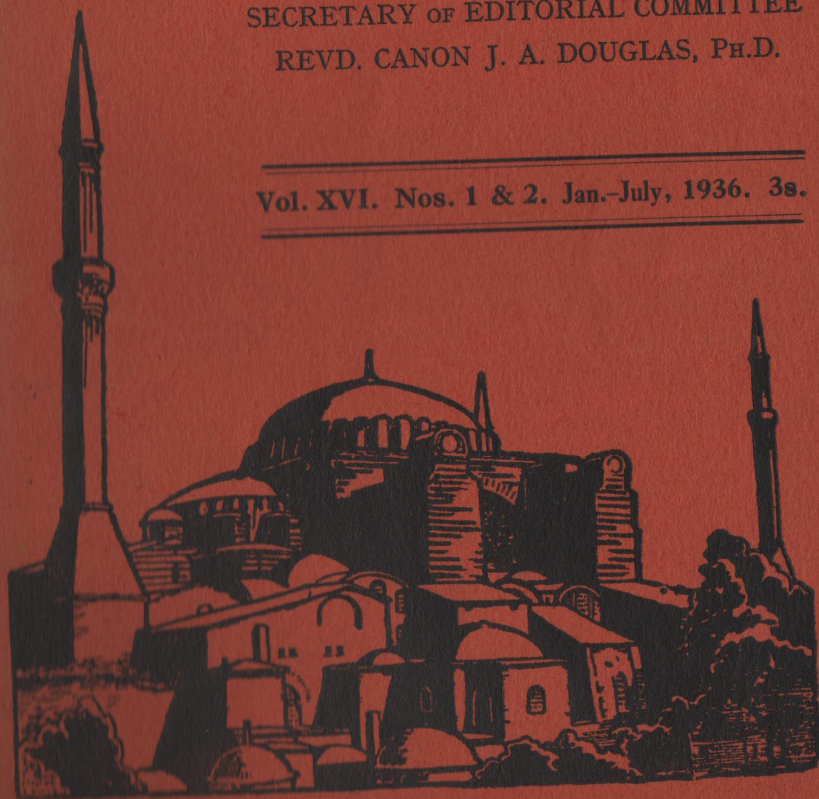


The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE
STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

SECRETARY OF EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
REVD. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D.

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| 'Ορθοδοξία. Constantinople. | Biserica Ortodoxa Romana. Bucarest. |
| Χριστιανικὸς Φῶς. Athens. | Missionarul. Bucarest. |
| Orientalia Christiana. Rome. | The Living Church. Milwaukee, U.S.A. |
| Hárvatos. Alexandria. | The Islamic Review. Woking. |
| 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φῶς. Alexandria. | L'Europe Orientale. Rome. |
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The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

IN spite of our promised amendment this issue of the CHRISTIAN EAST is as belated as any of its immediate predecessors. That failure will, we trust, be condoned because we give the full text both of the Report of the Bucarest Conference of last year and of the Resolution by which on March 20th last the Sacred Synod of the Rumanian Patriarchate accepted and approved that Report and, subject to the implementation of that Report by "the final authority of the Anglican Church," declared its unanimous recognition of the Validity of Anglican Orders.

VISIT OF THE RUMANIAN PATRIARCH.

In any case, however, the year 1936 will always be memorable in the advance of the Orthodox and Anglican Communicants towards Reunion on account of the visit paid by the Patriarch Miron Cristea in June to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The intimacy and the distinction of that visit will be apparent from the account of it which we print in this number. Its significance was enhanced by its following quickly upon the Rumanian Recognition of Anglican Orders. And its consequences are likely to be inestimable.

At Lambeth and throughout his all too short stay in London, the Patriarch was in contact with many outstanding personalities in the life of the English Church and Nation. At the Centenary Thanksgiving of London University in St. Paul's and at the luncheon given after it by the Lord Mayor in the Guildhall, he was a prominent figure. With the Bishop of Arad he was in the public eye throughout a crowded week of a crowded season. And with him, wherever he went, he not only commanded attention but created a profound impression. That that was so is due chiefly, no doubt, to his singular faculty of winning friendship. But it was due also to his individuality. The Rumanian Church and Nation will never send a more effective ambassador to England.

THE PATRIARCH AND A.E.C.A.

