thing: it is a very complicated thing to bring into united conclave not only the bishops of the many sister Churches as at the Lambeth Conference, but the various legislative Synodical authorities in these Churches (consisting of many hundreds of members in each case), whose action, each in respect of its own Church, could alone make the action of their respective Churches valid and official.

In this connection I wish to point out that the most scrupulous loyalty to the Anglican Articles and formularies was observed by the Sub-Committee of the Lambeth Conference in the representations made concerning the Anglican position to the Orthodox Delegation. It is necessary to say this, because the suspicion has been expressed that it is sought to modify the Anglican position in order to facilitate the approach to Orthodoxy. For my own part, I am aware neither of the wish, nor of the need, for such modification. But what Anglicanism is concerned to do is to learn whether there are any defined Orthodox doctrines which are contradicted by any official

statement or formulary to which the Church of England is committed. Orthodoxy is a very different thing from Tridentine Romanism, and accordingly documents drawn up to meet the challenge of Romanism of the sixteenth century must be read in the light of their relation to Romanism and not in that of their relation to Orthodoxy, which was not in view. Article XXII, *e.g.*, refers specifically to the *doctrina Romanensium* concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints. Article XXV, dealing with Sacraments, plainly has in view the Roman treatment of Sacramental questions (*cf.* the reference to extreme Unction). With their precise definition of Sacraments of the Gospel, as rites ordained by Christ and as universally necessary to salvation (*cf.* the Church Catechism), the English formularies are far from denying that the more numerous *μυστήρια* of the Orthodox and Roman Churches are in their place true and legitimate *μυστήρια* or rites conveying grace. They are content with stating that only two mysteries, or sacraments, satisfy the Church of England's definition of Sacraments of the Gospel. In Article XXVIII Transubstantiation involves plainly the scholastic doctrine of the Western Church. While all that is implied in the *μεταβολή*, or change, has not been defined for Orthodoxy, it would certainly be a misuse of language to say that the doctrine repudiated in Article XXVIII is the doctrine held and taught by such a representative Orthodox theologian as St. John of Damascus. Once more, it would only be true to say that a certain specified doctrine (the Roman) of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is repudiated by Article XXXI. That the English Church admits a doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice is just as true as that the Orthodox Church does: but what the relation of the English to the Greek view is, or whether the Greek *θυσία ἱλαστήριος* is condemned by the same Article that condemns the Roman *sacrificium propitiatorium*, is a question not lightly to be answered by those who are unacquainted with the Orthodox position.

The fact is that for Anglicans a good deal of obscurity surrounds the doctrinal position of the Orthodox Church; and the Joint Commission will earn the thanks of all, whether friendly or unfriendly to Re-union with the Orthodox, if it brings about a more precise understanding of the differences between Orthodox and Roman theology.

So far as I can judge, there is no intention on the part of Anglicans generally to move from the classical position of Anglicanism on any pretext whatever: but what many are concerned to find out is whether Anglicanism, in rejecting Romanism, did also reject, or even intended to reject, anything more than what was merely Western, so as to make a breach not only between England and Rome, but also between England and the Catholicism of the un-

divided Church¹. It is quite true that Anglicanism does not officially practise or believe all that Orthodoxy practises or believes: but the real question for decision is, "What are the essential and fundamental points constituting the Catholic Faith, all of which must of necessity be held on both sides, if there is to be dogmatic unity between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism? And are there any points of doctrine defined in our formularies in such a way that what is fundamental for Orthodoxy is thereby excluded, or *vice versa*?" I cannot help thinking that, when questions of the apparent differences between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism come to be examined by the joint Theological Commission appointed for that purpose, it will be found that the area of the formally defined in Orthodoxy is very much more restricted than is commonly thought. And the question cannot fail to arise, "If a matter has not been formally defined for the Orthodox Church, by what authority is a divergence therefrom, on the part of another Church, to be treated as a barrier to dogmatic unity?" Just as the Lambeth Quadrilateral put forward by Anglicanism might be contained on a sheet of notepaper, so it may be that if Orthodoxy desires to formulate its conditions of Re-union, they will be found to occupy a correspondingly small space. And when this is done, it will be surprising if the irreducible minimum of what Orthodoxy propounds as *de fide* contains much, if anything, that is alien to central Anglicanism. Orthodoxy will know how to preserve the distinction between the small central core of fundamentals and the diversified periphery of outward embodiment, precious but accidental.

It is not to be imagined that the establishment of relations between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism would be followed by any effort to assimilate their respective rites and practices. *Salvo jure communionis diversa sentire* is the only principle upon which union, or re-union, is practicable. If this principle were kept in view, much of the suspicion which prevails concerning Re-union with the Orthodox Church would be dispelled. East would still be East and West would still be West. Agreement between sister-Churches upon fundamentals would not commit those Churches to a responsibility for one another's local varieties of rite and cult. In the loose fellowship of a Universal Church, standardization in respect of subsidiary detail has no place—very wide variations may exist before questions of heresy arise, whereby all parties would be compromised.

If in the Providence of God relations were established between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism, it is likely that the ordinary wor-

¹ *Cf.* Canon XXX (1604) "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that it . . . only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders."

shippers within either system would be unaware that any change had taken place. With fellowship, no doubt, mutual knowledge would grow, borrowings and exchanges conscious and unconscious would occur and mutual likenesses would in time declare themselves. But the philosopher's κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων is the prize and not the obligation of Re-union.

JOHN DUBLIN.

THE WAY OF A PILGRIM.

Translated from the Russian by the Rev. R. M. FRENCH.

(Philip Allan. 1930. 4s. 6d.)

When I received a copy of this book eight months ago, I claimed the right to review it for *The Christian East*. Since then, it has been so well noticed and so much has been written about it in the press, that this review is a bit of an aftermath. But even though I have missed my tide, Father French stands for so much to the readers of *The Christian East*, that for them this appreciation of his book would in any case be better late than never. In fact, however, I am hopeful that there may be a certain novelty in what I have to say in it.

In the first place, I wrote advisedly just above when I wrote of this book not as the translation of a Russian book, but as Father French's book.

In my time I have done much translation from various languages into English. No one can know better than I that feeling of being bunkered which comes upon one when one understands one's original and appreciates its nuances, but when, except by a paraphrase, its rendering is altogether elusive.

Assuredly, if Gastronomica has claims to be the cryptic tenth Muse, the Genius of Translation is her rival.

Equipped with a dictionary, commonsense and an elemental knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary of the language from which he is to translate, most average men can produce translations the accuracy of which is passable. But in every language nearly every word has so many shades of meaning that the permutations and combinations possible in the translation of a given sentence are illimitable. So that even where exact equivalents for words and phrases can be found, two accurate translations may give widely different impressions. Moreover, all literary works of distinction possess a peculiar quality which can only be rendered by a translator who has got at the back of the mind of his author and can think as he thought. Accordingly, translating requires more than linguistic skill. It is an art.

That Father French has the temperament of the true translator and that he has a *flair* for Russian mysticism, must be apparent to anyone who dips into this book. By chance, I have had the opportunity to compare a few of its pages with the original. So far as I am competent to judge, I find his renderings close enough to satisfy an examiner. If they are not, *de his nugis haud molor*. So long as it is literal, the translation of theological books may be as dead as you please. But the translation of a propaganda book must, above all things, be alive—especially when, as in this case, it is couched in the form of a personal narrative and its objective is to inculcate the desire for a particular life of devotion.

In consequence, even if a meticulous critic—and I do not believe it possible—convicted Father French of glaring howlers of mis-translation, I should not modify my estimate that he has presented us with a fine piece of work. Just as writing in the first person, the author so identifies himself with the narrative that it has that peculiar touch of the laying bare of real mystic experience which characterizes Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, so Father French has identified himself with the author. If every line of the book did not betray a Russian Orthodox atmosphere and its whole action were not in a plane that is manifestly not Anglo-Saxon, one would be tempted to believe that it had been written in English and was his own creation.

For that reason it has had no small vogue as a book of devotion last Lent and will be certain to have no small vogue in the future.

For its motive *The Way of a Pilgrim* has the story of a soul's spiritual quest after reality in spiritual life. The author represents himself as a man of the simplest standing and the most eager literacy—a worldling of the worldlings. One day when penitence was on him, hearing the Epistoller at the Eucharist read out the text, "Pray without ceasing," he asks himself what it can mean, how it can be obeyed.

The Russian nation is the most Bible-loving, the most Bible-believing in the world. Dr. Barnes would be aghast at its superstition in regard to the Bible.

The Apostle said, "Pray without ceasing." Therefore, he meant it.

So the narrative begins with the man's wandering off random fashion to ask learned and devout men how anyone can pray without ceasing.

For his equipment he has his Bible and a knapsack. Kindly folk give him crusts of bread and occasional work and lodging.

He has adventures. He makes friends of every passer-by. Now and again he settles down in a forest hut or the like for months at a time. Poor though he is, thieves knock him about and take from him his only treasures, the Bible and that remarkable book the

Philokalia, a catena from the writings of Gregory of Sinai and other Hesychasts or Seekers after Peace, which had become the Guide of his Way after his spiritual feet had been put upon the Path to the Haven of Peace. And so on.

The book is an incomparably revealing human document in the ceaseless anecdotalage with which it jogs along.

In one thing I venture to differ from Father French about it.

In it, I agree, we have no mere literary composition. It is not the production of an aspirant after fame. Its author's anonymity is his desire. He has no thought of royalties. Assuredly, it can only have been written by a soul which had sweated and suffered and *had* found peace, which needs must speak of and preach the Way of Peace to other souls in like case. But I cannot think that its narrative is historical. All through, it bespeaks no small educational equipment and I conclude that as many another has done, its author created it from that vivid practical imagination which enables a man who has had the tremendous spiritual experience of being born again, to invest himself with an allegorical personality and to make plain the Pilgrimage of his Soul in the history of a fictitious character.

In that judgment, I feel myself to be borne out by the plainly propagandist objective of the book.

Hardly has the Pilgrim set out to ascertain the how and the why of the Apostle's bidding to "Pray without ceasing," than he meets a *staretz*—an old monkish pilgrim—who tells him to utter the *Kyrie Eleison*—that predominant Evangelical prayer—in season and out of season, thousands and thousands of times and continuously every day. Bit by bit he learns by experimentation that whatever else he is doing, he *can* pray that prayer. His experience justifies the advice. Ultimately he becomes so habituated to the devotion that it is automatic. Subconsciously, it obsesses him. His mind has no room for worldly conceptions. Everything carnal ceases to have power upon him. The "Jesus Prayer" has done its work.

I can well envisage the interest with which our psycho-analysts might read this book—and the smug quasi-scientific manner in which they might use it to illustrate their theories of self-suggestion. But to me, it is a wonderful expression of the touch of a soul with the Saviour—a touch which was attained after great striving by prayer, the covenanted and the only way, and which having been altogether satisfying provokes me to seek to share its absolute experience.

"Speak to Him, then, for He listens." That is the motive of this book as Father French has made it live for us in a translation.

If I have described it above as a propagandist book, the aim of its propaganda is not the aggrandizement of the Orthodox Russian Church or the securing of adherents to Orthodox Monasticism. On the contrary, while the more the experience which the book reveals,

draws the reader to put first things first and to renounce worldliness, so much the more his narrative tells him to care only about one thing—the acceptance, the knowledge of the Saviour. That and that only can bring a man to the Haven of Peace.

"Jesus Worship" is a frequent and a hard term of condemnation nowadays.

But I am one of those who appropriate it as expressing the alpha and omega of my own experiences and of my intuitive hope.

In its teleology this book will not appeal to those of us who are accustomed to test Christianity by—to use a word which is happily becoming obsolete—the pragmatism which demands a statistic of souls converted in proportion to dollars expended.

None the less, if the test both of practical service rendered and of men helped towards the knowledge of Christ the Friend and Saviour be applied to the incidents of the Pilgrim's narrative, it will be found that for him *orare* was *laborare*. "By their fruits, you shall know them," is the Evangelical criterion.

Father French's Pilgrim is not thinking of paying the rent of his room in this world by service. But if ever a man served, he served others—because he served the Christ.

Therein perhaps lies the distinction between Orthodoxy and our modern European-American institutional Christianity. For us, the Spirit is upon us to bring in the Kingdom of Christ. We forget the individual. For them, the call is the old, old Call—"Come unto Me." If that Call be obeyed, everything else must follow. There is no need to worry.

For myself, perplexed and involved as I am in a multitude of practicalities, I find unsearchable riches in this book.

To say that does not mean that I asseverate everything which its author takes for granted. If he had even known of modern science and of modern Biblical criticism, undoubtedly he would have rallied to the most extreme band of Fundamentalists. To be just, I must account him as a mediævalist in knowledge and in mentality.

None the less, I am instinctively sure that he belongs to no age but to Eternity. Whatever leather and prunella binds up his outpouring of himself, he has shown me his soul, stark and naked—and in contact with the Christ Himself.

Hesychism and Monasticism and Orthodoxy—though I think not—may be the accidents of an essential Verity. But the book has behind its particular propaganda that which "cannot be shaken." It is a vehicle of the Gospel of Christ and the Power of God unto Salvation.

Every Gospel of every day contains an essential truth. But it is also doomed to become a cant.

In England we still pay our devotions to the Truth of Service, of

a Christian Socialism. In the East, they have not learnt to do lip service to that "idol of the market place." The Individualism of the Gospel Message is paramount with them. They are inclined to resent our pushful, hustling Christianity.

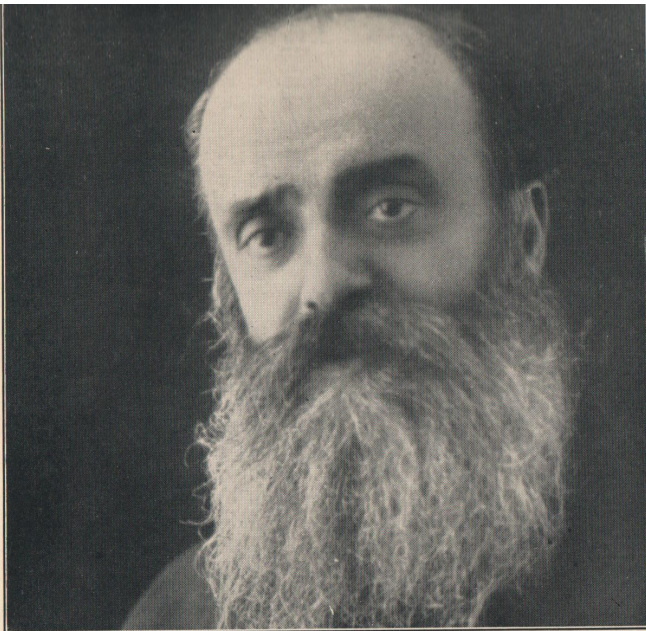
That both sides of the shield of our Faith are authentic is patent, and, I am sure, the recognition of that fact is the propædæutic of the wise and inspired Christian worker of the years that are to come.

To be brief, I liked to read this book upon my knees, not criticizing its shortcomings, but trying to appropriate its spirit.

Finally—for an understandable, if regrettable, campaign is being engineered to stampede the more extremely sectional of our Anglican Evangelicals into denouncing the Orthodox as unreformed and purblind Christians—though I know that to risk the bringing of such a book into the range of controversial hostility is monstrous, I cannot refrain from the following provocative observation. If the Bible and the Bible only—as Chillingworth declared and all Evangelical Protestants profess to maintain to-day—is the religion of a Protestant, I would ask whether anyone who reads, marks and digests this book, can doubt that the Bible is the religion of the Orthodox. The more Father French's Pilgrim studies and dwells in and upon the Bible, so much the more he finds Christ present in the Eucharist, knows the power of its Sacrifice, realizes His personal touch in the Sacrament of Confession and is translated into the Communion of Saints. None the less, though the living in and upon the Bible makes him to find Christ through his veneration of the ikons and the relics of those who have loved and served Him, he is first and last a Bible Christian. Greater and more infallible though the claims of the Church and its decisions become upon him, they do so only because, the more he tears out the heart of the Bible, so much the more his heart endorses by its experience, the claim of the Bible to be the all-conclusive Word of God. If he is Orthodox, he is Orthodox only because he accepted the Bible as his alpha and omega, the beginning and the ending of his knowledge of Christ—and of His Salvation and Peace.

Maybe the Orthodox Hesychast is an anachronism. But, if so, it is because he is bone of the bone of Evangelicalism.

J. A. DOUGLAS.



THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM



THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AT THE ARMENIAN MONASTERY OF ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM

The Christian East

THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

By DIRAN NERSOYAN.

AS early as the fourth century of the Christian era, the Armenians were to be found in Palestine in large numbers, as devoted pilgrims eager to visit the Holy Places, and in the following century they established monasteries on Mount Sinai and Mount Tabor.

In Jerusalem and its neighbourhood many religious establishments were founded by them with the pious aim of sheltering the Armenian pilgrims who came yearly from all parts of Armenia.

These Armenian institutions remained until A.D. 614 when the Persian invasion swept over Jerusalem, and put to the sword all its Christian population, including the Armenians, and destroyed and burnt all the monuments of the city.

The pious sons of Armenia succeeded under great difficulties in regaining their footing in Jerusalem immediately after the first Arab invasion. They built monasteries on the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion. The beautiful Armenian mosaics, which form the floor of the monastery erected on the Mount of Olives, and the tombstones, are speaking witnesses of their past glory.

It is probable that Mount Zion did not suffer as much as other parts of Jerusalem from the attacks of the enemy. The Armenians were fortunate in being able to safeguard and retain their sanctuary of St. James where the head of the Apostle St. James the Great is buried. On the site of this sanctuary, the seat of St. James the Less, First Bishop of Jerusalem, we see to-day the splendid cathedral erected in the eleventh century.

After the conquest of the Holy Land by Sultan Saladin (1187), the monastery of St. James, with its churches of the Holy Archangel and of the Holy Saviour and their convents, all clustered on Mount Zion, became the centre of the Armenian congregation.

Its religious head was recognized as "Patriarch" by the Khalifs of Egypt as attested by the Firmans granted at the time. Later, during the Turkish domination, the same title and the privileges attached to it were confirmed and enjoyed uninterruptedly by the titularies. Many of them had to suffer at different periods from oppression and persecutions at the hands of the

exacting functionaries ruling the land; with the result that often the Armenian monasteries were crushed under the burden of heavy debts.

In the seventh century, according to some authorities, the Armenian Bishops of Jerusalem obtained the title of Patriarch, and there is a record of the Patriarch Zacharias being taken prisoner by Chosroes. In 1006 the Patriarch was Arsen; in 1311, Sarkis (Sergius). The jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem extends over the Gregorian Armenians in Palestine, Cyprus, and parts of Syria.

The Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem is the supreme head of the Armenian congregation of St. James, which congregation stands towards the Armenian Church and nation in the same relation as the Order of the Franciscans towards the Holy See of Rome and the Catholic world, or as the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem towards the Greek Church and the Orthodox world. The Armenians have a community of several hundreds and enjoy the ownership or part-ownership of several of the Holy Places. The Armenian Cathedral of St. James the Less, together with a vast Patriarchate, schools, chapels and gardens, occupies most of the south-west corner of the old city.

St. James, the first apostolic martyr, the burial place of whose head is shown in a shrine, is in the great Armenian Convent, the doors of which are richly inlaid with tortoise-shell and nacre. The very chair used by the Apostle is also shown, and, as a great favour, and to specially distinguished visitors, some of the interesting objects preserved in the treasury of the convent, and consisting of ancient vestments, mitres, and valuable copies of the Armenian liturgies and gospels, and the amber sceptre of the Armenian King Hetum, etc., are exhibited by special permission of the Patriarch.

In the central hall of the college, there is also an interesting collection of objects from various countries, whilst on the walls of the Patriarch's great reception room there hang good pictures of various European monarchs, and also replicas, made by one of his predecessors, of the beautiful "Shield of Hamza" which, a quarter of a century ago, was still to be seen in the Dome of the Rock, but has now mysteriously disappeared from there. Hamza was the uncle of Mohammed.

The convent, originally founded by the Georgians in the eleventh century, was sold by them to the Armenians four hundred years later. It can, it is said, accommodate from 3,000 to 4,000 pilgrims, and contains a printing press. On the walls there are quaint and grim old fresco-paintings representing the sufferings of the martyrs, the Last Judgment, and also pictures of various saints.

The present occupant of the See is his Beatitude Archbishop Thorgom Koushagian.

He was born in 1874, in the Village Partizac, not far from Constantinople. In 1890 he entered the College of Armash, of which Archbishop M. Ormanian (later Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople), was the director, and Vrd. Elisee Tourian was the headmaster.

In 1896 Archbishop Thorgom, then called Mgrdich, graduated and received ordination from Ormanian, and was appointed professor of Armenian language and theology in the same College. Eight years later he was promoted to superiorship of the College and the Community of Armash. Here he continued very successfully the work begun by Ormanian and carried on by Tourian (late Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem), for the higher education of the Armenian clergy, and by his efforts, made the institution self-supporting.

In 1907 he was elected prelate of Sivas, an important diocese, of which three years later he became the bishop. There he put the work of Church organization in a sound condition; promoted educational work by reopening Sanassarian College in Sivas, and also prepared the systematized catalogue of a fairly large library of manuscripts in the same city.

In 1914 he was translated from the bishopric of Sivas to that of Egypt. For 17 years he has governed the Armenian Church in Egypt with remarkable ability. On his initiative several school buildings and churches have been erected. In the time of distress during the Great War he devoted his whole energy to the relief of the refugees encamped at Port Said, and later to the work of raising money from well-to-do Armenians for the Armenians left in Turkey after the great disaster of the World War. With the same purpose he went to India, as a legate appointed by His Holiness the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. He created fresh enthusiasm among the Armenians of India for their Church and Nation, and brought with him important contributions for the help of the distressed.

In 1918 (March) The British Military Administration of Palestine invited him to Jerusalem to be present at the first Easter celebration under British rule. Three years later he came a second time as the representative of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople to attend to the accession of Archbishop Tourian to the Apostolic See of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

In 1929 he was appointed Representative-Plenipotentiary of His Holiness the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin over all the Armenians of Europe. In this capacity he made a tour of Europe, and presented a report to His Holiness embodying suggestions for the reorganization of the Armenian Church in Europe. But this

work was left in abeyance on account of the death of the Catholicos, and the hostile attitude of the Armenian Soviet Government towards the central See of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin.

Apart from his extensive activity in the field of Armenian Church life, Archbishop Thorgom has had a brilliant career in the literary sphere as well. He knows Armenian (classical and modern) as a scholar, Turkish, French and some English. For twelve years he has lectured on theological and other subjects at Armash. At the same time he has made translations of some important French books. Besides many memoirs and minor literary works we have from his pen, *Khrimian Hairik*; *On the Path of the Gospel*; translations of St. Gregory of Nareg's *Prayer Book of Tragedy*; *Life of Patriarch Tourian*; *On the Armenians of India*, etc.

On the 16th of June of this year Archbishop Thorgom was elected, by an almost unanimous vote, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem.

THE CANONIZATION OF SAINTS IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

In a letter dated November 10th, 1930, His Beatitude the Patriarch of Bucharest and all Roumania, Mgr Myron, requested His All-Holiness to indicate to him the practice followed by the Œcumenical Patriarchate when a Christian is recognized and proclaimed as a Saint after death, and the form of service which is used in such a case. The Synodical committee on Canonical questions, to which the study of the above question was referred, drew up the following Report.

REPORT OF THE SYNODICAL COMMITTEE.

The heaven-treading Paul himself gives the definition of a saint when he says of his own self:—"I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." (Gal. II, 20.)

Of course it is to be understood that human holiness is only relative, for Christ said "None is good (holy, sinless), save one; that is God." St. Chrysostom explains this relativity thus: "It is impossible for a man to be sinless" (Hom. VI on Poor Lazarus. Migne. 48. 1. 1041). This mystical union with Christ is at once both the fruit of a God-pleasing life and the source of new perfection in Christ. But the mystical and interior life not being always known and altogether comprehensible to men, the Church has required indisputable external testimonies on the basis of which she may be assured and declare herself respecting the holiness of this or that of her members.

The first proof is that anyone should shed his blood for the faith in Christ concerning Whom he believed rightly and to Whom he was devoted with his whole soul. That is the true confession which is sealed with blood. The Apostolic Constitutions say as follows respecting the martyrs: "Concerning the martyrs we say that they are in all honour amongst us; the blessed James and our holy fellow-deacon Stephen are honoured by us."

A second proof of holiness is to have confessed the faith, not unto death but amidst many tortures and oppressions. Hence arose the Order of Confessors who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the good confession if this had been necessary.

The Confessors were created like the martyrs—as is natural—during the persecutions when the Church of Christ was deprived of external peace. It does not follow, however, from this that the saints of God are drawn from these two classes only. In every period, whether of peace or persecution there have appeared those who were indisputably tested, the sanctified, the holy fathers, the shepherds and teachers of the Church, "the bloodless emulators

of the confessors and martyrs and conquerors in word and deed," as the Patriarch Philotheos most clearly expresses it. (Migne. 151. 1. 711).

Nektarios of Jerusalem (1602-1676), in his refutations of the Friars of Jerusalem, lays down in a concrete manner the essential elements of holiness of each order, but especially of the third: "There are three things which testify to true holiness in men; first blameless orthodoxy, second attainment of all virtues, amongst which is resistance on behalf of the faith unto death, and finally the manifestation on God's part of supernatural signs and miracles." And the above-mentioned Patriarch Philotheos, in his Panegyric on Gregory of Palama (during his second Patriarchate in 1369), after speaking of the wonderful and angelic life of Gregory, added also the following: "And I cherish and honour him too as a saint from his miracles which he worked after his passing hence to God, making his tomb a fountain of healing." (Migne. 151. 1. 711).

St. Chrysostom too in his 26 Homily on Cor. II, speaks of the healing power of the holy relics in the Saints. "Seest thou the healing power of the saints even after death?" And St. Augustine in the seventh chapter of Bk. VIII of his Confessions and St. Basil the Great in his Commentary on Ps. 159, refer to the healing power of the relics of the saints. "Now he who touches the bones of a martyr receives a certain share of holiness from the grace residing in the body." (Migne. 3. 1. 122). The Church, whether understood in a general or a particular sense, officially proclaims saints. The common consciousness of the shepherds and the flock discerns and affirms those who are really saints. The assembly of pastors—a great or small Synod—officially proclaims saints. See what the same Philotheos says about the canonization of Gregory of Palama which, we know, was performed in Synod. "We have proclaimed him a Saint, not waiting for the summoning of very great Synods and (the giving of common) votes, which are often intercepted by time and sluggishness and tardiness and many other human things, but being satisfied with the decree and proclamation from above and the sight of things which are manifest and cannot be called in question." (Migne. 154. 1. 648).

There have always been and are now both local and catholic saints. The kind of ecclesiastical authority competent to proclaim saints frequently depends on this characteristic of the saints. "Each province, each city celebrates with special zeal its particular martyrs and saints, but the whole Church regarding those who are most distinguished amongst them as her own property, has honoured and revered them as catholic saints." In July, 1662, a great Synod of Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops and

1 i.e. The Church as a whole or any particular local church (trans.).

most learned clergy, meeting under the presidency of the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris, proclaimed Gerasimos the Younger (1579-1599), a saint. There were present also the Patriarchs, Joachim of Antioch and Theophanes of Jerusalem.

"The pious assembly (of the church Authorities) taking into consideration the good results of honouring those who lived according to the will of God, used to expose their deeds and achievements in pictures and sermons . . . following therefore the common custom of the Church we decree and define and prescribe in the Holy Spirit . . . That the aforesaid Gerasimos should be honoured by annual sacred festivals and ceremonies." Pat. Cod. A. p. 66.

Although that great Synod had proclaimed Gerasimos a Catholic saint "not only in the island of Cephalonia, but in all the holy churches from one end of the world to another," yet the local character of the said saint prevailed. It is to be noted that miracles were certified as having been wrought by the holy relics of Gerasimos, on which account Jeremiah II.—at the request of the inhabitants of Cephalonia, "permitted the translation of his relics and their exposition for general veneration." Consequently it is requisite for the proclamation of a saint that the governing body of the Church should consider in Synod the course of life of the individual who is proposed as a saint, with special regard to the elements of holiness and after a searching examination and verification that the said elements were present should issue the relative Deed. The Synod in Russia in 1547 lays most stress [on the examination] in Synod of the genuineness of the miracles, on the life and on the right faith; the Bishop of the place where those who were proposed as saints had distinguished themselves, being deputed as principal examiner. It was on the basis of these principles that the Russian Synod acted in 1549 in the canonization of certain individuals.

After this the annual festival of the new Saints having been settled, an Office is drawn up in harmony with the form of life on earth of the newly proclaimed Saint and agreeable to those general ecclesiastical rules which govern the sung Offices of Saints.

At the Patriarchate. February 20, 1931.

THE CANONICAL COMMITTEE.

- ✠ Kallinicos of Cyzicus.
- ✠ Benjamin of Nicea.
- ✠ Agathangelos of Chalcedon.
- ✠ Ambrose of Derkos.
- ✠ Nicodemos of Brousa.
- ✠ Gennadios of Heliopolis.
- ✠ Maximos of Philadelphia.

LETTER OF THE PATRIARCH.

Most Blessed and Holy Archbishop of Bucharest, Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and Patriarch of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Roumania, greatly beloved and very dear brother in Christ and fellow-minister of our Humility, Lord Myron, embracing your venerable Beatitude fraternally in the Lord, we address you most sweetly :—

We have duly received the brotherly letter of your venerable Beatitude, of November 19 . . . and, together with our Holy and Sacred Synod have studied with great attention the question contained therein, concerning the order observed amongst us in the recognition and the proclamation of saints, and the official or traditional form (of service) in use amongst us at the Proclamation. Proceeding now gladly to the requisite answer we inform your Beatitude as follows :—

In accordance with our tradition the following general principles are followed in the recognition and placing amongst the Choir of Saints of the church, of persons glorified by God.

1. The verification of the elements of holiness must be made by a Synod, composed of all the Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops, and official clergy of the particular church.

2. This verification is superfluous in the case of those holy persons whom the general consciousness of the Church—of both shepherds and flock—has for long ages recognized and celebrated as such. Of such holy persons who have been tacitly recognized up till now as sanctified and glorified by God, a merely formal recognition is given by the Church in accordance as we have said above.

3. At the proclamation there is a proper ecclesiastical procedure of which the enclosed copy of the Procedure in the consecration of St. Gerasimos the Younger—which took place under the blessed Patriarch Cyril Lucaris at the beginning of the 17th century—may serve as an example.

4. The Deed of Proclamation is solemnly signed in the church, the proper ecclesiastical ceremony being as follows :—

The whole Synod having come down into the Church and the Book of the Gospels being placed in the centre, the following troparia are sung :—"Blessed art thou, O Christ our God," "When He (the Holy Spirit) descended," then the Deed of Proclamation is signed by all the members of the General Synod who are present and immediately after are sung the troparia "Holy martyrs who fought well," "The tortures of the saints which they suffered for Thee," "The blood of Thy martyrs throughout the world."

5. At a convenient time a special and suitable Office, within

the framework of the hymnology and ceremonial of the Orthodox Churches, is naturally composed for the most noteworthy of the canonized saints, for use in the churches.

6. Of equal necessity is the translation of the relics, if such are preserved, and their anointing with Holy Chrism. At the translation of the relics it is customary to have vigil services and solemn liturgies. And thus we have answered the questions of your Venerable Beatitude.

Rejoicing that the grace of God does not cease to accompany the most holy sister Church of Roumania, especially by the appearance in her from time to time of new and glorious saints for the sanctification and strengthening of her faithful people, we pray for her always rich divine gifts and all goodness and glory in all things. Your Venerable Beatitude's beloved brother in Christ.

✠ PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"ONE HOLY, CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH."

By PROFESSOR BULGAKOV.

I BELIEVE in one holy, catholic ('soborny'), apostolic Church . . . In this article of the Nicene Creed its very existence is defined as a subject of faith, which is "the evidence of things not seen" (Heb. XI:1), though the Church is understood as an objective fact as well. According to the first meaning the Church is an invisible, mystical life, which can be grasped only by an inner feeling, as a participation in the Divine life of Grace. But at the same time it is an external organization with visible forms and limits. This merging of the visible and the invisible sides of the divine and human nature, this unity of both, is the most characteristic feature of the nature of the Church. In this sense one can say that the nature of the Church is *symbolic*—the outward and the inward being grafted into a single reality. It is equally true and equally untrue to affirm that the Church has a merely invisible or a merely visible existence, because it is an invisible, mysterious life expressed in visible, external forms. In this sense the life in the Church is in itself a perpetual sacrament of sacraments, while sacramental life in the Church is only a particular expression of this its general character.

This mysterious unity of the divine and human life of the Church, its symbolic character, is expressed in the Creed in four conceptions, which express both the visible and the invisible sides in their inter-relationship. These conceptions are not accidental or arbitrary, but inner and necessary sequels to the existence of the Church, and they must be understood as such a revelation of it. The Church is such, because it cannot be otherwise—it cannot be "not one," "not holy," and so on. Let us examine these features in order.

The Church is one—this is an axiom of the doctrine of the Church, and is self-evident to every Christian, as it is said by the Apostle: "there is one body and one Spirit even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (Eph. IV:3-5). If Christ is One so is His body; and if the Holy Spirit is One, so is the life of the Church as well. There never existed anybody who was able to deny this mystical oneness of the Church, as of an invisible organism, or as of the body of Christ. All the difficulties arise when we turn from the invisible to the visible Church. We are here first of all faced with the fact of the multiplicity of different local, national and even family churches, as we find it already in the time of St. Paul: "the churches of Asia salute you.

Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord with the church that is in their house" (I Cor. XVI:19) and so on. And this multiplicity of local churches is even blessed by our Saviour, Who sent the Apostles to teach *all nations* (Matt. XXVIII:19) without any suppression of their particular life. It is quite natural that we find already from the beginning of our era many different churches. What is the relationship between *the Church* and these many *churches* from the point of view of the oneness of the Church? There does not exist any contradiction between this oneness and the fact of the existence of different, particular churches, because it is the one and same life in Christ through the Holy Spirit, and the same one Church which exists in many local churches—an invisible unity in visible multiplicity. Christ Himself and faith in Him—that is the real πέτρα, the rock upon which Christ has built His Church (Matt. XVI:18). While in relation to the individual (local) life of the Church, it is said by our Saviour: "where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. XVIII:20). This oneness of the life in the Church does not allow of the different local or particular churches remaining separated or independent. The tendency naturally exists of transforming this oneness into a kind of uniformity and exterior reunion. This reunion is developed by degrees in history. Beginning from sub-apostolic times, there arise new, vast, and complicated organizations of the Church's life. Certainly their origin is only *ex iure ecclesiastico*, not *ex iure divino*, and is a result of the historical process. This process of centralization, or concentration of churches, nowhere else attains to such a degree as in the Western Church—in Roman Catholicism. According to its doctrine the unity of the Church finds its necessary expression in the monarchical power of the Pope, and this ecclesiastical monarchy—*ex iure divino*—is the rock upon which the Church is founded. The Orthodox Church has never gone so far in the direction of the unification or concentration of the Church's life. On the contrary, it not only denied the pretensions of the Roman See to universal power in the Church, but any attempt to achieve any such concentration of power. For it the degree of concentration always remained a question of practical needs, but there always existed *many* churches, and their existence was justified only by historical reasons and not dogmatically. The Eastern Church does not connect the interior oneness of the Church with the necessity of an external unity or uniformity of the Church's government. It leaves to the different local churches their local, national or cultural peculiarities. The Orthodox Church is not a uniformity, but a symphonical unity in multiplicity. In practice this means that in the womb of the *one* Orthodox Church there exist many (about 11) autonomous

churches, instead of the single monarchy of the Roman Church in Western Catholicism. But this multiplicity by no means implies a complete absence of connection between the different local churches, or their absolute independence from one another. Such an idea of congregationalist or independent churches is absolutely foreign to the Orthodox Church. On the contrary, it is impossible for any Orthodox community to remain estranged from the whole Orthodox Church. It is necessary for it to be recognized by the whole Orthodox world and to be in brotherly communion—directly or indirectly—with all the Orthodox Churches. In the contrary case it will be a schism or heresy. The oneness of the Church is in practice affirmed and realized by this mutual recognition and certain relations between the churches. These relations express themselves according to historical needs and possibilities in different forms—from Œcumenical Councils to interchange of letters, or mutual intercommunion. But the Orthodox Church remains always as *one*, not only mystically, but as an organization as well, namely—as a federation of organizations. This union has its inner motives which are not to be changed. They are the unity of the faith—in the dogmatic teaching or doctrine, in the sacramental life and in the hierarchy of apostolic succession. Without complete dogmatic unanimity and identity of sacraments unity does not exist. Nor could unity exist without the hierarchy which is based on direct apostolic succession. Every Church must have a bishop as its head, *sine episcopo nulla ecclesia*, and a bishop must be consecrated by other bishops. This requirement in every particular case necessitates a link with other bishops and through them with the whole of the Church. Every bishop of a local church belongs not only to this community, but to the whole of the Church. Every bishop has, therefore, an Œcumenical character, his bishop's power *in solidam* (according to the expression of St. Cyprian). As the bishop is the representative of his church, in his person the whole of his church participates in mutual relations. This kind of Church unity seems to correspond most of all to the character of the primitive church, which has as head "the twelve" apostles of Christ. These "twelve" in contact with the "presbyters," as the representatives of the people or laymen, governed the Church as it is described in the Acts, and their apostolic council decided the most important questions of the Church's life. Amongst them there was a "first one,"—St. Peter, as a senior, but that priority did not mean his authority or power over the other apostles, but only a privilege of honour or of moral weight. He was a *primus inter pares*, and the same type of organization of unity existed and exists in the Orthodox Church. The multiplicity of many autonomous or autocephalous churches, which are closely related to each other,

does not contradict the ideal of Church unity, for Roman centralization is not the only and necessary expression of it, for unity of life does not mean a uniformity. Romanism in fact denies the real unity of the Church, because instead of unity it puts the centralized Church of Rome alone, for the whole world.

Yet we have now not only external divisions of different autonomous parts of the one Church, but its internal divisions as well. The Church is one and must be one, while now, as a matter of fact, we have several different churches and denominations. Still, ever since the great schism of the Eastern and Western Churches, the Church was divided, and these divisions were multiplied more and more in the subsequent history of the Church. In the face of these divisions where is the *one* Church? Where is the *true* Church, amongst the many churches, which must be one, because the truth is one? The easiest way of answering this question would be by giving two opposite extreme opinions. The first answer is, that all churches or denominations are equally right and equally belong to the Church, and equally represent it even in their separate existence. The second opinion is that no denomination is the true Church, except for the *one* which contains the truth, and apart from it there is no Church. Both opinions exist in the modern mind, and seem to exclude each other mutually as opposite ones. But from the point of view of any separate denomination there does not exist a single church which is not in itself conscious of maintaining the truth—for that is its only justification. And it is really difficult in our days to deny any one church's actual being, so far as any Christian denomination, which is now inspired by the ideal of reunion, is concerned. It is necessary to combine and co-ordinate both these extreme and opposite views by acknowledging simultaneously both the existence of the one true Church, and some kind of true Church existence for different denominations. But the difficulty is that the truth is exclusive and in this sense intolerant, it cannot agree to any compromise. Such a compromise we see in the branch theory, according to which the one Church exists divided into three different parts—Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism and Eastern Orthodoxy. According to it all the three are in some sense equivalent as an expression of the Church's life, while at the same time each one of them is one-sided and in a sense not true. Such sceptical relativism means nothing else but the absence of the true Church and the impossibility of the appearance of the Church's pure truth in the world. Such a view means that the true Church has become *lost* in the course of history, and instead of the pure truth we have only fragments of it. This teaching is a contradiction to the promise of our Saviour that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. XVI:18). In spite of the Church

divisions and schisms, the pure truth of the Church in its teaching, sacraments and hierarchy is preserved, and that is so in the Orthodox Church which keeps the Church's tradition without any additions, or interruptions, or changes. The Orthodox Church is the true Church for the whole of the Christian world. This affirmation does not mean that the Orthodox peoples have already realized in their life and history the truth of Orthodoxy. On the contrary, it might be said that though the truth is given them, they have not given themselves to the truth. Their life was and is a mixture of Orthodoxy and paganism. Perhaps there never existed an historical people who could be honoured by the name of a really Christian Orthodox people in their life. In the historical sense true Orthodoxy still remains as a task of the future. In the field of God wheat and tares grow together until the harvest, but abundance of human sin does not prevent the possession of the Church's truth. This sinfulness permits the possibility of schisms even within the Orthodox Church itself. Certainly such schisms are superficial, for they touch merely relations of separate Orthodox Churches (bodies), but not the teaching or doctrine, or hierarchical traditions. All this is a result of human imperfection, nothing more, and in spite of this the Orthodox Church remains one in the depth of its mystical and spiritual life. But what is the relation between Orthodoxy and non-Orthodoxy, or all the Christian confessions outside it? Does there exist a kind of inner unity between them? Does the Church remain really one, if real life merely sees divisions of the Church?

If the Church was merely an external organization, we should necessarily conclude that the Church's unity was lost, because of the fact of divisions. But the Church is first of all an inner, mystical life in Christ, His Body, always receiving grace and inspiration from the Holy Ghost. Therefore it must be recognized that there exists an invisible, mysterious unity of the whole Church, which is built upon the rock of a living faith, confessed by Peter: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. XVI:16). In some sense the whole of Christianity is one Church and accordingly this unity is Orthodox. We come here to the idea of "the Orthodox Church beyond the limits of the Orthodox Church." There exists a common treasure of Christian life, of love and faith and hope, which makes all Christianity kindred. This consciousness lies at the basis of its common seeking for Unity. This tendency can be only understood as a manifestation of this inner unity, it strives to accomplish in external life that which is given as an inner norm of Christianity "that they all may be one" (John XVII:21). Unity becomes for Christianity a duty, an aim, an inner necessity. Though there exists, amongst the different divisions of Christianity, a section

of it which preserves the true tradition of the Church, without any deprivation or loss, yet the life of this part cannot be complete and perfect. For as long as the Church cannot overcome its inner divisions, the true fullness of Church life is hindered and even rendered impossible, in spite of the fact of the purity of the Church's tradition in Orthodoxy. A part cannot be equal to the whole. The Church has the call to be "one fold" under "One Shepherd" (John X:16). Certainly as a mystical reality the Church's life is one—it remains the same for any two or three who are gathered in the name of Jesus Christ, as well as for a great national or Ecumenical Church. The Church's life has, as it were, two dimensions—not only depth, but breadth, must be satisfied, and any schism, any division, means a minimizing of this ecumenical feeling of the *one* Church. Our soul has a mystical organ of the feeling of one Church—not only as of a mystical body, but as a social and historical one, and both feelings are identified in us. In this sense one can say that the feeling of the one Church, which existed before the division of the Eastern and Western Church, was a fuller, richer and more real one than we have now. This period in the history of the undivided Church remains for us a lost paradise, which must be regained again. The general question is now being raised: whether these divisions and schisms really did split the Church to its depth, completely destroying its unity, or does this unity still exist, unbroken, to some extent? There exist varying stages, or kinds, of Church unity, which are not abstract but concrete historical and canonical facts. Interior unity may be associated with external division. All the divisions of the Church from the Orthodox point of view, are different degrees of a falling away from the truth of Orthodoxy, but in spite of them they preserve its inner seed. All Christianity, as such, remains more or less Orthodox in its faith and its being, and the movement to Reunion may be nothing other than a restoration of the fullness of Orthodoxy and a removal of deterioration in it. The true unity of the Church may be found only in Orthodoxy, because Orthodoxy is the true Church. This does not mean that all other churches and denominations ought to be simply incorporated or swallowed up by any local Orthodox Church, or joined on to it, or that it can be achieved by separate personal conversions. Certainly, a kind of external reunion, or intercommunion with the historic Orthodox Churches will naturally be one of the inevitable steps on the way, but this reunion would have no decisive significance, in the sense it would in Roman Catholicism. The restoration of Orthodoxy, or the return to the life of the undivided Church, must be first achieved in the inner life of different Churches. In that sense it can be said that Anglicanism in its tendency towards the restoration of the ancient Church, as a reaction to

90 THE CHRISTIAN EAST

Protestantism, is already becoming more and more Orthodox, and this process is naturally a way to its reunion with historic Orthodoxy. And, generally speaking, there exists no other way to reunion than a restoration of Orthodoxy in the inner life, because "being one" for the Church really means "being Orthodox." The unity of the Church and its Orthodoxy are synonymous: this does not mean a kind of Orthodox proselytism, as would be the case with the Roman Church. Such proselytism is excluded for Orthodoxy straight away for the reason that the Orthodox Church itself is not one in its external organization. It is a reunion of many local and national churches. Because of this fact it never pretends to conquer or annex other local or national churches, it leaves them full freedom and autonomy, it only wishes them to restore in their life the fullness of the undivided Church, that is to become Orthodox. Unity in Orthodoxy is not obedience to one church's power, but one life in love, and freedom and holiness.

Being in the Church means life in holiness, because the Church is *holy* and its members are holy (*ἅγιοι*), as they are named by St. Paul in his Epistles. What do we mean when we express our faith in the Church as a holy one? This holiness is not an external or accidental attribute of it, for it expresses the very substance of the Church as of the divine life in us. Everything belonging to the Church is holy by this holiness of the Church. The Church is holy because God is holy, "Be ye holy, for I am holy" says the Lord (Lev. XII:44). The Church is the Body of Christ, Who lives in it, in His holy humanity. It is the dwelling of the Holy Spirit, Who sanctifies it and abides in it. Life in the Church is a continuous process (continued fulfilment) of the deification of humanity, and the fruit of this is holiness. Holiness comes from God to men. It is divine, not human, or natural in its substance and origin, but it is given to man in the Church and becomes granted to man in that sense. There exists no natural holiness without the Church, because holiness is a supernatural gift of God, though in actual life the word is often applied to express natural righteousness or the moral health of man. True holiness is a gift of Grace, of the abiding of the Holy Spirit in us. Grace does no violence to man, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear My voice and open the door I will come in to him" (Rev. III:20). This opening of the door is human effort and movement towards sanctification, a process which in individual men proceeds with varying success. In the Church's life there exist side by side tares and wheat—in the separate soul, as well as in life as a whole. The presence of sin and sinners in the Church is no hindrance to its holiness. On the contrary—it is a natural sequence of the process of sanctification

as of a struggle or an agreement between divine and human principles in the soul. The Church is really a "society of saints," because men are united in the Church only on the soil of holiness, in so much as it is accomplished in their lives—"Holy things to the holy," that is the exclamation of the priest before Holy Communion, and the communicants are sanctified for it and by it. The fact of holiness and its degrees are known only to God, not to men, but He reveals it to His Church, which glorifies the saints after their death. It is included in our faith in the Holy Church that the saints do exist in it, as a kind of golden girdle, during the whole time of its existence without any interruption. A few of the saints remained unknown to the world during their life, others were highly esteemed even by their contemporaries and canonized by the Church after their death. Doubt or denial of this would mean unbelief in the effectiveness of Grace and the spiritual strength of the Church which always acts in human hearts. What is the "*communio sanctorum*" which is confessed, though in a different sense, by all the churches? It means their communion in heaven, not only amongst themselves but also with the Church militant on earth. The living members of the Church are connected with the departed by love and prayer, and especially with those who are justified and glorified by God, after their death. Naturally our prayers are directed to them for their help by prayer and intercession before God, because they are our brethren by their humanity, but are mighty in their holiness and nearness to God. The veneration of the saints is not polytheistic paganism, but a true expression of the mutual love and prayer of all members of the Church. The saints are no mediators between Christ and us in the sense that they are a wall between us and Him and hinder any immediate relation. They are our eldest brethren who give us help and boldness before God. They are standing before God together with us as our friends and guardians, as those who belong to the same humanity as we do. The first of the whole humanity and its Head is the saintliest of saints, the Mother of God, Who gave Her body and blood, Her humanity to Her Son. *Communio sanctorum* is a bond of love and prayer which ties together as in a ring, all members of the Church, of the "heavenly Jerusalem" and "the general assembly" on earth (Heb. XII:2-23).

The holiness of the Church as *communio sanctorum* does not mean that sinners must be excluded from the Church. Our Saviour came not to save the righteous but the sinners who might be saved and sanctified by the Church. The state of man, at any given moment of his life is not a definite static one, because it can be changed. Our soul is a field where different plants are growing up and the final harvest of it is not known to man. But one thing

is true, without any doubt, that we are dwelling in the Church merely in the measure in which we are holy, in as much as we have an inner sincere movement of our heart towards God and receive an answer to it—God's grace in us. "The saints" is not only an honourable title given to Christian people, according to the Apostle Paul, it is also a call to holiness, which is our duty, and also the reality of the Church's life.

in an external sense—as the spreading of the Church in the whole world amongst all nations. This meaning is specially

The Church is *catholic*. This definition is generally understood characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church, for which the catholicity of the Church is to some extent identified with the universal power of the Pope and general submission to him. Of course such a kind of catholicity has its reasons, but in any case it is one-sided. The external universality of the Church is merely a manifestation of the inner one, which is certainly the most important. Catholicity τὸ καθ' ὅλον means, first of all, a quality not a quantity. To be καθ' ὅλον signifies a connection of any separate being with the whole, as an essential principle of life, its οὐσία. This expression historically originates from Aristotle who means here the general idea of a thing, in distinction from its particular manifestations or separate copies of the same thing, τὸ καθ' ἑκάστων. This το καθ' ὅλον, which is understood by Aristotle in an abstract logical sense, as an abstract notion, is used by the Church in the concrete sense of a metaphysical reality, in accordance with Plato's philosophy and his doctrine of ideas (εἶδος). The catholicity of the Church implies the identity of the Church's life in any part. The Church is the Body of Christ and is inspired by the Holy Spirit. Christ and the Holy Ghost—that is τὸ καθ' ὅλον for it. The fullness and truth of this divine life in the Church is its catholicity. Yet there exists no contradiction between the *local* character of any church and its catholicity; on the contrary, every local, national, even domestic church, can be a catholic one. In such a manner we must consider the expressions of St. Paul—"all the churches of Asia (1 Cor. XVI:19), of Galatia (1 Cor. XVI:1), of Corinth (1 Cor. I:2), of Macedonia (2 Cor. I:8), of Cenchrea (Rom. XVI:1), even of the house of Aquila and Priscilla (1 Cor. XVI:19), of Asia and Archippus (1 Cor. XVI:19), and all the Churches of the Gentiles (Rom. XVI:4), and of Judæa (Gal. I:22). This using of the singular and plural in application to the Church shows that local churches are identified as *the Church*, and they all are the true Catholic Church in the same degree. They are not only different parts—small or large—of the one organization, similar to provinces in a State, but are the Church without any distinction in their catholicity, *pars pro toto*. They

are the different branches of a tree, which are living by the whole life of this tree, every one its special kind of life in its special place. Then the degree of the catholicity of a Church does not depend on the dimensions of the church, but merely on its fidelity to the truth. From the Orthodox point of view there is no contradiction between the fact of the existence of many autonomous or autocephalous, independent local churches and their catholicity as an interior quality of life. Of course it cannot be denied that this kind of unity is also favourable to an external catholicity or a universal organization of the Church. But this tendency comes *second*, it is derived and not original.