We record with great satisfaction that the Bishop of London announced at the Garden Party given by A.E.C.A. at Fulham Palace



THE PATRIARCH MIRON CRISTEA OF RUMANIA AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
AT LAMBETH PALACE, JULY 3, 1936.

on July 3rd, that the Patriarch Miron had become a Patron of A.E.C.A. and the Bishop of Arad one of its vice-presidents.

PRECEDENTS.

It is sometimes said that St. Bartholomew's the Great was consecrated in A.D. 1185, by a Patriarch of the Eastern Church. But its consecrator was Heraclius, a schismatic Latin whom the Crusaders had intruded into the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. So far as we know, the first chief bishop of an orthodox autocephalous church to visit England was Archbishop Sophronios of Cyprus who, the island having passed into British occupation, came to London in 1894. His mission was not ecclesiastical and though he had many contacts with English prelates and, *e.g.*, attended St. Peter's London Docks, did not excite general attention. Then there was a gap of ~~forty~~²¹ years until in 1918, Mgr. Meletios (Metaxakis), then Archbishop of Athens and afterwards the Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios III, visited London on his way to America. With him was the present Archbishop of Athens, Dr. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos who was then Principal of the Rhizariion. The visit was noteworthy for an important conference in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, over which Bishop Ryle presided. In 1918, the Locum Tenens of the Patriarchate who, in 1921, became the first modern Serb Patriarch and in 1918 Archbishop Cyril of Cyprus visited London on national missions. In 1920, the Topoteretes of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, the Metropolitan Dorotheos of Porusa died in London while on a similar mission. Archbishop Davidson read the gospel at the Pannychidi in St. Sophia, Moscow Road, before his body was taken to Constantinople. In 1921, the newly elected Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios III paid his second visit to London when on the way from America to Constantinople.

The opportunities of fraternization afforded by those visits was missed neither by the orthodox visitors nor the English Archbishops and other clergy. But they were not ceremonial visits to the Church of England.

In 1925, however, the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria and the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem came to London with representations of all the orthodox autocephalous Churches—the Serb alone excepted—for the Commemoration of the Fifteenth Centenary of the first Œcumenical Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325). As such they were the official guests of Archbishop Davidson. The presence of the two Patriarchs with the rest of the Orthodox Delegation at the Sung Eucharist in Westminster Abbey, which was rendered as the Church of England's Symbolic Act of Thanksgiving for the Nicene Creed opened a new chapter in Anglican and Orthodox relations. The Patriarch Photios of Alexandria further emphasized the precedent

by reciting the Creed in Greek after it had been sung in English. The programme of distinguished engagements fulfilled by the two Patriarchs and the Delegation included their assisting in St. David's Cathedral at the Thanksgiving of the Welsh Church for the Nicene Creed.

Lastly, the Patriarch Meletios (Metaxakis) who had become Patriarch of Alexandria came to London as leader of the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference of 1930 and was a prominent figure in all its public ceremonies. The fruits of the Delegation's conferring with the Anglican Bishops were the well-known agreement by which the members of the Delegation unanimously recommended the recognition of Anglican orders and the establishment of a measure of Economic Intercommunion between the Orthodox and Anglican Communions.

The recent visit of the Rumanian Patriarch, however, forms a precedent in that it was undertaken simply to demonstrate the fraternal relations between the Rumanian and the English Churches.

THE JERUSALEM PATRIARCHATE.

We cannot but regret that Mgr. Timotheos, the Patriarch elect of Jerusalem, has not yet been recognized in his office by the Mandatory Power in Palestine. It is now nearly five years since the death of the Patriarch Damianos and two since the election of Mgr. Timotheos. Against the fact that members of the Arabophone flock of the Patriarchate refuse to recognize the Patriarch-elect is to be set the fact that he is recognized by the authorities of all the sister orthodox autocephalous Churches. Strong though the reasons may be which induce the Mandatory Power to withhold its recognition, the injury done by the paralysis of the Patriarchate at a time when it has pressing need of reform and of dynamic movement, is lamentable. The Turks would not have permitted the present deadlock to have dragged on. It is time that the Mandatory Power abandoned what appears to be a *laissez-faire* attitude and addressed itself to statesmanship.