This definition of the Church as a Catholic one has its own particular destinies in Russian theology. It acquired here not only a metaphysical sense, but likewise a sociological or ecclesiological one. This shade of meaning is connected with a special use of this word in the Slavonic translation of the Nicene Creed. It is interesting to note here that the different shades of understanding of the idea of catholicity in the Western and the Eastern Churches finds its origin in the different kind of pronunciation of the Greek word—καθολικός, or, more exactly of one letter in this word: θ. The Roman Catholics, together with the whole of the Western world pronounce it as *t*, catholic, and the Orthodox pronounce it as θ: θolic. But in addition to this the Russian Church has this word as well in Slavonic translation: *sobornaya*: that means first of all a gathering or "councillings," getting together, a collective being united. To say the least this is an inaccuracy, if not an actual mistake, but it is a Providential one,¹ because this word, according to Khomiakoff, contains a whole theology. Catholicity as "*sobornost*" means that the Church is a oneness of many in love and freedom. The truth is only revealed to such a unity, as it is expressed in the exclamation which precedes in our Liturgy the chanting of the Creed: "let us love one another that with one accord we may confess." The body of Christ, which is the Church, is only recognized as such through this consciousness of many as of one in love. Life in the Church is an act and process of spiritual gathering, which assumes different forms and degrees. The Church is a spiritual organism, the life of which is quickened by the Holy Spirit. This organic and collective (*soborny*) character of the Church is a starting point in our doctrine of the Church. Though the Church is an hierarchical organization, the hierarchy, as such, does not define the being of the Church, as it is taught in the Roman Church. The hierarchy exists *in* the Church, but not *over* the Church. Its

¹ We have another case of a Providential "mistake" in the translation of our Liturgy. The words of offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice *περὶ πάντων καὶ κατὰ πάντα* which mean in Greek—because of that (all reasons) and on behalf of them, are translated in Russian "on behalf of all and for all (things and sins)."

representatives are very important and necessary members of the Church's organism, but the body itself—as the whole—exists prior to its particular members, and not vice versa. In this sense the entire body has more authority for the Church than the hierarchy in all domains, except that of special charismatic gifts, which are essential to ecclesiastical degrees—namely—the sacramental power. Even this power is also given to the whole Church, which really performs the sacraments through the mediation of its priesthood. This prerogative of the hierarchy in the church must not be enlarged so as to include the infallibility of dogmatic teaching. The Roman Church has recognized such an infallible authority in questions of faith and morality in the person of the Pope. Somehow this Catholic doctrine influenced some Orthodox circles too. A few of the Orthodox theologians and most of the more important hierarchs and bishops share this Roman Catholic idea—with this limitation—that not the Pope alone, but the hierarchy as a whole has a right and duty of doctrinal teaching and infallibility in it. The truth of the Church is uttered through their mouth, and their voice is the voice of the Church. Such a doctrine might be understood as a kind of collective popery. The only difference between Romanism and Orthodoxy would be that in the Roman Church the Pope alone has the same power which is ascribed in Orthodoxy to a body of bishops gathered in convocation, synod or council. The bishops would then have power over the Church to prescribe their definitions. Nevertheless this doctrine is in contradiction to history, which witnesses to the fact that many bishops and even patriarchs were amongst the heretics. There existed even false Œcumenical Councils, like those of Ephesus (the so-called "Robber Council") and of Florence. This showed that they were possible and there was room for them in history. Modern Orthodoxy no longer shares this doctrine—that there can exist an external organ of the infallibility of the Church, or that a gathering of bishops or even a council itself is a mechanical apparatus of infallibility, a *deus ex machina*, a kind of dogmatic oracle. In the Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs of 1849, which is a dogmatic document of first value to Orthodoxy, it is said: "the conservation of the truth in our Church is committed to the whole of the church's people, not only to hierarchs." We must emphasize our deepest conviction that the idea of any external dogmatic authority in the Church is a superstition which must be set aside for all time. It is true that the Œcumenical and local councils in ancient times as a rule were composed of bishops, though there were many exceptions. But the bishops were considered then as witnesses and representatives of their own local churches, but not as their commanders. The definitions of these councils were received—or not received—by the whole body of the

Church, not at once on their conclusion. We know that a long time was necessary for this recognition, and discussions and struggles did not cease after the councils. The Councils never had such an external authority in the Church as is claimed at present by the Roman See. Certainly those Councils called Œcumenical were the most authoritative organ both of the Church's judgment and for its definitions. But this authority was ascribed to them only on the acceptance of the whole Church, maintained by the Holy Spirit. One must not forget that the Councils are not the only means used by the Church for its dogmatic teaching and definitions. Orthodoxy has many doctrines which have never been proclaimed at any Council, but which are held in the Church's life. The significance and authority of councils is merely a conditional one, it must be acknowledged by the whole Church, which has also other ways for its expression. It is quite natural, therefore, because of this, that the last Russian Council in Moscow of 1917-18 had amongst its members not only bishops, but priests and laymen likewise.

We see then that the idea of catholicity in modern Russian understanding contains a radical refusal to accept any kind of ecclesiastical despotism, without any essential limitation or diminution of the true authority of the hierarchy. Catholicity as "*sobornost*" is a spiritual hedge of the Church's freedom and love.

The Church is *Apostolic*. What does this apostolicity mean? It can be understood in different senses—in relation to apostolic succession, or to apostolic tradition, or—to the apostolic spirit and power. Its simplest sense is the apostolic succession of the hierarchy. The general conviction of all episcopalian or hierarchical churches is that they maintain an unbroken, direct, charismatic succession of episcopacy throughout the history of the Church from the apostolic times to the present day. The first laying on of hands was made by the Apostles and this has continued till our times without any break or interruption. The sacramental life of the Church has an apostolic source, because all sacraments are performed by bishops of apostolic consecration and their clergy. This is an order of ecclesiastical life established by God through the Apostles. Now apostolic succession may not be necessarily understood as a direct institution of the three ecclesiastical degrees—of bishops, priests and deacons—by the apostles in the modern sense. It is very difficult to find in the New Testament and in the writings of the Apostolic age a direct witness to this which would exclude any doubt. The indications we find do not clearly distinguish the ecclesiastical degrees, and in any case they cannot be identified with our distinctions of them to day. Only at the end of the first century and in the beginning of the second can we make certain of the existence of the episcopate in our sense

of the word and of clergy being ordained by it. The impression we get is that the boundless gifts of the Holy Spirit which were given to the Primitive Church immediately after Pentecost, at first took on no regular forms. Only later on they began to be regulated. The process of this regulation gradually led up to the hierarchical organization of the Church. The hierarchy does not arise as something new which did not exist in the Apostolic times. It is established according to Apostolic tradition and consists of an apostolic laying on of hands. The grace of episcopacy is given to the Church through the Apostles. But according to the testimony of history the form of this institution was not founded immediately and in a completely developed form. It can be easily understood that ecclesiastical life does not at once find its own appropriate form even if it has its origin from the Apostles. Protestants insist on the fact that our episcopacy does not exist in history right from the beginning. They draw the conclusion from this fact that its later institution cannot therefore be primitive and apostolic and that therefore it is superfluous and not obligatory for the Church. Without denying the fact of the comparatively later origin of a regular hierarchy, we do not share their conclusion. Even historically such a sudden appearance of episcopacy and its doctrinal assertion cannot be explained, otherwise than through the apostolic tradition, though not immediately. The idea of apostolic succession implies chiefly the apostolic origin of hierarchical organization, and of apostolic succession only in a general sense. The first consecrator was Jesus Christ Himself, Who ordained the Apostles as the first hierarchs of the whole Church, when on His appearance He "breathed on them and said to them: receive ye the Holy Ghost" (John XX:22). This general ordination received its full strength and confirmation at Pentecost and was realized for the whole of the Church in the apostolic succession in a general sense. This is the Divine fact which the Church has in historic episcopate. Then the first significance of the apostolicity of the Church is the apostolic succession of the episcopate and of the entire priesthood.

The second aspect of this apostolicity is the general holy tradition of the Church in doctrine and practice. According to the common belief of the Church all the teaching of the Church and its institutions received their origin from our Saviour Himself, through the Apostles: "He through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the Apostles whom He had chosen" (Acts I:2). In this sense the whole of the Church's tradition is apostolic, nothing can be in the Church which is not apostolic. But it would be untrue to carry this thought to the extreme and look for an apostolic origin of everything. Such extremes are proper to Roman Catholicism, though sometimes they are not

foreign to Orthodox theology. In Roman theology, for example, it is ascertained that *all* sacraments were directly instituted by our Saviour (Tridentium sess. VII. can.1). Of course this assertion is unable to change the fact that not all the Christian sacraments were in fact instituted by Christ Himself, at least not so far as it is recorded in the Gospels. The only conclusion which remains possible is that our Saviour instituted them by word of mouth through the apostles who passed them on to their successors, who, in turn, did the same, and so they went on until our day. But such a dogmatic affirmation is in contradiction with the evident and incontestable fact of history—that Church practice and liturgical rites and doctrines of different sacraments were developed gradually and acquired their definite form rather late and not at the outset, as it were at the first stroke. Our opinion is that to maintain the apostolicity of tradition it is quite unnecessary to deny the historical evidence or to make fictitious facts dogmatic, replacing real history by them. It is true all things in the Church have their apostolic origin, but it would be an error to interpret this naively—as if everything had arisen from the apostles in a full and set form. In such a case we would have to interpret the work of the apostles as that of wise legislators who made ready laws and formulæ for every single case. Such an unhistorical interpretation stands in complete contradiction to the very idea of holy *tradition*, because tradition is not a passive and obedient conservation of external law, but always a living inspired extension of the past in the present. Holy tradition is not contrary to historic development. The river is the same at its source and at its mouth, though its breadth and depth may be different. The seed and the plant are also identical in a sense, though they are entirely different in their external appearance. The apostolic tradition really contains all the seeds of the possibilities of Church life, but it leaves their appearance in a developed form to future history. The same question or idea arises when we consider the problem of whether dogmatic development is possible, or whether new dogmas can be proclaimed. The question must be answered in the affirmative and in the negative sense at the same time. On the one hand, there is no new teaching in the one Church's tradition. On the other hand we observe in the history of the Church that its dogmatic teaching is in a continuous development and that new dogmatic formulæ are constantly being found. Both the givenness and the development or discovery of dogmas—exist in the Church. And this discovery does not cease to be an *apostolic* tradition. In this sense the definitions of the First Œcumenical Council about *ὁμοούσιος* are *apostolic*, though the apostles themselves, historically, could not have anticipated them. Nevertheless, the *ὁμοούσιος* as the other definitions of the Seven Œcumenical Councils express the

Apostolic teaching, though the apostles themselves were not conscious of this, and the fathers of the Councils were quite justified when they proclaimed: "that is a faith true, apostolic and according to the fathers." Such a broadening of the idea of apostolic tradition which is evidently necessary, leads us consequently to a more organic comprehension of apostolicity itself. The apostolicity of the Church implies not only a direct inheritance of teaching and institutions from the apostles, but likewise—and this is perhaps still more important—the fullness of apostolic gifts, given to the whole of the Church in Pentecost through the apostles. Then apostolicity is Pentecost, in which the apostles were representatives of the whole Church. Pentecost is not only an event within a definite time, but a continued act in all times of the church's existence. The Church has apostolic power and inspiration. The Church is not concentrated in the person of the Pope, who claims to be a living continuation (so to speak) of the Apostle Peter, it is not even concentrated in the entire episcopate, as in a kind of collective Pope, but it is diffused through the whole body of Christ, in its organic unity of the hierarchy with the clergy and laymen. The Spirit does not acknowledge definite external means for the inspiration of the Church, because "the spirit bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth, so it is with everyone that is born of the Spirit" (John III:8). The Church is always being inspired by the Spirit, and His tongues, like as it were of fire, are flashing here and there on chosen heads, at the decisive moments. Through such inspiration the Church becomes apostolic not only passively—in conservation—but actively—in creative efforts and tasks. Apostolicity is an act and process, and the life of the apostolic church never, therefore, remains static, for it is always renewed.

We now have, in these times, a new call of apostolic inspiration in the life of the universal Church—that is the call to Reunion. The Church which realizes, or seeks to realize its unity amongst divisions, becomes really more apostolic than before. Even in the primitive Church, in the work of the apostles themselves, some misunderstandings and differences could arise—Petrinism and Paulinism, and these were overcome at the apostolic Council in Jerusalem. This was a victory of the apostolic spirit, and a true expression of the apostolicity of the Church. Let us now—Orthodox and Anglicans—attain in our meeting here to this true spirit of reunion.

REPORT ON THE AMERICAN AID TO STRENGTHEN AND ENRICH THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

By EDGAR MACNAUGHTEN.

AT this moment the Church of the Redeemer in Moscow, the cathedral in which met the All-Russian Church Council in 1917-1918, is being demolished. It has been the outstanding symbol of the strength and prominence of the Orthodox Church in Russia. The act of destruction of the edifice is the symbol of the Godless Society in Russia that the Church is doomed.

At this same hour as guests of Lambeth Palace the bishops of the several Orthodox Churches are again conferring with the Anglican Church for the sake of closer fellowship and eventual Church reunion.

The "Academy Fund" has been a token in America of the conviction of Christian friends that the spiritual forces of the great Russian communion shall not die out. In Paris the outstanding symbol for a future spiritual and intellectual leadership of the Russian Church is the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy.

On June thirtieth the first year of the American Budget on Behalf of the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy and its allied interests was completed. A total of \$11,492 was actually contributed by five committees in the following cities: Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. The goal was \$16,200; unfortunately, a supposedly bona-fide pledge of \$2,000 was by force of circumstances uncollectable. There is some hope of its being redeemed at a later date. By sharp curtailment of other projects other than the Academy no deficit occurred; however, worthy and pressing objects suffered.

It should be mentioned that the Academy was founded in 1925 and that a special gift from an American source, aside from funds raised in England, made possible the growth of this spiritual centre on behalf of a distressed and suffering communion. As a result of personal visitation to several eastern cities this past year three new committees were formed to augment the splendid record of two cities, namely, New Haven and Boston, which had been sharing in the programme for three years. The Boston Committee under the leadership of Bishop Sherrill has annually set \$4,000 as its goal; the donation is designated for the seminary. An active group in New York with Admiral Belknap as chairman, and Stephen Baker as treasurer, has led the cities in the amount of contributions; in Philadelphia and Washington, Dr. John Mockridge and Mr. Radford Coyle have been the respective chairmen.

The major emphasis of the "Fund" has been the preparation of a future intellectually trained priesthood for the Orthodox Church.

With a budget project of \$9,000, actually \$8,242 was paid over to the Academy treasury for the collegiate year ending June 30th. In addition another \$400 carried scholarships for two students in the institution. Before assurance of additional funds was brought to the faculty on my return from America in March, the professors had voluntarily cut their salaries 15% and 20% to make ends meet. They had attempted to save nearly two thousand dollars. This is best appreciated by understanding that one of the highest paid professors who was supporting his wife and mother was getting originally but \$80 a month. With an already insufficient allowance he took a cut of \$15. Others with salary reductions were attempting to carry on with \$50 a month; as a result of my insistence their salaries were restored on a retroactive basis.

Students not only this year but since the opening of the Academy are fed on thirty cents a day. They are all crowded in three dormitory rooms. The treasurer of the Boston Committee marvelled that students had the courage to study under such adverse conditions. Bishop Perry after his personal visit remarked that he had never seen such poverty-stricken conditions among theological students, who, he added, were "packed in like sardines." In spite of it all, last year thirty-five applications were made for entrance; only fourteen could be admitted to the first year course due to the lack of funds for maintenance. Most students, as a result of the revolution, are unable to count upon financial assistance from parents and must be carried by the seminary. Forty-five students in the four courses were registered; this year but thirty-nine were taken because of the financial stringency. One of this number is doing special graduate work in England.

The Academy has been enriched by an addition of 500 volumes from Vienna and then more recently by 1532 books composing an important Russian theological library, formerly assembled in Prague. This latter library is the special gift of the British Appeal Committee.

Some necessary repairs and improvements were made this summer, thanks to a more favourable balance in the treasury which was due to the timely aid from the newer American committees.

The total budget of the Theological Academy was approximately \$19,000, toward which the Russians in their poverty contributed over \$2,600, and Anglicans in England gave upwards of \$8,000; in addition the British Appeal Committee which is responsible for the Anglican gifts makes special grants at intervals. Numbered on the faculty are eminent scholars of old Russia, Father Sergius Bulgakov being the most outstanding; there are six professors, seven occasional lecturers and two Romance language instructors. This year a former student who has spent two years of graduate study in Old Testament at Oxford has been added to the staff.

Here in Paris is to be found the only theological academy in full

standing for the Russian Orthodox Church, whether it be in Soviet Russia or abroad. The students come not merely from the emigration but from the border states of Russia namely, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Poland, where there are autonomous churches. A plan is now being considered to offer some courses in French so as to serve the various Orthodox students from the Balkans who are in Paris for further study. This spiritual centre can thus aid the Orthodox communion at large—old Russia was the inspiration of numerous present-day Church leaders of the Balkan countries.

There are five outstanding reasons for helping these people in refugee life to maintain such a spiritual centre:

1. The first is to prepare priests for the numerous Russian refugee colonies scattered throughout Europe, which to-day are without spiritual guidance. It is estimated there is one priest for every seven thousand refugees.
2. With all theological training suppressed within Russia, there is imperative need to prepare students as a reserve corps for future Russia, as the churches will be destitute of intellectually trained priests. The Russian Church numbered fifty thousand parishes.
3. With the schools and universities fast becoming the atheistic citadels because of atheistic teachers, there is a demand for educating abroad young men who with theological training will prepare themselves for the teaching profession, that they may meet the issues more intelligently in future Russia.
4. The Academy offers to theological professors and scholarly priests the opportunity for creative thinking and for the continuity and preservation of the theological thought and tradition on behalf of the Russian Orthodox Church now under persecution.
5. The Academy in Paris affords an unusual opportunity for priests and scholars to exchange thought with the Anglican communion. An annual conference is held near London where one hundred delegates including bishops, priests, and theological students assemble for intimate fellowship. Russian students are receiving scholarships in theological schools in England and America. Unhurried visits by Western church leaders are made to the Academy. A real spiritual fellowship is in process and there is an insistent demand for better understanding between the two communions.

Students who have passed through the Academy now number seventy-four. Of these, twenty-seven are priests, ten are readers in the Church, nine are in preparation for ordination and four are still pursuing graduate study.

This year one of the former students was sent out to India as a

priest to serve the Russian invalid farm and to make contact with the ancient Syrian Church of India. Another was ordained to be sent to Canada to minister to the Ukrainians. In the North of France a young priest has likewise gone out to do home missionary work. His parish is scattered in four places; he has mostly workmen and their families; two hundred children are under his influence. They are Orthodox, not merely Russian, but Serbian, Roumanian, Greek and Bulgarian. He is radiant in spirit; his salary of \$37 supports a family of three. Truly some of these graduates are examples of unselfishness—emigré life does not assure them the normal comfort, but the maintenance of the spiritual forces among their scattered people is their motivation.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The Religious Educational Bureau has completed its fourth year under the forward-looking leadership of Professor Zenkovsky who, as a professor of psychology at the Theological Academy, has seen, ever since his study period at Yale in 1926, the importance of religious pedagogy for Russian children. Associated with him have been two assistants who have received salary while Prof. Zenkovsky gives his time as a volunteer.

The early days of the Bureau required considerable thought in laying plans and preparing articles to acquaint the Russian circles with this new idea of voluntary religious education. Care was taken lest misunderstanding develop that this new undertaking was not genuinely Orthodox in thought and expression. With the full confidence of Metropolitan Evlogie strides have been made. Yet there is still much pioneering to be done in this comparatively speaking virgin soil. The staff has been formulating the basic principles of Orthodox pedagogy:

It is not merely in the Russian Orthodox Church but in the Orthodox Communion at large that the principles and basis of religious pedagogy are not clear. In November last year in Salonika there assembled Orthodox Church leaders at work with youth; to this assembly five Russian delegates went including the entire Bureau staff and two additional field workers. In session a prominent Greek professor raised the question of even discussing the subject of Orthodox Religious Education as there was no foundation for such discussion. This re-enforces the fact that it is pioneer work. Out-growing this conference to which the Academy Fund contributed a small amount for travel expenses there has come a demand for collaboration among the Orthodox lands in this realm. The Russian Bureau contributed much to this conference—it issued two pamphlets in French for preparation of the delegates. The staff prepared papers on:—

- (a) Principles of Orthodox Pedagogy
- (b) Church and Youth
- (c) Pastor and Youth
- (d) Youth in Soviet Russia
- (e) Modern Youth

The Bureau's plan calls for an even more inter-Orthodox religious educational conference than that at Salonika.