THE PATRIARCH NICHOLAS OF ALEXANDRIA.

The Egyptian Government seems wisely advised. If the *bérat* confirming the new Patriarch of Alexandria has not yet been published, King Fuad is said to have ordered practical recognition to be given him and that recognition has continued under King Farouk. In any case, the Patriarch Nicholas is able to discharge his functions, and though an Arabophone minority appears to be still recalcitrant, no one doubts that the solution of a difficulty which is on all fours with that in the Jerusalem Patriarchate is in sight.

VISIT OF THE RUMANIAN PATRIARCH TO ENGLAND

IN fulfilment of his promise, his Beatitude the Patriarch Miron Cristea of Rumania visited the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace from Sunday, June 28th to Wednesday, July 2nd and subsequently remained in London, occupying a suite of apartments in St. James's Court, Westminster, as the guest of the Church of England, from Wednesday, July 2nd to Tuesday, July 7th.

His Beatitude was accompanied by the Right Rev. Dr. Andrei Mager, one of the younger of the Rumanian bishops, who is possessed of considerable reputation as a scholar and theologian. With him was also the Archimandrite Julian Scriban, the distinguished Bucarest priest, preacher and savant whose name is known to all concerned in the Orthodox-Anglican approach and who is one of the editors of *Biserica Ortodoxa*, the official organ of the Rumanian Patriarchate. The entourage of the Patriarch was completed by his secretary the Rev. Dr. Grigoire Antal and by the Rev. Professor Florian Galdau, who acted as the reception secretary of the Church of England delegation to Bucarest in June, 1935.

At the bidding of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Canon J. A. Douglas acted as reception secretary to the Patriarch and his entourage.

ARRIVAL IN LONDON.

The London papers are always overfull in June and July and the Patriarch's coming coincided both with stirring happenings such as the League of Nations winding up its sanctions against Italy and the Turkish demand to fortify the Straits and with some sporting events such as the Wimbledon Tennis Week. None the less, thanks to his striking personality and to the great part which he played in the liberation of Transylvania and the unification of Rumania, the general interest was aroused.

Secular papers gave his Beatitude what is known as a "good Press."

ARRIVAL AT VICTORIA.

The Patriarch seemed very pleased with his reception when his Pullman, in the Golden Arrow, drew up at the part of the platform which had been roped off.

Father Dennis Morse Boycott and the choir of St. Mary of the Angels were there to sing *Eis polla etc*, the traditional orthodox greeting of a hierarchy; and very charmingly they sang it. They were the first English choirboys whom the Patriarch had seen or heard and the sight of them in their surplices, ruffs and caps

impressed him manifestly. He blessed each of them as they kissed his hand.

Among those waiting to receive the Patriarch were the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires with his staff and his legation, Dr. A. C. Don representing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Bishop of Fulham representing the Bishop of London, Sir Stephen Gaselee of the Foreign Office, Canon Douglas and other members of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations and Mr. Athelstan Riley, Chairman of the A.E.C.A. Committee.

Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira, the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Exarch in Western Europe, with the Archimandrite Virvos and the officials of the Greek Cathedral in London, was also there.

After the formal presentation had been made, Mr. John Davies, Bursar of the Church Union, who acted as M.C. for the reception, with Mr. Peter Winkworth and other members of the S.Y.A. offered the Patriarch and his party bunches of roses.

The Patriarch with his party then drove to Westminster Abbey where, having been ceremonially received at the West Door by the Dean, he proceeded to the shrine of St. Edward, King and Confessor, the Patron of England. There he offered intercession for "King Edward VIII, the British Empire, the British Nation, the Anglican Communion and the Union of Christendom." That done, he returned to the grave of the Unknown Warrior, and prayed for Peace and for the souls of all who died in the Great War.

The visit to the Abbey had been at the Patriarch's special wish. At its conclusion he drove to Lambeth Palace.

Very fair films of his arrival at Victoria and going into the Abbey were obtained and exhibited in cinemas throughout the country.

AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA.

Monday, June 29th, being the Feast of the Holy Apostles, Ss. Peter and Paul, his Beatitude with the Bishop of Arad assisted at the Divine Liturgy in St. Sophia, Moscow Road, and occupying the Episcopal Throne recited the Creed and the Our Father in Rumanian.

In spite of the lack of notice the nave of the Cathedral was filled by a considerable congregation, the Greek Minister, Mr. Simopolis, being present.

The Archimandrites Scriban and Virvos, assisted by Fathers Antal and Galdau, concelebrated.

After the Benediction, Archbishop Germanos addressed the Patriarch expressing the great joy of the Orthodox of London in welcoming the well-beloved and famous head of the great Rumanian Church. The sister Orthodox nations and Churches were knit together into the solidarity of the Orthodox Communion of which

the Patriarchs were the symbols. His Beatitude's brotherly visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury would draw still closer the ties between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches which the visits of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem to London for the Nikæan Commemoration in 1925 had done much to develop.

In reply his Beatitude expressed his happiness in being there under the dome of that beautiful church which is a replica of the Queen of Christian Churches, Justinian's great Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. He found great satisfaction in the warmth with which he had been received by the Greek Community of London and especially in the welcome accorded him by Archbishop Germanos whose fine services in Great Britain and in Western Europe to the Orthodox Church and to the friendship of the Churches is known of all men. It had long been his desire to visit England and to have knowledge of the Church of England and of its Primate, his beloved brother, that great Christian leader, Dr. Cosmo Lang, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Anglican Church had proved itself in action a good sister to the Rumanian Church. In the United States there were 200,000 Rumanians whom the Anglican Church befriended, and giving them hospitality and care, never proselytized. The visit of the Church of England to Bucarest last year had had profitable results. He prayed that his visit to London might further the coming of the Reunion of the Anglican Communion with the Orthodox Church. The separation had been the work of others. The Anglican Communion had parted neither willingly nor knowingly from the Eastern Church which is the Mother-Church of Christendom.

On leaving St. Sophia the Patriarch, with the Bishop of Arad, drove to Reigate, where he lunched with the Bishop of Fulham. Among those invited to meet him were the Bishop of Southwark, Sir Thomas Holker, formerly British Minister at Sofia and Copenhagen, and the Mayor and Mayoress of Reigate.

In the evening the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a dinner-party, among those present at which were the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, and Messrs. Ciotori and Buzdugan, the Bishops of Lincoln, Fulham and Gibraltar and other members of the Church of England Delegation of 1935 to Bucarest, the Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. Athelstan Riley and the Rev. R. M. French.

NOTABLE HOSPITALITY.

On Tuesday, June 30th, Mr. Laptew, the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires who left nothing undone and was at infinite pains to mark his sense of the importance of the friendship between the Rumanian and the English Churches as a factor in the cultural relations between the Rumanian and British nations, gave a lunch in honour of the

Patriarch at the Ritz Hotel. Among those present were the Archbishops of Canterbury, Dublin and Thyatira, the Bishops of London, Gloucester, Lincoln, Gibraltar and Fulham, Lord Dawson of Penn, Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., the Deans of Westminster and York, Sir Stephen Gaselee, Mr. Sargent and Mr. O. O'Malley of the Foreign Office, Lord Derwent, Canon Douglas, the British Minister at Bucarest (Sir Reginald Hoare), the Principal of London University (Sir Edwin Deller), Major-General Sir Frederic Maurice, Dr. A. J. Macdonald, Professor Seton-Watson and Mr. Wickham Steed.

Owing to the death of Lord William Cecil, the Bishop of Exeter, Earl Grey acted as host at an "at home" in the House of Lords, to which the Marquis of Salisbury had invited the members of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations.

In the evening Mr. Athelstan Riley exercised the function which officially in the past 20 years has become expected of him as an indefeasible and rightful duty, of giving a dinner at the Athenæum in honour of distinguished Eastern ecclesiastics who visit London.

Among his guests, other than the Patriarch and the Bishop of Arad, were the Archbishops of Canterbury, Dublin and Thyatira, the Yugo-Slav Minister (Mr. Gruitch), the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, the Bishops of Lincoln and Gloucester, the Earl of Selborne, Canon Douglas, Lord Justice Slessor, Sir Ronald Storrs, the Dean of York and Dr. A. C. Don.

In proposing the health of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Patriarch, Mr. Riley spoke terse and seasonable words which, coming from one of his long service, ripe wisdom and great authority would at any time have demanded consideration but which at the present are very timely.