The Russian Bureau seeks to maintain international contacts with Catholic and Protestant Movements in Germany, Switzerland, England and America.

The practice ground of the Bureau is with the theological students at the Academy where two of the staff have lectured and conducted seminars. It is furthermore in closest touch with the Christian Movement whose outreach is to the children, boys and girls of the emigration. Suggested outlines for Bible study circles have been prepared; collaboration with workers among youth has resulted in more clearly defined principles and methods of education.

Included in this religious educational budget is the part salary of the Church School worker, Miss Shidlovsky, whose study period in Columbia helped prepare her for her leadership. Last year a two months' period at St. Christopher's College in England gave her further stimulus, particularly with subject material. Her school on Thursdays and Sundays for approximately one hundred children from three years of age upwards has been a model for modern methods of teaching.

The Bishop of Gibraltar had met her in Nice and, when en route to England, he called at the Russian Centre in Paris to see the School. As he presented a generous fund which he himself had collected in his diocese, he said: "When I heard of a modern religious educational school for the Russian Orthodox Church, I became interested and I wanted to help."

Emigré life offers many problems, not the least of which is the upbringing of small children in poverty-stricken homes; especially is this so in homes of mixed marriages where children often speak French better than Russian. Scattered about in Catholic or non-religious schools they are denied their own church life and teachings. The Russian Church School in Paris with others in the suburbs are therefore a wholesome factor. Other schools have been opened by the Christian Movement in Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Germany and the Baltics—the movement counts 1,200 children in such special schools. Through a yearly conference of leaders at work with youth, whether in Sunday Schools, boys' and girls' clubs, camps or Boy Scout troops, principles and methods of religious instruction are discussed. There is being evolved an Orthodox religious pedagogy based on experience.

Another problem offered by emigration is that Russian children are scattered in small groups in all parts of Europe. The Church School worker has prepared a correspondence course in religious education which helps her maintain contacts with some one hundred children in Egypt, Morocco, Africa, and even Norway. Some priests are using this material for their visitation while covering their scattered parishes.

Toward this unique religious educational endeavour the Academy Fund had provision for \$2,400; actually only \$1,625 was granted. This department suffered most heavily as the \$2,000 pledge referred to at the outset was assigned to this undertaking. As a result the religious educational projects are in jeopardy unless relief is secured.

SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT IN EMIGRATION

To a large measure the spiritual and intellectual Movement which has burst forth in the emigration has been due to the vision and inspirational qualities of chosen Christian professors and scholarly priests who have been encouraged to visit university centres, Russian colonies in Europe and summer Christian conferences.

The Russian Christian culture is dying out with the older generation—within the present student class there must be found replacements to share in the leadership now held by Father Bulgakov, Professors Berdiaev, Vysheslavtsev and Zenkovsky. These journeys to the Baltics and Balkans have produced results. A bi-product has been the discovery of students volunteering for the priesthood and eventually coming to the Paris Theological School.

Not only have these Russian leaders of thought awakened the intelligentsia to a new loyalty to the Church but they have brought fresh messages to their sister Orthodox communions. There is a growing recognition of the need for closer fellowship between these respective Orthodox communions for the actual realization of the oneness of all Orthodox Churches. There is a consciousness that the time has come when there should be heard not the voice of the Greek, not the voice of the Roumanian, nor of the Russian Church but that of one Orthodox Church.

For such visitation to Russian conferences and centres was set aside \$1,000 but only \$321 was spent, on trips to the Baltics, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia.

Another item closely associated with the above is that of Church and Russian Student Summer conferences. Each year the Russian Student Christian Movement has six such conferences in various parts of Europe—they are the high-water periods of the year's work. The spiritual tide is to be observed at such gatherings. It is like living water to thirsty souls. In spite of hardships endured one delegate said this last July: "We are not craving comforts but Christian culture."

In this realm of conferences perhaps the international assemblies of social and spiritual significance stand out as particularly important in relation to church fellowship and eventual unity. Each year Russian delegates are sharing with Protestants and Catholics in student conferences seriously confronted by the question of œcumenism. The Orthodox have much to give and much to receive. For two years now the French Student Movement and Russian students have exchanged convictions; the fifth Anglo-Russian fellowship at High Leigh for a week was of peculiar significance in the light of the Lambeth conversations with the Orthodox bishops. The value of these intimate contacts is best illustrated by the following paragraph from a Russian theological student sent as a delegate to the British Student Movement conference especially planned for divinity students, and then to the Anglican Annual conference on Social problems held at Oxford. He wrote: "I have just come back to Wallsend. Swanwick and Oxford are the highest periods I ever had in emigré life. In Swanwick I left part of my soul . . . This time spent in England has been the most pleasant experience in my life."

Toward fostering this growing fellowship and understanding on the part of the Anglican and Orthodox communions the Fund has shared in small part the scholarship of Mr. Zernov now entering his second year at Oxford. He is expecting to receive his Doctorate of Philosophy next June specializing on Church History and Unity. With a background of a theological course in Belgrade followed by five years as a secretary in the Russian Student Christian Movement, he enters this special field of study with the thorough confidence of the Russian Academy and of the Anglican friends who had come to know him through a six-months stay at Mirfield. Mr. Zernov's address at the Liverpool assembly of theological students was credited as being one of the best. He was a delegate at the recent continuation meeting of the Lausanne Conference. One hundred dollars was contributed toward his scholarship although six hundred was anticipated.

Father Bulgakov of the Academy is taking active part in the continuation work of the Stockholm and Lausanne conferences.

With England so near to Paris, this exchange of visits is more readily effected. For the Episcopalian clergymen of America especially, this fellowship with the young generation of Orthodox priests is particularly to be encouraged. Next year, there is to be in Paris in late June an American-Russian Theological Student conference. At General Theological Seminary in New York a Russian graduate of the Paris Academy spent a year. Professor Gavin wrote, "every single person who has come into touch with Dimitri Klepinin has fallen in love with him. He is the best possible example of Orthodox devotion that could have been sent us." The "Fund" provided \$230 this past year. Already a Russian student in the third

year course in Paris is provisionally selected to be at the General Theological Seminary beginning next fall ; it will cost \$700 to make this valuable contact possible.

Before Americans and British the door of opportunity is flung wide open to bring about Church unity—to help consummate the efforts of Bishop Brent and others. The provisions in the Academy Fund are concrete tasks to give momentum to this realization of the growing spiritual fellowship. To no one in emigration is this more clearly seen than by Metropolitan Evlogie. Coming to the Summer Student Conference on the day of the death of Archbishop Soderblom, the Metropolitan made the contribution of Archbishop Soderblom to the cause of œcumenism the sole subject of his message to his youthful listeners. He felt the loss of a close friend. As he finished, the entire conference stood and read a prayer which was followed by that heart-moving hymn, "Eternal Memory." At the suggestion of a graduate theological student who had spent various periods in England with Anglican friends, a Panikhida (a special prayer service for the departed) was held on the following day. There was no thought that a Lutheran leader had passed on—it was the loss of a Christian leader who had served the Church at large.

The foregoing is a résumé of the Academy Fund year. The new academic year with its budget needs of \$16,000 awaits an answer. Bishop James DeWolf Perry who personally visited the Paris Seminary following the Lambeth Conference, made the following statement :

"I have had occasion recently to visit the Russian Theological Academy in Paris, to meet the officers and members of the faculty, and to learn of the extraordinary opportunity there offered for the reinforcement of the priesthood of the Russian Orthodox Church. The need for maintenance and for increased equipment is very great. The importance of the work cannot be exaggerated. I trust that generous and continued support of the people of our church will be offered for the sustenance of this institution."

The Christian East

THE DEATH OF HIS BEATITUDE DAMIANOS, PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

THE sudden end to the life, which had come to the last stage and then halted, brought a shock to many who had known the Patriarch Damianos as a generous friend.

The tidings that life was ebbing fast came first to the Russian nuns worshipping under the stars and the cypresses outside the little "Galilee" Church in the Patriarch's garden.

"Would the priest officiating bring the Holy Sacrament with all possible speed."

With such haste as consorted with reverence, Fr. Seraphim concluded the Liturgy, and as the dawn brightened over the rampart of Transjordan and lighted up the Judean desert, the Blessed Sacrament was brought to the dying Patriarch's room.

By then he had become unconscious, and at first it was feared that it might prove impossible to give him his viaticum. But it seemed as if the Presence made Itself known to him, and he suddenly opened his eyes and understood, and received of "the heavenly and life-giving Mystery."

Five hours later his soul passed away.

Two Russian priests were at hand to prepare the body for burial, and they vested it in white silk sakkos and golden jewelled mitre, laying within the folded arms the silver-bound Book of the Gospels and the silver Cross of benediction, disposing it in a sitting posture to receive the last homage of the Faithful.

The tolling of the great bell of the Holy Sepulchre helped to spread the news through the Holy City, and soon a stream of Orthodox began to arrive from near and far ; amongst the first being the Russian Archbishop, who mourned the loss of a personal friendship to which is largely due the present kindly relations between Greek and Russian clergy.

But not only the great and the Church folk, also humble Moslem neighbours from the village of Tur came in sorrow. "He was kind to us when we were children and, when all our food was taken during the War, he fed us and kept us from starving."

After a short service at which all the clergy of the Patriarchate attended the body was taken to the beautiful little old Church of

SS. Constantine and Helena, which looks down on the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary.

All night long Russian nuns watched, and at the first glimmer of dawn the office of Matins was sung by the clergy of the Patriarchate and the Holy Liturgy celebrated. Many came then and all through the morning to kiss the hand of the dead Patriarch.

The burial service in the afternoon was attended by representatives of all the religious bodies, Latin, Armenian, Anglican, Coptic, Syrian, Moslem and Jewish, of the government and consulate, and an enormous crowd which could not force an entrance into the tiny church.

The exigencies of the occasion—the heat within and the tumult without—made it advisable to shorten the rite at the time to a few prayers and psalms, the Gospel, and a panegyric delivered by Father Kyriakos, Hegoumen of the Convent of S. Abram. (The greater part of the long and beautiful rite was sung after the interment.)

At 4 p.m. the procession headed by the titular Archbishops, vested in black mandyases embroidered with silver crosses, started for the cemetery on Mount Zion, the body of the Patriarch still seated erect on his throne as if to give a last blessing to the people of the Holy City.

Very slowly it wound its way past "the Tower of David" through the Armenian Quarter, and at the entrance to the Armenian Cathedral it halted to receive from a band of Armenian clergy and people a dignified tribute of Christian love and respect in the form of a short Armenian requiem.

It was 5 p.m. when we reached the holy spot where Our Lord gave us the Eucharist, where the Holy Spirit descended to fill the Church, and where the Blessed Mother fell asleep. With the thought of these divine pledges of the final transfiguration of our frail humanity, we commended to God's boundless love the soul of Damianos, our late Patriarch.

"For Thou art a good God and lovest mankind . . . and Thy word is true."

And we ask the prayers of all our Anglican brethren for him, and, during these next few months, for those who will elect his successor. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; and still more pray for the casting-out from our midst of the atheistic mind which doubts our power to change and that dry bones can live again. Pray that the Orthodox Church may live in the spirit of her glorious heritage of doctrine and worship, that the Anglican Church may be enabled humbly and penitently to help her in her time of poverty and of political upheaval.

LINKS OF FRIENDSHIP

By THEODORA EYTON-JONES.

I arrived in Jerusalem on April 14th, 1930, and after the official calls had been paid on the High Commissioner, Bishop and others, went out on my promised visit to the Archbishop of the Jordan at the Greek Convent of the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem. A wing had been set aside for my use, books and beautiful flowers had been prepared, and two Russian women servants were in attendance.

The courtesy, kindness and attention received from the saintly Archbishop, as well as the whole community, was beyond description wonderful.

The Archbishop arranged a seat for me near his Throne for the great Holy Week services in the Basilica of the Nativity. Perhaps the Service of the Burial of the Dead was the most impressive.

It was an unforgettable scene. The church was crowded with worshippers. The glistening splendour of the lamps sparkled down on the upturned and reverent faces of the devout and earnest Bethlehem women, dressed in their beautifully embroidered gowns, and long flowing white veils over their tall head-dresses. The screen formed a sea of golden glory in which thousands of candles scintillated.

Voices of many priests chanted and read the prayers. Then the figure of Jesus was taken down and buried in a great crate of flowers, amidst many rites. The Archbishop took my hand and led me down the steps of the Holy Grotto of the Birth of our Lord.

Worshippers holding their candles followed and knelt fervently to kiss the Star of Bethlehem and the walled-in stone where the manger is said actually to have been. Up the staircase the stately procession followed. Hundreds of eyes watched and many stretched out their hands to take a flower and to kiss the Archbishop's hand after his blessing. Some took mine and kissed them too, making the sign of the Cross on their foreheads.

The presence of a woman in the procession of Archbishop and priests was something they had never seen before, but they never questioned it.

When Holy Week, with its famous ceremonies of "the washing of the feet" in the Parvis of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Holy Fire, was over, the Archbishop of the Jordan arranged a visit to His Beatitude Damianos, the late Patriarch of Jerusalem, then a wonderful old man of 87.

On our arrival at his summer residence in the Mount of Olives

there was a gasp of joyous recognition from the servant he had brought with him to Fulham Palace on their historic visit to England.

We were escorted immediately to His Beatitude. His mind was as alert as ever and his kind eyes kindled with pleasure. Stretching out his unparalysed hand, and remembering my Christian name, he said, "Theodora, we have prayed for you to come and see us, we give you a welcome." Then he asked most earnestly after the Bishop of London, recalling the happy time he had spent there, and stated the warmth of the feeling of the Greek to the Anglican Church.

On being told by the Archbishop of the part in the procession in church which he had given me, the Patriarch smiled and said he wished to confer upon me the decoration of "Commander of the Holy Sepulchre." It is a beautiful golden Cross with a crown. Inside is a little piece of the wood of the real Cross.

The Archbishop bade me good-bye with the words, "We may meet again in England. You have been her Church's trust to us, and we have taken care of you as a sister. You have been called the 'Princess of Bethlehem.' We have never entertained a woman in the same way before. At last the longed-for invitation to Lambeth has come. Pray for us that we may be guided in that great Conference." So closed three wonderful and amazing weeks.

The second ecclesiastical visit was at Tanta in Egypt to the Archbishop of Hermopolis. He came to Cairo to fetch me from General and Mrs. Logan, with whom I was staying.

The Synod was sitting, and the Archbishop presented me to his All-Holiness Meletios, Patriarch of Alexandria. I bore a letter to him from the Archbishop of Germanos. He graciously issued an invitation that I should be his guest in Alexandria. Tanta is a cathedral town and the diocese stretches from Cairo to Alexandria.

Again a great welcome had been arranged. Schools and persons of interest were visited. The Archbishop of Hermopolis, who had been a candidate for the Patriarchate, is a saintly man and is beloved of all young people. He is a great scholar and thinker.

I left Alexandria on May 27th with a deep gratitude for so many kindnesses received in Egypt and with a growing sense of the links of friendship being forged.

On June 11th, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir George Clerk, arranged a meeting with the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. He showed a great interest in the ecclesiastical visits I had paid, and the decoration bestowed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He gave me the letter to read received from the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Lambeth Conference, and spoke with deep appreciation and gratitude of the support and friendliness that the Eastern Churches had received, both from

the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. He asked me to convey to them many kind messages.

On leaving, he gave me a large signed photograph of himself and a letter of introduction to the Archbishop of Athens, the Primate of Greece. The gracious personality and compelling charm of the Patriarch of Constantinople was but in keeping with the courtesies received throughout the whole wonderful journey.

On June 14th I was driven from the Legation at Athens for the final visit to the Archbishop of Athens, Primate of Greece. He is a scholarly man and was at one time Head of the Theological College at Jerusalem.

He spoke of the coming conference on Mount Athos and the earnest desire that all would go well in the Church's desire towards re-union at Lambeth.

It is interesting to remember that the Metropolitan of Athens, addressing an English Pilgrimage on June 18th, 1925, uttered these memorable words:—

"You will find it (our Church) such as it was when Theodore of Tarsus came to England as Archbishop of her Church. Theodore renewed the first ties of the Christian East with the English Church, because undoubtedly, the first missionaries in Britain came from Greek Asia Minor. We can see this from the diversities in Christian custom, which the missionaries who came from Rome later found in England."

It is in deep and heartfelt gratitude I write this tribute to the Eastern Churches, in my endeavour to portray what so few people know of their attitude towards Unity and Concord.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE ANGLICAN-ORTHODOX CONJOINT COMMISSION—THE BULGARIAN "SCHISM"—THE FORTHCOMING PRO-SYNOD—THE TROUBLES IN CYPRUS.

THE salient event for us in recent months has necessarily been the first session of the Orthodox-Anglican Conjoint Commission which was held at Lambeth Palace from October 14 to October 20.

The personnel of the Orthodox side of the Commission was not appointed, as has been mistakenly inferred, by the Œcumenical Patriarch, but by the authorities of each of the autokephalous churches on His All-Holiness' invitation.

Like the Delegation which visited London in 1925 for the Anglican Commemoration of the 16th Centenary of the Great Council of Nikæa and like the Delegation which paid a ceremonial visit to the Lambeth Conference of last year, the Orthodox side of the Commission is officially representative of all the autokephalous Orthodox Churches—the Russian Patriarchate which was repre-

sented in 1925 and the Bulgarian Church which was unrepresented in 1925 alone being excepted.

In his speech of welcome to the Orthodox Delegates at the commencement of the session, the Archbishop of Canterbury was at pains to say how greatly he regretted that in spite of his request, the Œcumenical Patriarch had found himself unable to secure the presence of a Russian delegate or to invite the Bulgarian Church to appoint one.