MR. ATHELSTAN RILEY ON ORTHODOX AND ANGLICAN REUNION.

His speech was as follows:—

"Forgive me if I strike a personal note in tracing the relations of the Orthodox and Anglican Communions in recent times. It is now rather more than sixty years since I first took an active interest in the Eastern Church. What was then the position? The Vatican Council had issued the decree of 1870, and had turned our thoughts from the hope of union with our old Patriarchate, the See of Rome. For it was now evident that, even if we could accept all the dogmas of the Roman Church, as then set forth, there could be no guarantee that from time to time we might not be required, under pain of anathema, to add other doctrines to the Faith once delivered to the Saints. To that Faith the Church of England is committed as the Prefaces to the Book of Common Prayer show. In the services of our Church, for instance, we rejected anything that struck at the established doctrine and laudable practice of the whole Catholic

Church of Christ.' We are called upon to 'search out by the ancient Fathers' what is to 'the advancement of Godliness.' We are to note what is consistent with 'the Godly and decent order of the Ancient Fathers,' and lastly, in the Preface to the Ordination Service, it is stated that 'it is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' times there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests and Deacons,' and that 'no man shall be accounted and taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon, in the Church of England, except he be called, tried, and examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.' Thus does the Church of England rest herself on the double ground of the Sacred Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholic Church.

"But in confirmation of this we may go to the writings of accredited theologians, of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. After the schism from Rome, and the resulting confusion, the Anglican Bishops and theologians found themselves fighting on two fronts; on the one side they had to meet the Papists, and on the other the Puritans—our local variety, in those centuries, of what you Rumanians would call Protestants. Read their writings, to be found in the numerous volumes to be found in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. You will find them appealing, through all those centuries, to the Ancient Fathers—Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory, Chrysostom, Cyril, Basil, and the rest, right down to the great theologian whom we reckon the last of the Greek Fathers, St. John of Damascus, who is usually called by these writers by the familiar name of 'The Damascene.' Let me read to you the profession of Faith of one of our most revered prelates, Bishop Ken, 1637-1711. He says in his last Will and Testament, 'as to my Religion I die in the Holy Catholic Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West, more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrines of the Cross.'

If the appeal of Orthodoxy and Anglicanism is the same, what has hindered our approach to each other with the object of removing misunderstandings? Nothing but the accident of our isolation. Let me speak from my own experience.

"In 1883 I visited the Monasteries of Mount Athos, and, I may add, was hospitably entertained in the Rumanian Skete of the Prodromos. I found absolute ignorance of the very existence of the Anglican Church; the Athonites knew the Latins. The various Protestant sects, such as the Lutherans, they had heard of. But what were we? In 1888 one of the Lambeth Conferences was held, when all the Bishops of the Anglican Communion, from all parts of the world, meet under the Presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At that Conference it

was proposed to consider foreign Communions, amongst them The Holy Orthodox Church of the East. But so ignorant were the assembling Prelates on the subject of their deliberations, that, at the suggestion of Archbishop Benson, I drew up a Synopsis of Eastern Christendom, that our Bishops might have some idea of the divisions of their subject.

"That year saw something more important. An old friend of mine, the late Sir Arthur Harding, afterwards one of our distinguished Ambassadors, was then an Attaché at our Embassy at St. Petersburg. Knowing of our interest in the Eastern Church, he wrote to me, and the late Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, to say that the Russian Church was about to celebrate at Kiev the nine hundredth anniversary of the conversion of Russia, and that it seemed an opportunity for a *démarche*. Archbishop Benson rose to the occasion, and a letter from him was sent to the Metropolitan of Kiev. (As a matter of fact I drafted it for him; you will find it in his *Life*, and if you read it I hope you will think it is a good one!) Now this created very considerable interest in Russia, for it was the first time they had ever heard of an Archbishop of Canterbury. I pass on. In 1896 Bishop Creighton visited Russia as the representative of the English Church at the Coronation of the Tsar. Next year the Metropolitan of Finland came over to the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. After that, till the outbreak of the Great War, there were several Episcopal visits to Russia, notably that of Archbishop Maclagan, of York, who made an official tour of the Cathedrals and Monasteries of Russia, under the guidance of Mr. Birkbeck; we had established contact, the veil of ignorance was gradually pierced. But the great moment came immediately after the War, when Meletios, Archbishop of Athens, with a body of theologians, came to England in December, 1918, in the time of your Grace's revered predecessor, to whom the cause of reunion owes so great a debt, Archbishop Davidson. Several conferences were held between the Orthodox and Anglican theologians, one, perhaps the most important, in London, when a complete agreement was reached between Orthodox and Anglicans, on the decree of the Seventh Œcumenical Council. Meletios became Œcumenical Patriarch in 1921, and at a Synod at Constantinople, recognized the validity of Anglican orders, as the Rumanian Church has just done. But Meletios did more. He sent us my Lord Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira. For fifteen years he has lived amongst us, as representative of the Œcumenical Throne; he knows our chief Bishops, he is often to be seen at our chief functions; he knows us through and through; he is cognizant of our good points and, what is more important, of our bad points; if you Rumanians want to know anything about us, ask the Metropolitan of Thyatira.