The procedure for the appointment of the Conjoint Commission proposed by the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference was that the Œcumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury should arrange respectively for the appointment of its Orthodox and Anglican personnel and of necessity his Grace could do no more than intimate to his All-Holiness that he would be profoundly distressed if Russian and Bulgarian delegates could not be secured.

That the Œcumenical Patriarch could not conform to the desire of his Grace was due on the one hand to the fact that the Bulgarian Church being in "schism" from the Œcumenical Patriarchate, he felt unable to communicate with its authorities. On the other hand, while owing to the persecution of the Russian Church no delegate could come from Russia, his All-Holiness has no relations with the Karlovci Synod of Russian Bishops in Exile over which the Metropolitan Antony presides and, since the Metropolitan Evlogie is now an Exarch of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, the Russian congregations which he governs, could not rightly be given separate and independent representation on the Commission.

The absence of Russian and Bulgarian delegates from the Commission was, therefore, inevitable and is easily understandable. But it is desirable both that the reason for that absence should be understood and that it should be known that if it had been in his power, his Grace would have secured the representation of those important Orthodox autokephalous Churches.

It may be said almost exclusively that even when a heresy has become the battle flag of schism, most schisms have had their roots in national, class or economic controversies. At any rate that is the case of the Greek-Bulgarian Schism. The Bulgarian Church is not accused of doctrinal heresy by the Greeks. The cause of its schism with Constantinople was the erection of a Bulgarian Exarchate and of Bulgarian dioceses in 1870 within the admitted jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. In plain English, acting under the incitement of Panslavist agents, the Bulgarian Church then advanced the theory of "phyletism," and acted on its

principle that wherever the nationals of an autokephalous Church may be, they have a right to be under the jurisdiction of their own Church and not under that of the Church within whose confines they are living. That "phyletism" strikes at the root of Œcumenical principle is unquestionable. Viewed abstractedly, therefore, the intrusion of the Bulgarian Exarchate into the territorial jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate was altogether canonically indefensible. Behind it, however, lay the national question as to whether Thrace and Macedonia were to be Greek or Bulgarian, *Piu se muove*. In the seventies, the Bulgarian Nation was regarded by the Panslavist as his puppet and the Russian Tsar used it as the instrument of his advance on Constantinople. Much water has ebbed and flowed in the Black Sea since then. Panslavism is now forgotten. The Balkan question has been regulated, if not solved finally. And there is no reason whatever why the Bulgarian Exarchate of Constantinople should not cease to exist and the schism be healed—except that the Œcumenical Patriarchate not unnaturally requires the Bulgarian Church to express penitence for its intrusion and that the politicians do not desire its healing.

The unwillingness of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to invite the Metropolitan Antony of Kiev to nominate a delegate on the Commission rests on grounds which are more complicated and which it is not within the province of Anglicans to discuss. But it would be quite unfair that we should suppress the fact that the authorities of the Serbian Church dismiss those grounds as having no validity and recognize the Metropolitan Antony as being the canonical president of the Russian Church in Exile.

In spite of the absence of Russian and Bulgarian delegates, the Orthodox personnel of the Commission cannot be regarded as other than adequately representative of the whole Orthodox Church.

Since the widowhood of the Jerusalem Patriarchate kept Archbishop Timotheos of the Jordan in Palestine, and Archbishop Nicolas of Ermopolis in Egypt, the Archbishop of Thyatira represented the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as well as the Œcumenical Patriarchate and that excellent theologian, the Great Archimandrite Michael Constantinides who as Dean of St. Sophia, Bayswater, is well known, and a *persona gratissima*, to Anglicans, represented that of Alexandria. Otherwise, all the nominated members of the Commission, Anglican and Orthodox, were present. Of the Orthodox, Archbishop Nectarie of Bessarabia, Bishop Irenay of Novi-Sad and the Metropolitan Leontios of Paphos were

members of the 1930 Delegation. The Russian Professor Arseniev who was the delegate of the Polish Orthodox Church, is a very frequent visitor to England. The delegates of the Churches of Antioch and Greece, the Metropolitan Theodosios of Tyre and Sidon and Bishop Polycarp of Trikkala and Stagon, were alone newcomers.

All the Anglican members were present throughout every sitting of the Commission, viz: the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Headlam), who is its Anglican Chairman, the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Gregg), the Bishops of Gibraltar, Fulham and North Indiana (Drs. Hicks, Batty and Campbell Gray), Professors Goudge and Grenstead, Canon J. A. Douglas and the Secretary, the Rev. P. Usher. Dr. Gray had travelled from America for the session. Mr. W. V. R. Brade and Canon Wigram acted as German and Greek interpreters.

All the Orthodox delegates and those Anglican members of the Commission who do not live in London were the guests of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Lambeth Palace, his Grace's Principal Chaplain, the Rev. A. C. Don, who was specially charged with the arrangements, devoting himself unsparingly to their entertainment.

The purpose of the Orthodox delegates' visit being practical, no ceremonial programme was arranged for them such as marked the visit of the Orthodox Delegation last year and except Bishop Irenäy who visited Edinburgh and Glasgow on a short preaching tour, none of them accepted any public engagements during his stay in England.

As has been his wont whenever distinguished Orthodox hierarchs visit London, Mr. Athelstan Riley entertained the whole Commission to dinner, the Greek Minister and the *chargés d'affaire* of the Roumanian and Yugo-Slav Legations being among his other guests. The Bishop of London also invited the Commission to tea at Fulham on Sunday, October 18th, in the evening of which day, Bishop Irenäy, who preached its Patronal Festival Sermon, was accompanied to St. Luke's Church, Camberwell, by several of the Orthodox Delegates, who desired to visit it on account of the *eikons* in its Chapel of Unity.

At the time when these notes were written, the Report of the Session of the Commission was in the Press¹ but no statement as to its results had been published.

¹ It was published on December 23,

It will not be indiscreet, however, to say that the Commission devoted its time exclusively to the work for which the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference agreed that it should be set up, namely, the investigation of the dogmatic agreements and disagreements between the two churches.

If it is to be thorough, that investigation must necessarily cover a very wide field and will require many sessions of the Commission.

A reference to the Minutes of the Discussions at Lambeth last year which were first published in this year's Spring *Christian East* will show that in particular the business of the Commission is to make the *Terms of Intercommunion*, published by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Eastern Churches Commission in 1921, as a *ballon d'essai* "in order to provoke discussion," the guiding line of its investigation; and it was for that reason that they were reprinted in our last issue.

As a matter of fact, the subjects dealt with in the first eleven of those *Terms* received preliminary consideration during the Commission's session.

To the journalist on the swoop for a scoop or to the general public which is interested only in the bringing rabbits out of a hat, the results of the session will probably appear very small.

Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus!

No one can be surprised, if when the Report of the Session appears, it is ignored or greeted with a jeer of the kind. The same public attention which was focussed upon the Orthodox Delegation last year, has been intrigued by the session of the Commission. It has been useless for those of us who understand the essential position—and anyone of average common sense who takes the trouble, can understand it at a glance—to say that since full and dogmatic agreement is the indispensable preliminary for the establishment of formal Intercommunion between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, there was no possibility that the Report of the Commission would recommend it.

Our extreme Evangelicals have been like bolting horses. Their periodicals such as the *Record* have sniffed an Anglo-Catholic plot to declare the Union of the two Churches and thereby both to deny most things which Evangelicals cherish and to commit the Church of England to most things which they denounce.

How the idea that a declaration of the Union of the two churches is imminent ever got into anyone's head, beats our understanding. Perhaps it did so because the Œcumenical Patriarch has declared that their relations have passed out of the friendly stage and into

that of brotherliness and intimacy. No doubt, the mere setting up of the Commission, following upon the doctrinal agreements in regard to the Sacred Ministry, and the Eucharist reached by the Orthodox Delegation and the Anglican Bishops during the Lambeth Conference and the Delegation's provisional authorization of Economic Intercommunion overseas, have contributed to that notion. Again, at its very first session—at Bonn, from July 2-4 last—the parallel Old Catholic-Anglican Conjoint Doctrinal Commission had recommended an immediate declaration that the Old Catholic and Anglican Churches are in full agreement on all essential doctrines and the establishment forthwith of the fullest Intercommunion between them. The deduction appears to have been drawn that the Anglican-Orthodox Conjoint Committee could do no less.

At any rate, more than one London journal published articles from their special correspondents professing to reveal the secrets of the Commission and announcing with leaded captions that full Intercommunion had been agreed.

None the less, the result of the Conjoint Commission's first session constitutes a very remarkable step forward and one which few of us anticipated would be achieved at so early a stage in the investigation. To ascertain whether a dogmatic agreement existed between the Old Catholic and Anglican Churches was easy. Both being Western and akin in tradition and ideology, the formularies of the one are easily intelligible to the other. To ascertain whether such agreement exists between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches is vastly more difficult. Even in patristic times, the Greek categories of Eastern theological thought moved in a different plane from the Latin categories of Western theological thought and in some matters the Eastern dogmatic position was contrasted with the Western. For the past nine hundred years Eastern and Western Christendom have lived and developed in remote worlds. Moreover, it is by no means the case that the Latin-derived English theological terms which our dictionaries give us as equivalents for traditional Greek theological terms are really equivalent to them. And so on.

Accordingly, the investigation before the Commission requires thorough and careful exploration in order that the real dogmatic position of the two Churches on any matter may be mutually understood.

Owing alike to our domestic conflicts and to our controversies with Rome and with Geneva, we Anglicans are inclined to focus our attention in Reunion discussions peculiarly upon agreement or

disagreement as to the doctrine of the Sacred Ministry and its Apostolic Succession and upon that of the Sacraments in general and the Eucharist in particular. That the Orthodox are watchful in regard to those matters should need no demonstration. But their watchfulness in regard to them is secondary to their watchfulness upon matters, the decisions upon which they regard, and rightly regard, as primary not only because the decision upon the secondary doctrines of the Sacred Ministry and the Sacraments depends upon them but because they provide the criteria for the right conception of the Church.

The term Tradition—*paradosis*—is applied both to the handing down of belief or customs and to those beliefs or customs themselves. In the former case it is used among the Orthodox in an ordinary and wider sense to include human tradition, sc. the handing down of beliefs and customs which are not integral to the Divine Revelation but which may be received or rejected as matters of pious opinion or of which, though, in themselves, they are not of divine revelation or institution, the principles of obedience to divinely constituted ecclesiastical authority and of conformity to the general mind and life of the Church, forbid the rejection.

At the same time, however, it is used in a more restricted and specific sense, sc. for the handing down in the Church by the operation of the Lifegiving Holy Spirit of the Divine Revelation made once and for all, by and in our Lord Jesus Christ, i.e., in other words, for that conscious knowledge of the facts of the Christian Faith which was imparted at the beginning and is sustained and made known from age to age in the Church by the Holy Spirit.

Of course, the Orthodox members of the Commission were concerned with Tradition only in this more restricted and specific sense. What they required to know was whether the Anglican Communion holds that the facts of the Christian Faith are made plain, individually and independently, to every man by his personal and unaided searching of Holy Scripture or whether it holds that he needs to be guided into them by the Living Voice of Tradition. Put briefly, their question was not whether those facts are to be found in or to be proved by Holy Scripture, but whether they are made known by that Tradition of the Living Voice of the Spirit, which is expressed in the consensus of the writings of the Fathers, is set forth in the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils and is sustained in the belief of the Church through the ages.

In other words, does Holy Scripture stand alone as our source of the Christian Revelation or has Tradition of the Living Voice to complete it?

In effect, for the Orthodox the possibility of going on with the discussions hinged upon the answer to that question. If the Anglican Communion dismisses Tradition as a source of the Christian Revelation, then they must adjudge the Protestantism of Canterbury to be essentially of *pari materia* with that Protestantism of Geneva which claimed to reconstruct the Christian Faith entirely from the Scriptures. But if the Anglican Communion accepts it as a source of the Christian Revelation, then the Protestantism of Canterbury is essentially of *pari materia* with Eastern Orthodoxy in that while it protests against the claims and innovations of Rome and rejects mediaeval superstitions, it desires to accept the Christian Faith, without "alteration, addition or diminution," as it has been handed down through the ages by the Living Voice in the Church.

When the Report is published, it will be seen that though the Orthodox and Anglican sides of the Commission were in fundamental agreement upon Tradition, they found it hard to express their agreement in a *formula*. On the one hand, the Anglicans, who from first to last were unanimous among themselves, could not leave open the possibility, in the words of the Archbishop of Dublin, of there being "any hidden stores of tradition," and were stout to express belief both in "the sufficiency of Holy Scripture" and the inseparability of Tradition therefrom. The language they used was derived from the Thirty-nine Articles.

On the other hand, while the Orthodox agreed that Tradition and Holy Scripture are inseparable from each other, they were not prepared to leave the door open to the Faith as they have received it, being challenged as not to be proved by Holy Scripture.

An ambiguous formula of agreement would have been worse than useless.

In the end by patient and prolonged effort to understand each other, a *formula* emerged and is recorded, which involved no compromise on either side and which expresses real agreement. That formula will be preceded in the Report by the drafts in which the Anglicans and the Orthodox began by expressing their particular positions.

As we have indicated, the Anglican draft stresses the Sufficiency

of Holy Scripture and the Orthodox draft stresses the necessity of the Completion of Holy Scripture by the interpreting, living voice of Tradition.

We cannot conceive any of our Evangelicals, except those who are determined at all costs to be sectional, refusing to be satisfied with the Anglican *formula* or any Orthodox, except those who are in blinkers refusing to be satisfied with the Orthodox *formula*. Nor can we imagine anyone regarding the final conjoint *formula* as other than plainly, consistently and adequately summarizing both *formulae*¹.

As has been remarked above, it will be surprising if the Ecclesiastical Correspondents of our dailies do not purse their lips over the Report and say "There is nothing to make a song about here. Tradition? What is it? The British Public is not interested in abstract theological questions. Why could not the Commission give us something concrete and big?" On the other hand, it will be even more surprising if those who understand the matter do not regard the Commission's reasoned conclusion that the Anglican and Orthodox Communions are essentially in agreement as to the Sources of the Christian Revelation and the Relationship of Holy Scripture and Tradition, as transforming the whole position.

To minimise the importance of that conclusion, it clears the air by demonstrating that the dogmatic position of both Communions is governed by the same principle.

Certainly, it remains for the Commission to investigate as to whether they are in agreement as to the organs, by which Tradition declares and sustains the One, Catholic Faith, and as to the contents of that Faith. But even if—and we are confident that it will not be so—the future sessions of the Commission reveal disagreements on those matters, the importance of its finding in regard to the matters which it had to consider will not be diminished; for they have made evident, once and for all, that the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches are congenital and organically akin. If—and we are sure that in the fullness of time they will—they find themselves in the end, unable to affirm that they are in complete dogmatic agreement; at least they must recognize that their dogmatic teaching starts from common premises and claims to be governed by identical principles.

¹ Before these notes were printed, an attempt at the impossible was made by the *Record*, which, in a leading article, actually stated that the Anglican members of the Commission agreed that "Holy Scripture is *supplemented* by tradition"—which is exactly what they did *not* agree and what the Orthodox did *not* ask them to agree!

It is very possible that the Man of Fleet Street will interest himself in the exchange of Anglican and Orthodox views recorded in the Report as to the Nature and Number of the Sacraments or as to the *Filioque* Clause, rather than in the agreement arrived at in regard to Tradition and Holy Scripture. If so, he will illustrate his persistent incompetence to estimate real values and to put first things first. None the less, that exchange of views will demonstrate that even if—and we doubt it—the Commission has to record certain disagreements in the dogmatic teaching of the two Churches on those matters, the primary agreement which has been established between them, will govern and facilitate the reconciliation of their secondary disagreements.

Further, even if the result of the first session of the Conjoint Commission has not in itself been of the maximal importance which we are bold to attribute to it, at least it cannot fail to dissipate that impression that the Anglican and Orthodox Communions are being rushed into Union and Intercommunion, which has stampeded some of our Anglican Evangelicals into unreasoning hostility towards the work done at Lambeth in 1930, and which has produced cautionary, and indeed inimical, expressions of opinion in regard to the possibility of the Union of the two churches, from some Orthodox theologians, and especially from the Metropolitan of Leontopolis and those distinguished lay Professors of Theology of Athens, Drs. Balanos, Bratsiotes and Dyovouniotes.

The fact is that both in England and abroad there has been much misunderstanding as to what was achieved by the discussions of the Orthodox Delegation of 1930, with the sub-Committee of the Lambeth Conference, which conferred with it.

As the minutes of those discussions¹ show, the question of Union and of full and formal Intercommunion between the Orthodox and Anglican Communions was not then touched upon.

By the express wish of the Patriarch of Roumania the Orthodox Delegations asked certain questions touching the Anglican doctrines of the Sacred Ministry and the Eucharist, explicit answers to which have been predicated by Orthodox theologians for many years as requisite for the acceptance of our Orders and Eucharist by Economy. The answers given by the sub-committee of Anglican bishops were received unanimously as adequate by the Delegation.

¹ Printed in the Summer *Christian East*, 1931.

On their side the Anglican Bishops drew the attention of the Orthodox Delegation to the existing situation in America and elsewhere overseas whereby Orthodox who are practically in permanent and complete isolation from Orthodox clergy resort to Anglican sacramental ministrations, and asked whether that resort was authorized.

In view of the satisfactory answers to their questions, the Delegation answered that it could, and did authorize that resort as a measure of Economy provisionally and pending a decision of the forthcoming Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church.

The acceptance of Anglican Orders and the establishment of *Economic Intercommunion*, i.e., the authorization of the resort of the Orthodox to Anglican sacramental ministrations where very special conditions obtain, are one thing. The Union and Intercommunion of the two Churches are another. For the former—as Canon Douglas makes very plain in a note on the Principle of Economy and its Exercise among the Orthodox in the January number of *Theology*—the Orthodox requirement is no more than that the Anglican doctrine of the Sacred Ministry, the Eucharist and the other Sacraments, should approximate to the Orthodox doctrine. For the latter, full and complete dogmatic agreement between the two Churches is the indispensable preliminary.