"In conclusion, may I utter a word of caution? It is a wonderful

thing that two Churches with such utterly different histories should have come together; by God's grace, mutual ignorance has been broken down. But do not let us force the pace. We have a proverb in English, 'More haste, less speed.' We have to approach unity, by advancing step by step, and by consolidating each step as we go along. We have now attained an *entente cordiale*: what does this mean? It means *cor to cor*, heart to heart, 'the love of Christ constraineth us.' It is by love that we shall accomplish our earnest desires. We have discovered that though widely separated by distance and by history, we are very close in our dogmatic beliefs; that we can not only love each other, but that we can help each other against common enemies. But little seems to stand between us and a complete dogmatic unity—'one Lord one Faith'—a perfect intercommunion. To that may our Divine Redeemer in His mercy bring us, Who prayed when He was on earth that His followers might be all one as He was One with His Eternal Father."

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON CENTENARY.

The Patriarch's visit coinciding with the Centenary of the University of London, the authorities of the University being anxious to demonstrate their appreciation both of his services to higher education in Rumania and of the bonds between London University and the Rumanian Universities, were at pains to secure his participation in its celebration.

Accordingly, his Beatitude with the Bishop of Arad was a notable figure on Wednesday, July 1st, at the Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral which was attended in state by the Chancellor, the Senate and the Professoriates and several hundred doctors and other graduates of the University, as also by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London and by representatives of over a hundred other Universities, British and foreign.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was the preacher. The great congregation which filled the Cathedral and the larger proportion of which was in academic costume, was a unique sight, and the service itself was of the best which even St. Paul's could render. The Patriarch expressed himself impressed profoundly by the dignity and splendour of the ceremony and by the place which the Church takes in the life of England.

After the service in St. Paul's the Patriarch and the Bishop of Arad attended the Lord Mayor's Reception and were accorded prominent places at the principal table at the luncheon given to the University in the Guildhall, at which over a thousand guests sat down, and which was typical of the magnificent hospitality of the City of London.

Among the many photos of the Patriarch which appeared in the

English Press, not the least interesting is one of his Beatitude and the Bishop of Arad together with the Lord Mayor, the Earl of Athlone (the Chancellor of the University), Lord Halifax, the Chief Rabbi and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A.E.C.A. PARTY AT FULHAM.

On Thursday, July 2nd, the Patriarch and his suite lunched quietly with the Bishop of Gibraltar and the officials of the Gibraltar Diocesan Association.

In the afternoon they drove to Fulham for a garden party arranged by A.E.C.A. for its President, the Bishop of London. The weather which, throughout the Patriarch's visit, was bad, even for an English summer, was unpropitious. All the same, some hundreds of people were present and the afternoon was full of interest and incident.

Much gratification was felt by the Bishop of London's announcement that the Patriarch had signed the forms of membership in A.E.C.A., and had become its Patron, and that the Bishop of Arad had become its Vice-President.

AUDIENCE OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

Friday, July 3rd, was spent quietly, members of the Patriarch's suite visiting the British Museum and other places of interest.

In the afternoon, accompanied by Canon Douglas and Dr. Galdau, the Patriarch drove to Buckingham Palace where, having been received by Lord Wigram, the King's Secretary, and Sir John Simon, the Home Secretary, he was admitted to a special audience of His Majesty King Edward.