It was precisely in order to ascertain whether, whatever apparent disagreements it may underlie, that agreement is there, that the erection of the Conjoint Commission was decided upon at Lambeth in 1930.

That opinion in some of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches should be sensitive to, and indeed should be afraid of, the possibility that the Orthodox Church may wake up to find itself committed to Union or Intercommunion without full dogmatic agreement, is natural and easily understandable.

The sooner that suspicion is realised to be wholly groundless the better.

In regard to our Orders and to Economic Intercommunion, the questions which the Orthodox Delegation put officially to the Lambeth Conference of 1930 were answered officially. The Delegation declared itself satisfied with the answers given them. None of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches has expressed itself dissatisfied with those answers.

Certainly, the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference was not plenipotentiary.

None the less, it was the official mouthpiece of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches which are to be represented in the Pro-Synod. As such it put the questions to the Lambeth Conference

which the Roumanian Patriarch held necessary to settle the question of Anglican Orders from the Orthodox viewpoint. It declared the answers given to those questions to be satisfactory. It asked for and it received their endorsement as "sufficient" from the Lambeth Conference. The particular canonical authorities of each of the Orthodox autocephalous Churches represented in the Delegation received the reports of their Delegates. No intimation has been given that any of those authorities consider the questions put as needing supplementation or that the answers given are inadequate.

Factually, it remains open for any one of them to instruct its delegates in the Pro-Synod to re-open the matter and it would be better that it should be re-opened than that an implementation of the Lambeth agreements of 1930 by the Pro-Synod should be half-hearted or hesitating.

But its re-opening after a lapse of two years, under all the circumstances would be surprising and would necessarily make future discussions between the two Churches very difficult.

To put the position in a nutshell.

The Orthodox Church is in a sense committed to the acceptance of Anglican Orders and to overseas Economic Intercommunion.

But so far is it from being committed to Union or Intercommunion that many sessions of the Conjoint Commission will almost certainly be necessary and several years may well elapse before its comparison of the dogmatic positions of the two churches can be completed.

The compelling desiderata for the conduct of that comparison are on the one hand that our Evangelicals should be brought to realise that they have been tilting at windmills, and on the other hand that the general public in Orthodox countries should grasp the fact that there is no possibility of their being confronted with an *Unia haud vera*, based as was the figment of the Council of Ferrara—Florence, 1438-9, on ambiguity and compromise.

If at long last the labours of the Conjoint Commission demonstrate that, as we are confident it will demonstrate, in spite of superficial disagreement, full and complete dogmatic agreement exists between the Anglican Communion as a whole and the Orthodox Communion, every stage—and there will be many stages—in those labours will be published to the world. The Anglican Evangelical and the intransigent Orthodox, therefore, will have abundant and leisurely opportunity to utter any *non possumus* made necessary at each stage and so to cause reconsideration and to veto further progress unless and until their hesitations have been safeguarded.

In other words, we take courage to plead that alike in England and in the Orthodox World, the Conjoint Commission should be given the chance of doing its work without the distraction of a crossfire of groundless suspicion.

If its personnel is not credited with common, chivalrous honesty and loyalty, at least common sense ought to be attributed to it.

We have dwelt so lengthily upon the fact that the Conjoint Commission is engaged not upon an ecclesiastical negotiation but upon an academic theological investigation, because the decision of the Pro-Synod upon Anglican Orders and upon overseas Economic Intercommunion cannot fail to be critical for the future relations of the two Churches in particular and for the worldwide Reunion Movement in general.

If the Pro-Synod implements the agreements reached by the Lambeth Conference with the Orthodox Delegates which visited it, then the *imponderabilia* point to a rally of non-Papalist Christianity to Orthodox principles.

If it fails to do so, then, of a surety the growing solidarity between the two Churches will be weakened and dwindle. The hope of their Union will recede into the far distance and Western Christianity will tend to be divided into sharply contrasted Papalist and Protestant blocs.

Fiat Justitia, ruat coelum.

On the other hand, if the Pro-Synod cannot implement the Lambeth Agreements of 1930 without treachery to Orthodox principles, it is far better that it should refuse to do so.

A few words will be timely and useful as to the Orthodox Pro-Synod the assembly of which is now definitely fixed for Whit-Sunday June 19th, 1932, at the famous Monastery of Vatopedion in Mount Athos.

In the first years after the War when everything seemed possible, the project of convening a General Council of the totality of the Episcopate of all the Orthodox Churches, was much in the air. That there was need for such a Council was indisputable. Since the last of the Seven Œcumenical Councils met at Nicaea in 787 A.D., no Council has been held which the Orthodox Church recognizes as possessing Œcumenical Authority, i.e., the dogmatic precisions and canons of which it holds as *eo ipso* binding its members absolutely.

The so-called Councils of Lyons, 1291 and Ferrara—Florence, 1438-9, in the assembling of which the Orthodox took part with the Papacy, are rejected as devoid of authority by the Orthodox. In mediæval times more than one Council was held such as those

of Constantinople in 1261 and 1481, but they were not held to have been of Œcumenical authority in the Orthodox Church. Again in the Seventeenth Century, several topical Councils were held, e.g., those of Jassy in 1642 and Jerusalem in 1672. But since they were representative neither of the totality of the Orthodox Episcopate nor of the whole Orthodox Church, their decisions have only relative authority.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the political situation in the Near East put the convening of an Œcumenical Council out of the question, and, indeed, consultation and concerted action between the Orthodox autokephalous Churches became almost impossible. The Russian Tsardom was pressing towards its Hope and Calling—the ejection of the Turks from Constantinople and from the ancient Homelands of Christianity, and the enthronement of its Tsar in a redeemed St. Sophia as Viregerent of a restored Eastern Christendom and as custodian of the Holy Places. With the Great Idea menacing their Empire and Islam, the Ottoman Sultan-Khalifs were inevitably and peculiarly suspicious of solidarity between their Greek and Slav *rayah* and the Orthodox of Russia. However great were the mutual rivalries and hostilities of the Western Powers, Western diplomacy was at one in dreading the Russian Tsar's advance towards Constantinople and was united to obviate anything which might strengthen his claim to be the Protector of the Orthodox of the Balkans. For their part, the Greeks, whose Great Idea as to the disposition of the inheritance of the Sick Man of Europe was very different all along to that of the Panslavist, had no will to expose themselves to being dominated ecclesiastically by the then aggressive and predominant Russian Churchate. Moreover, when after achieving their liberty, the Roumanian, Serbian and Bulgarian nations discovered that Panslavism expected them to surrender their individuality and to merge into the Russian Orthodox Tsardom, they also became on their defence against the danger of being turned ecclesiastically into an appanage of Russian Orthodoxy.

In fact, viewed from the ecclesiastical angle, the Near Eastern drama of the 19th century is characterized not only by the heroic struggle of Tsarist Russia to liberate Eastern Christendom from serfdom to Islam but by the stubborn resistance of the non Russian Orthodox peoples to the Panslavists' ceaseless efforts to make their national churches the instrument of their russification.

It was thus that—though all the time it was there—in the century before the Great War, the principle of the concerted Œcumenical action of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches seemed to be in

abeyance. But it is thus also that if evidence of the truly supranational character of the whole Orthodox Church can be needed, it is manifested in the fact that in spite of Panslavism and of the clashes of the ideals and rivalries of the Orthodox Nationalities, the principle of Œcumenicity remained unimpaired among them.

It has become axiomatic in modern times that whenever an Orthodox nationality is constituted into an independent sovereign state, an autokephalous church is brought into being, so that that nationality shall have free and uncontrolled expression in its church life.

Accordingly, the liberation of the Balkan Christians from their Turkish helotage was followed not only by their being formed into independent sovereign states, but into autokephalous churches, the jurisdiction of which was made coterminous with the boundaries of those states.

What we have said above concerning the schism of the Bulgarian Church with the Œcumenical Patriarchate, goes far to explain the Balkan Question. For Greeks, Slavs, Roumanians, and Bulgarians are interspersed in many parts of the Balkans and especially in that debatable land of Macedonia which from its ethnic chaos has supplied the term of a *macédoine* of fruit to the culinary art.

Humanly speaking, if the Orthodox East had possessed a central coercive authority such as the Latin West possesses in the Italianate Papacy, its unity could not have resisted the strain.

But that unity held just because it was a unity the centre of which was common Faith and a common Life and not a single visible metropolis.

Orthodoxy transcends nationality in this. It neither abolishes it nor can admit the subordination of one nationality to another. It is supranational in a way that Papalism and Protestantism can never be. Even if at times the rivalries of the Orthodox nationalities have brought them into fierce, internecine secular strife, it has never entered the heads of the authorities of their national autokephalous churches that that strife should be transferred into the spiritual sphere. There have been jolts, no doubt. But through everything, Russian, Greek, Serb, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Syrian and Georgian have held fast to their supranational unity in faith and church life.

Nothing, indeed, would have been easier than for that unity to have been broken.

The Greek, the Roumanian, the Serb and the Bulgarian, passed on their emancipation from Islamic tyranny, from impossibly outworn and mediæval conditions into the *bloc* of the European world.

In their new life they were naturally tempted if not to restate their common Faith, at least to revise and reform, each for himself, their common inheritance of canon law and of œcumenical custom. So much of both had been obsolete for many centuries—and the new wine was in the bottles.

Nevertheless, one and all, they regarded the principle of Œcumenicity as being as axiomatic and as immutable as the Pillars of Heaven. No Orthodox could or would loosen the sacred sheet-anchor of Orthodoxy. If the customs and canons of the whole Orthodox Church are to be revised or reformed, that revision and that reformation are unthinkable for any Orthodox of whatever nationality, without the express concurrence of the whole Orthodox Communion.

The fifty years prior to the War were a period of expectancy. It was plain that, long though it was postponed, the demise of Turkey, that Sick Man of Europe, must come sooner or later and either the Russian Tsardom would achieve its goal or the Balkan nationalities would establish their permanent independence. Corporate action of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches must wait until then.

The moment for it seemed to have arrived when the Armistice was signed and almost at once the project of an Œcumenical Council of the totality of the Orthodox Episcopate was mooted.

Two considerations delayed its being put into execution in the first years after the War. On the one hand, the Œcumenical Patriarchate was in widowhood through the resignation of Germanos IV. and the election of his successor was held up for four years on account of the strife between the supporters of Mr. Venizelos and of King Constantine. On the other hand, the Great Russian Patriarchate was under persecution and could take no part.

In those days few imagined that the postponement could be more than temporary. That the Bolsheviks could maintain their stranglehold on the Russian nation seemed incredible. The Treaty of Sèvres had reduced the Turks to a petty Asiatic state and under it Constantinople would have been if not a Greek city, at least, something of a free city. As soon as the contending Greek factions had composed their differences a new Œcumenical Patriarch would be there to initiate the convention of the Council and, as soon as Lenin and his junta were gone from Moscow, the Russian Church would be free to take part in it.

Those expectations were altogether falsified. As the months went on, the Bolsheviks consolidated their tyranny and threw the Russian Church into chaos by their machinations. Mustapha Kemal set up the standard of Turkish Nationalism at Angora the

forces of which, being covered by French diplomacy and equipped with armaments by France and Soviet Russia, grew from small hordes into formidable armies. The dissensions among the Greeks resulted in the overthrow of Mr. Venizelos and the practical paralysis of the Greek armies. By January, 1922, when the present Patriarch of Alexandria was enthroned at the Phanar as Meletios IV., it had become clear that the possibility of an Orthodox Œcumenical Council was receding rapidly into the distant future. Nevertheless with characteristic energy his All Holiness did what he could in order that, if the situation changed for the better, no time should be wasted. Meanwhile, he invited the other Orthodox autokephalous churches to send Delegates to a "Pan-Orthodox Conference," which might recommend provisional decisions for their conjoint acceptance.

The Greek *débacle* in Asia Minor and the Smyrniote Holocaust, brought Mustapha Kemal's Armies to the Bosphorus in October, 1922. So that when the Conference met in May, 1923, Ismet Pasha, supported by French diplomacy, was actually announcing at Lausanne Kemal's intention to extirpate the Orthodox from the restored Turkey which it was agreed should include not only Constantinople but Eastern Thrace and Adrianople.

In fact, the Pan-Orthodox Conference, of 1923, was imperfectly representative of the Orthodox autokephalous churches. Nevertheless it made many important recommendations such as the permission of the second marriage of the parish clergy, action on which has not taken place, and initiated a reform of first historic importance, viz.:—the adoption of a new Calendar practically, though not theoretically, identical with the Western Calendar, which by now has been put into force in all except three of the Orthodox autokephalous churches.

The Conference, however, had hardly dissolved before the Lausanne Treaty was signed.

Lord Curzon had vetoed Ismet's announcement that the Œcumenical Patriarchate would be ejected from Constantinople and had insisted that the Greeks of that city should remain.

Meletios IV., who was peculiarly the object of Turkish hatred, of necessity withdrew to Salonika before the Allies evacuated Constantinople and abdicated in October 1923.

Guaranteed though it was by the Lausanne Treaty the position of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, as indeed of the 100,000 Greeks of Constantinople who were all that was left of its flock in the re-constituted Turkey, remained precarious for the next six years. If Mustapha Kemal could have found a pretext, he would have packed it and them off to Greece.

In such conditions, the Œcumenical Patriarch was obliged to lie very low.

All questions of an Orthodox Œcumenical Council had, of course, disappeared.

Instead of it the holding of a "Pro-Synod," began to be mooted in 1926, when it was announced that one would be held in 1929.

The Kemalist Government, however, intimated that if any bishops left Constantinople to take part in it, they would not be allowed to return, and left no doubt that if the Œcumenical Patriarchate went on with the project things would be made very unpleasant for it.

From the time of his return to power in Greece in 1929, however, Mr. Venizelos who has the extraordinary statesman's gift of making the right concessions, set himself to reach accord with the new Turkey.

In the spring of last year the situation had so much improved that without incurring more than a frown from Angora, the Œcumenical Patriarchate convened a "Diorthodox Commission" in Mount Athos in May, 1930, in which except the Bulgarian and the Russian, a delegate of each of the Orthodox autokephalous churches took part and the function of which was to prepare the agenda and make other arrangements for a Pro-Synod to be held either there or at Salonika in October, 1931.

The time was still, however, unripe, and when it was announced that the Pro-Synod's Meeting was again postponed many of us continued sceptical as to whether it would meet within a term of years.

Last summer, however—after the Smyrniote Holocaust, the butchery of tens of thousands of the Greeks of Asia Minor and the extirpation of the rest from their ancient homeland, his doing so is a supreme example of his practical wisdom—Mr. Venizelos made an historic pilgrimage to Angora, among other results of which has been the adoption of a benevolent attitude by the Turkish Government towards the Œcumenical Patriarchate.

It seems reasonably certain, therefore, that the Pro-Synod will assemble, as announced, at the Vatopedion—the greatest of the monasteries in Mount Athos—on Whitsunday, June 18th, 1932.

Of course, the impending Pan-Orthodox Pro-Synod must in no way be confused with an Orthodox Œcumenical Council. In its personnel it will consist of an equal number of delegates—probably two—from each of the Orthodox autokephalous churches. In authority it will not be plenipotentiary as would be a Council of the totality of the whole Orthodox Episcopate, and its decisions

will only be binding, if they are not rejected by one or more of the Orthodox autokephalous churches.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate's Encyclical inviting all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches—except, of course, the Bulgarian and the Russian—to send delegates and the synodical replies accepting his invitation have been published in recent issues of *Orthodoxia*.

The names of the delegates have not been announced as yet officially.

In his letter of acceptance on behalf of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Patriarch Meletios urged the importance of securing the presence of representatives of the Russian and Bulgarian churches.

The agenda published consist of subjects so varied as Christianity and Modern Life, the New Calendar, the Second Marriage of the Clergy and Reunion in general and the special relations of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches in particular.

So far no official invitation has been addressed for the presence of an Anglican Delegation. Indeed since little ceremony would be possible in Mt. Athos, there appears no probability of such an invitation being given. But the suggestion has been made unofficially that the second session of the Conjoint Doctrinal Commission shall be held in Mt. Athos shortly before the assembling of the Pro-Synod.

The day before the Orthodox members of the Conjoint Committee left Lambeth Palace, news was received in London of disturbances in Cyprus during which the Governorate and with it the fine art collections and library of the Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, were destroyed by incendiary fires.

The riots were the outcrop of popular demonstrations in support of the campaign for *Enosis*, i.e., for the Union of Cyprus with Greece, the demand for which has been persistent, vocal and unanimous on the part of the people of the island—the relatively small Turkish minority alone excepted—since Great Britain occupied it in 1878.

As Canon Wigram has pointed out in the *Church Times*, the fact that the Greeks always look to their bishops to assume the role of leadership in their movements for national independence, is a legacy from the Turkish helotage under which they were allowed no leaders except their bishops. It was so that the Greek War of Independence was begun by Bishop Germanos raising the cross as a standard of revolt at Patras, and that in the same War the Sultan had the Œcumenical Patriarch Gregory hanged in his vestments on Easter Day at the door of his Cathedral, and all the bishops of Cyprus put to death.

It is indisputable that the Cypriotes owe Great Britain a debt past paying. She liberated them from Turkish oppression, gave them justice and good government, developed the resources of their island.

The Cypriotes, and with them all Greeks, acknowledge that debt unstintingly.

None the less—however foolish and ungrateful we may consider it—they have gone on telling us all along that much though they love Great Britain and grateful though they are for that which she has done for them, they would sooner be free and united to their own Nation, than be a cherished and prosperous British Crown Colony.

From 1878 to 1914 when the island was formally annexed by Great Britain, it was nominally Turkish territory in British occupation and we paid tribute for it to the Sultan. But the Union Jack had hardly been run up alongside the Star and Crescent over Nicosia, than the Archbishop of Cyprus, Sophronios, presented the newly arrived British Government with a humble petition on the part of his flock for *Enosis* with Greece. Similar petitions were handed in almost yearly up to the outbreak of the Great War when, since Lord Beaconsfield's motives for occupying the island, viz. (1) making it a naval base to keep Russia out of Constantinople, and (2) the relieving its people from Islamic oppression, had ceased to be operative, Lord Grey of Fallodon offered it to King Constantine as a gift, if Greece would join the Allies.