His Beatitude expresses himself as having been impressed by the sympathetic kindness of the King and altogether charmed by his personality.

The audience lasted nearly half an hour.

CAMBRIDGE AND LINCOLN.

On Saturday, July 4th, accompanied by Canon Douglas and Archdeacon J. H. Sharp, the Patriarch with the Bishop of Arad and the rest of his party drove to Cambridge where he was received by Sir Stephen Gaselee who, after showing him round Trinity, St. John's and King's Colleges, entertained him at lunch in Magdalene College, of which he is a Fellow, the Vice-Chancellor of the University being among the party.

From Cambridge the Patriarch and his suite drove to Peterborough, where the Dean, Dr. Simpson, showed them round the

Cathedral and thence to Lincoln, where the Bishop and Mrs. Hicks received them with most delightful hospitality in the Old Palace.

The charm of the country through which he drove, the wonders of Cambridge and its colleges, its fields and unique life, the size and beauty of Peterborough Cathedral and finally the glorious approach to Lincoln Cathedral and the magnificent view from the Old Palace impressed the visitors greatly.

In the evening the Bishop of Lincoln and Mrs. Hicks gave a dinner in honour of the Patriarch, at which among others the Bishops of Grantham and Grimsby and the Dean of Lincoln were present.

THE LITURGY IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

On Sunday, July 5th, the Patriarch and the Bishop of Arad assisted at the Sung Eucharist in Lincoln Cathedral.

Driving from the Old Palace with the Bishop of Lincoln, who was vested in cope and mitre, the Patriarch, who was wearing the white robes and white head-dress with diamond cross of a non-Greek Orthodox Patriarch, was received at the West Door of the Cathedral by the Dean accompanied by the Bishops of Grantham and Grimsby, who were vested in cope, and other members of the Chapter, together with the Cathedral Choir. After the Dean had been formally presented to the Patriarch by the Bishop of Lincoln and had welcomed him to the Cathedral, the Choir sang *Eis polla etc.*, and a procession being formed, the Patriarch was conducted through the Nave and Choir which was more than filled by a large congregation, to the throne prepared for him on the north side of the Sanctuary.

The Bishop of Grimsby was the celebrant, the Bishop of Grantham and the Archdeacon of Stow being Gospeller and Epistoller.

In the superb setting of the ancient minster the rendering of the Divine Liturgy in the simplicity of the English rite must have seemed to the visitors mystic to a degree.

Everything was quiet, and the silences in the Celebration were as intensely devotional as the singing. But while their colours were merged in the magnificence of the High Altar, its reredos and the spaces above and around them, the splendid vestments of the Sacred Ministers and the exquisite, though unpretentious, singing of the Choir made the Liturgy as satisfying extrinsically to æsthetic devotion as in spirit it was intrinsically an other-worldly act of worship.

"LEX ORANDI, LEX CREDENDI."

We Anglicans who shared in that Eucharist cannot doubt but that the Patriarch, the Bishop of Arad and the Rumanian priests with them *must* have felt *mutatis mutandis*, that they were taking

part in the offering of the same Eucharist which is ever rendered in every shrine of the Orthodox Communion.

After the Nicene Creed had been sung, at the invitation of the Bishop of Lincoln the Patriarch recited it in Rumanian.

There was no Sermon.

From twenty to thirty of the several hundred worshippers communicated.

At the conclusion of the Liturgy, the Bishop of Lincoln addressed the Patriarch, and reminding him of his own gracious hospitality to the Church of England Delegation of which he himself had been the leader last year, welcomed him in the name of his Diocese and of the English Church and assured him of the affection of all English Churchfolk towards the Orthodox Communion and of their eagerness to achieve Reunion with it.

In reply, his Beatitude spoke with obvious feeling of his own happiness in being there, in Lincoln Cathedral, as the guest of the Bishop, whom he had learnt to love, and of his desire for closer and closer friendship with the Anglican Communion. He was sure that the English Church had been no consenting party to the Great Schism which had separated it from the Ecumenical Church of the East. That separation had been the work of others. He prayed that God who prepares miracles, would make it possible for the Anglican Communion to be reunited with the Orthodox Communion. Meanwhile, they must work and pray for that end and draw near in love to each other. He wished God's Blessing upon the British Empire, upon England, upon King Edward, upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the Bishop and people of the Diocese of Lincoln and upon the whole Anglican Communion, upon the English Church and upon all who love the Christ and labour to bring in His Kingdom here on earth.