That offer was not accepted, but its having been made was not forgotten by the Cypriotes who held rightly or wrongly that, unless Great Britain was untrue to her principles, she could not have proposed to transfer them to Greece like tubs of herrings as a matter of *bazarlik* but in making it, had recognized that the Union of Cyprus and Greece was a matter of justice.

In consequence, as soon as the Armistice was signed the venerable Archbishop Cyril of Cyprus came to London in order to claim that, if Great Britain was sincere in advocating the right of nationalities to self determination, she could not, and would not, hesitate to accede now that the time was fully ripe, to the petition in the first presentation of which he had taken part as a young man thirty-six years before and in the yearly reiteration of which he had never ceased to share.

We remember very well the gentle and grateful patience with which—he stayed in London very many months—Archbishop Cyril urged his case. He was always full of affection for Great Britain. His argument was that long ago in the forties when Great Britain had annexed Corcyra and the Ionian Isles, their

people declared that much though they loved her they were not Britons but Greeks and willed to work out their destiny in unity with the rest of the Greek Nation. Queen Victoria sent Mr. Gladstone to examine their business. That great British statesman saw things as they were, and true to the great tradition of Liberty in which he lived, judged that Great Britain would win a nobler victory by hauling down her flag in those islands. The case for freedom of self determination of Cyprus was on all fours with that of the Ionian Islands. He had no doubt but that if only the British people enquired into the facts, the passionate desire of the Cypriotes would be satisfied without hesitation.

Archbishop Cyril's argument was not met with a direct negative. He was told that the Union of Cyprus and Greece could not be considered because France vetoed it, because Italy which had seized Rhodes and the other islands of the Dodocannese which, like Cyprus in tradition and population, are historically and practically altogether Greek, would create a quarrel with Greece and would occupy the island, because Mustapha Kemal would never tolerate such an addition to the Greek State, and so on.

We remember also, how resignedly, if obstinately, Archbishop Cyril at last left England. Against Great Britain he had not a word to say. Only, he was stubborn to contend that, if the British people would only examine the Cypriote case, it would grant the Cypriote demand for *Enosis*. Meanwhile, he could not accept its negation. He and his would be patient and would not be ungrateful but they would press in season and out of season for the satisfaction of their heart's desire.

While it is doubtless true that French diplomacy is still hostile to the realization of Greek Unity and that Italian diplomacy is desirous that the Italian tyranny in Rhodes and the Dodocannese should be provided with the apologetic offset of a comparable British dominion in Cyprus, it is also true both that those Powers would not sacrifice a *piou piou* or a *fascisti* in order to stop Cyprus realizing its nationality and that, since Mr. Venizelos visited Angora, Mustapha Kemal and his new Turkey have prepared themselves probably to welcome and certainly not to be hostile to the possibility of that event.

In consequence, the only *non possumus* with which Great Britain can reject the Cypriote plea for *Enosis* with Greece, is that because she has need of the ports or plains of the island as a maritime or as an air base, she cannot part with it and that because one seventh of the Cypriotes are Moslems—and for the most part Turkish Moslems—she dare not trust them to the tender mercies of their Greek and Orthodox compatriots.

In regard to the first of those contentions, the Cypriotes themselves, and with them Mr. Venizelos on behalf of the rest of the Greek nation, have announced that they recognise that, if Great Britain requires such bases in Cyprus, she ought to retain them and that, therefore, they are very ready, so long as she allows the *Enosis* of Cyprus and Greece, that she should keep her flag flying over any harbour or aerodrome of which she has need.

But the second contention does not appear to bear even momentary examination. Admittedly, if Greeks exist anywhere, six sevenths of the Cypriotes are Greeks, consciously, ethnically, traditionally and patriotically. Moreover, as witness the declarations of the Moslem Turkish minority of Greek Macedonia that it is happy and prosperous under the benignant and tolerant Greek Republic and its urgent plea that it should not be told to emigrate into the Turkey of Mustapha Kemal, the suggestion that the Moslem Turkish minority of Cyprus would be oppressed after the island's *Enosis* with Greece would be preposterous in any case. But it passes understanding that that suggestion should be made by Great Britain at the very moment when in the face of the passionate and desperate protests of Mar Shimun and the national leaders of the Assyrian and other Christian minorities of the Mosul *vilayet*, she is assuring the League of Nations that the fanatic Moslem Iraqi Arabs who avow their grudge against those minorities, may be trusted to behave kindly and justly towards them.

As soon as he heard of the disturbances in Cyprus, Mgr. Leontios lost no time in protesting to our Archbishop and to his colleagues, Anglican and Orthodox, of the Conjoint Commission that while he did not, and could not, wish to conceal the fact that as a Cypriote Bishop he encouraged his people to press for *Enosis* with the rest of the Greek Nation and, accordingly, was constrained to do everything rightful to force that issue upon the attention of the British Nation, nevertheless, he was fully aware of the debt which the Cypriotes owe to Great Britain and also was altogether opposed to acts of violence such as the telegrams which had reached London, described as having culminated in the burning of the Cypriote Governate.

He added that it was his purpose to return to Cyprus as quickly as possible in order to restrain his flock from any further criminal folly of the kind.

On reaching Cyprus, however, he was presented with an order of the Governor forbidding him to land and was forced to proceed to Beyrouth. Thence he has passed on to Constantinople, where he is at present the guest of the Œcumenical Patriarch.¹

¹Since this was written he has proceeded first to Jerusalem and thence to Beyrut.

No sooner had the first telegrams which announced the Cypriote outbreaks been published in the London Press, than a certain Col. Josiah Wedgewood, who sits as a Socialist M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme, and who has frequently sought notoriety as an anti-Christian and Turkophil in the past ten years, rushed into publicity with a letter which *The Times* actually printed and in which, assuming that the Metropolitans of Kyrenæa and Kition had had an actual hand in the violence of the outbreaks and of the burning of Sir Ronald Storrs' artistic and literary collections in the Governorate, he demanded very impudently that the revenues of the Cypriote Church should be impounded to provide an indemnity and suggested that the way to convert the Cypriote Bishops was to translate them to Rhodes and let them experience Italian Fascist methods of suppressing the nationalism of minorities.

Individually, no one could bother his head about Col. Josiah Wedgewood and his opinions. That gallant soldier is representative, however, of the type of mind which in Jingo days bolstered up the Red Sultan and which in 1922 became delirious with delight at the sack and burning of Christian Smyrna. Collectively the Col. Wedgewoods are not negligible, and given a good excuse such as the recent Cypriote outbreaks, are still capable of stampeding British opinion.

The Bishops of Kyrenæa and Kition, who were deported from Cyprus by order of the Government on the morrow of the outbreaks, proceeded via Gibraltar and Paris to London where they are now. They avow that they acted as leaders in the agitation which culminated in the recent outbreaks and, indeed, that they took part in the meetings which ended in the burning of the Governorate and other rioting. But they protest indignantly not only that they had no part in those acts of violence but that they used their utmost endeavour to restrain their people from any and every breach of the law. Indeed, they demand judicial enquiry into the grounds of their deportation and demand the investigation of that conduct.

The tradition of British Government and of British justice points to the appointment of a Royal Commission to examine the recent Cypriote outbreaks and their causes and we cannot doubt but that in due time such a Commission will be appointed.

Meanwhile, we advise our readers to discount the highly coloured telegrams and obviously biased articles which have appeared in the British Press. For our own part, we shall continue to believe that the Bishops of Kyrenæa and Kition set their faces against violence until it is proved that they countenanced it.

On the other hand, we venture to be sure that when the facts become known, it will be evident that together with the other

leaders of the Cypriote agitation for *Enosis* with Greece, the Cypriote bishops cannot escape responsibility for sowing the wind of which the recent riots in the island have been the whirlwind.

Granted that the appeal for that *Enosis* has validity and, if understood by the British Nation, would be allowed by it, the Cypriotes had their choice. They could have continued to make that appeal in season or out of season. Or, ceasing to make it, they could have resorted to the methods of the Sinn Féin in Ireland or the Wafdist in Egypt and set about paralysing the British Government of their island.

It is with great regret that we are forced to the judgment that they have adopted both courses.

If it be proved by dispassionate and judicial enquiry that that judgment is just, it will be impossible to defend them.

By general consent, no more kindly, sympathetic or liberal Governor could have been appointed to Cyprus than Sir Ronald Storrs. To say nothing of his earlier record, his Governorate of Jerusalem was not only fruitful in fine achievement but was characterized by extraordinary understanding, sympathy and goodwill towards Orthodoxy. That from the day of his landing in Cyprus six years ago, full of eagerness to work for the material and intellectual betterment of its people, he was treated by them as an enemy, seems to us to have been one of those blunders which are no less criminal than foolish. The Cypriote leaders were fully aware that Great Britain could not then have ceded Cyprus to Greece without risk to the peace of the world. That even with Sir Ronald Storrs as Governor, they would abandon their appeal for *Enosis* was not to have been expected. But their business was to have recognized facts and while continuing that appeal to have worked with him. Instead, they appear to have set themselves deliberately to use the very democratic, administrative and legislative machinery with which Great Britain had equipped the island, in order to paralyse his Government. Finally, whether or not they meant it, it is ungainsayable that the recent outbreaks were the direct consequence of the inflammatory violence of their attacks upon him.

That being so, our sympathy must be with Sir Ronald Storrs and it is plain that in instructing him to suspend the constitution of the island the home authorities have taken the only proper course.

The following is a translation of an interview with the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople reported in the Athenian newspaper, *Proia* of October 21st.

To a question regarding the various movements towards union, manifested in the different Churches, the Patriarch was good enough to answer as follows :

"The whole of the Christian world is animated with the desire for co-operation of all Churches for the purpose of facing more efficiently the anti-religious dogmas which are daily manifested. Already there exists a movement among Orthodox groups, with the Patriarchate at its head, which is aiming at the better and closer contact among the Orthodox Christian Churches. A Pro-Synod was held at Mt. Athos, the minutes of which have been published recently in one volume; on Pentecost of 1932 the Second pro-Synod will sit again at Mt. Athos. From the term we use you will understand that these preliminary meetings will formulate the work that is necessary for the convocation of an Œcumenical Synod later."

Question : Have you determined the items to be discussed at the Pro-Synod of next year ?

"Certainly; they are seventeen in number. They treat of : the representation of the Russian Church; the education of the Orthodox clergy; the establishment of more intimate relations among the Orthodox Churches; the present situation in the Church of America; the reorganization of the monastic life and the renewal of its activity in the fields of science and philanthropy and sacred arts; and the methods of coping with false social systems. The relations of the Orthodox Church with the Heterodox Churches that are tending to establish closer relations with the Orthodox Church but which are not proselytizing will be examined. Such are the Churches of the Armenians, the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Old Catholics, the Anglicans, etc. We shall also study the relations and the means of defence against the Heterodox Churches that are proselytizing, such as the Roman Catholic Church, Uniates, Protestantism, Millenarianism, etc. In addition, the question of the codification of the sacred canons and canonical decrees will be studied that these may be submitted to the Œcumenical Synod for its approval. Another question that will interest the Pro-Synod will be Byzantine Art in all its aspects. You will understand, therefore, the importance of the work and how much we expect of it."

Question : What about the union with the Anglicans ?

"Parallel with the Orthodox movement there is manifest a movement for a closer relationship between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. There are certain differences which separate us from the Anglican Church and for that reason a Council of Orthodox and Anglican prelates will sit in London this month. Independently of this, however, I can assure you that the Anglican prelates show much reverence and affection for the Orthodox Church. Thus a favourable atmosphere and certain favourable conditions for the discussion of these differences in a spirit of

fraternity have been created. The Old Catholics also show interest in the union."

Question: And the Roman Church?

"The Roman Church is a great and old Church which we honour and respect. We have never thought of denying the Archbishop of Rome his primacy of honour. We consider him the first in the order. But the Pope of Rome does not want the primacy of honour only, but the government of the Church, in fact the absolute government of it. Instead of the federal system, he wants a despotic centralization. And it is not only the claim—the Roman Church not only claims but also refuses to discuss her claims. She says: 'I have the key of truth and he that wanteth cometh.' Some time ago the Pope issued encyclical letters in which he forbade the Catholics to participate in conferences and discussions in which we take part and which tend to bring about a closer contact among the Churches. How, therefore, is the approach going to be effected?"

Question: Is it possible to conceive of an Œcumenical Synod without the participation of the Roman Catholic Church?

"This will be an Œcumenical Synod of the Orthodox Churches. We would have no objection to participate in an Œcumenical Council called by the Pope, provided, however, that the Pope should submit for discussion and ratification all that the Roman Catholic Church has accepted as dogmas since the Schism. If all the innovations that have been introduced by the Roman Church should be ratified by the Œcumenical Synod, we would accept them without reserve. Without such ratification how could we be expected to accept without any discussion all that the Roman Church seeks to impose? It is precisely for these reasons that we have no contact with her and that any discussion for union is rendered problematic."

OUR BOOKSHELF.

MASTERPIECES OF RUSSIAN PAINTING.

Text by PROFESSOR A. I. ANISIMOV, SIR MARTIN CONWAY, ROGER FRY and PROFESSOR IGOR GRABAR; with Notes on Ikonography and Style from materials supplied by Y. A. OLSUFIEV and M. S. LAGOVSKY. Edited by MICHAEL FARBMAN (Europa Publications, Ltd., £3 3s.).

This book is an illustrated record of the Exhibition of Russian Ikons at the Victoria and Albert Museum a year or so ago, which gave many of us the first opportunity of becoming acquainted with an art which has, perhaps, the oldest and most continuous tradition of any European country.

Russian Ikon-painting arose from the contact of the Russian with the Byzantine Court and from the introduction of Orthodox Christianity by the Princes of Kiev about 956 A.D.

The first Ikon-painters who settled at Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir, Pskov and Moscow were Greeks. In the 12th and 13th centuries Greeks and Russians worked side by side. "The style of the Russian Ikon evolved gradually, on the base of its Byzantine heritage, by a slow reconstruction on national lines. Then, having been brought to the extreme limit of expressiveness, it began, under the influence of Western art, gradually to deteriorate," so Professor Anisimov tells us.

It was not until the end of the 14th century that an essential Russian style of Ikon-painting developed. This culminated in the work of Andrew Rublev. This artist breathed a new spirit into the ancient Byzantine forms. One of the finest examples of this artist's work, "The Old Testament Trinity," is illustrated in colour in this volume. Sir Martin Conway has seen and examined the original work in its place on the Ikonostas of the Trinity Cathedral of the Troitsa Lavra near Moscow, and it there obtained a hold on him which has never relaxed.

From this culmination of the development of style, Russian Ikon-painting slowly descended.

Many of the finest examples of Ikon-painting to be found in the Churches and Monasteries of Russia had become from time to time obscured by the incense and candle smoke. When it became necessary to clean and "brighten up" these ancient works of art, the restorer did not trouble to follow the original subject too closely, and, in consequence, Sir Martin Conway tells us: "A Blessed Virgin degenerated into a bearded prophet or vested saint!" and, "While venerating them as emblems, they allowed them to be destroyed as pictures."

A short time before the War some attempt was made to clean and free these works of art from dirt and the accumulations of centuries of over-painting. But unfortunately the restorers did not confine their attention to uncovering the original work, but supplied the missing parts.

After the Revolution, at the suggestion of Professor Igor Grabar, the National Central Restoration Workshops were set up to deal in a scientific manner with the classification and restoration of Russian Ikons. An important rule was made: works of art were to be cleaned and uncovered, but not added to or restored in any way.

The interesting discovery was made that the Ikon of "Our Lady of Vladimir," which had been brought from Constantinople to Kiev by Andrey Bogolyubsky in 1140, had been over-painted no

less than six times and, in consequence, the style of the original work had been quite unrecognizable.

Professor Igor Grabar gives an interesting description of the slow, difficult and painstaking processes of cleaning and removing the successive coats of repainting.

Sir Martin Conway tells us, "The lowest layers of repainting are often of great antiquity, and will not yield to solvents. These have to be chiselled off with a sharp knife-like implement, a process involving the greatest patience and skill. I watched a young man thus employed on a small but ancient Ikon of St. Michael. His patience and delicacy of touch were almost Chinese. Less than a square inch provided a day's work."

In the coloured illustration of the 12th century Ikon of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica from the Cathedral of the town of Dmitrov near Moscow, the different stages of over-painting can be plainly seen.

In order to understand the significance of Ikon-painting, we must remember that it was regarded not only as an artistic exercise but a religious one too, and prayer was part of the training. The Eastern Orthodox Christian's method of understanding religious truths is the inner, the spiritual, the intuitive, the way of a pure heart. The contemplation of an Ikon strengthens his belief in the actual incarnation of the Saviour, the sanctification and transfiguration of flesh and matter. The religious images of Western Christianity are in the likeness of man, they say, but an Ikon tries to express man's likeness to God, his spirituality and heavenly beauty. Mr. Roger Fry, in "Russian Ikon-painting from a Western-European point of view," remarks: "Whereas, in other countries . . . the artist has always been a man quite peculiarly obsessed by the visual aspects of the external world, for ever searching in his experience of that for new significant combinations, the painters of Russia seem never to have turned their eyes upon that scene at all. *They were bent exclusively on the inner vision* which the contemplation of divine beings and sacred histories aroused within them. . . . The art of artistic creation must thus have been for these Russian artists more like that which takes place in the spirit of a musical composer than in that of the Western artist . . . Here, then, is an art which in its main characters is singularly free from all the mechanism of representation, purified like music of all but its direct appeals to the spirit."

This book is fully illustrated with twenty excellent colour plates and forty-three monochrome reproductions of Russian Ikons and Frescoes from the 11th to the 18th centuries which are fully described in an Appendix.

C.F.L. St. G.