At the request of the Bishop of Lincoln, he then gave his Benediction to the congregation.

LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND.

After the Eucharist in Lincoln Cathedral, the Patriarch lunched quietly in the Old Palace, among those present to meet him being Lord and Lady Liverpool, who had represented Lord Yarborough, the Lieutenant of the County, in the Cathedral.

In the afternoon, his Beatitude with the Bishop of Arad returned by car to London, making a detour in order to see the grand old parish church of Newark-on-Trent.

Monday, July 6th, was spent by the Patriarch and his party in farewell calls and in shopping expeditions.

In the afternoon, the Patriarch with the Bishop of Arad visited the Russian Church of St. Philip, in Buckingham Palace Road,

where he was received by Father Behr, the Proto-diakon Theokritov and Mr. Sabline, the Church-warden.

On Tuesday, July 7th, Canon Douglas gave a Farewell Luncheon in honour of the Patriarch, the Bishop of Arad and the other members of the party in the restaurant of St. James's Court, and among those who came to Victoria to bid them good-bye when they left by the 3 p.m. train for Ostend were Mr. Athelstan Riley, Sir Stephen Gaselee, Lord Noel Buxton, the Bishops of Gibraltar and Fulham, the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires and the Staff of the Legation.

So ended a very notable visit which must always be memorable in the history of the relations of the Orthodox and Anglican Communion.

THE RUMANIAN RECOGNITION OF ANGLICAN ORDERS

WE print below the original, and with it a certified official translation, of the Resolution whereby, on March 20th, 1936, the Sacred Synod of the Orthodox Church of Rumania adopted the recommendation that it should recognize the validity of Anglican Orders, made to it by the Commission appointed by itself which conferred with the Church of England delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1935, for the purpose at Bucarest from June 1st-8th, 1935.

The Resolution which is embodied in the Report of the Bucarest Conference printed *in extenso* in this issue of the *Christian East* is, of course, a document of first historical importance.

Its preamble shows that the Church of Rumania has taken no hurried or isolated initiative but has proceeded according to the principles of œcumenicity.

As far back as 1922, the Œcumenical Patriarch notified the Sacred Synod of Rumania that he had recognized the validity of Anglican Orders and invited it to examine the question. The Sacred Synod did not reply until 1925, when in a letter, a translation of which appeared in the *Christian East*, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 12, it answered that (1) no historical obstacle to the recognition of Anglican Orders existed but that (2) from the dogmatic point of view the decision depended upon the dogmatic teaching of the Anglican Church, especially upon its view as to the sacramental nature of Holy Orders. Though the fact is not recorded in the Resolution, an Orthodox Delegation, led by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and consisting of official representatives of all the Orthodox autocephalous churches

(the Russian alone excepted) attended the Lambeth Conference of 1930, and in result of its discussions with the Anglican Bishops who conferred with it, and of their statements in regard to Anglican dogmatic teaching, unanimously recommended their home authorities to recognize Anglican Orders as valid. The Rumanian Sacred Synod felt, however, that an even fuller enquiry than had been made was necessary, if the decision was to be unchallengeable. In a measure it felt also that it had special responsibility to see that a decision was made: for it was the insistence of the late Archbishop Nectarie of Czernautz, the Rumanian representative at Lambeth in 1930, acting under its instructions, that the Orthodox Delegation had requested the Anglican Bishops to answer the questions put to them by the Orthodox Delegation, which questions had been specified by the Synod in its reply of 1925 to the Œcumenical Patriarch.

Accordingly, after informing the Œcumenical Patriarch of its intention, the Sacred Synod requested the Rumanian Patriarch to invite the Archbishop of Canterbury to send a delegation to Bucarest, in order to give such information as its Commission, appointed for the purpose, might desire in elucidation of the question. The Resolution then records that the Rumanian Commission set before the Anglican Delegation a statement of Orthodox doctrine concerning Holy Orders and that the Anglican Delegation accepted it without reservation and that that being so the Sacred Synod had resolved the adoption of the recommendation of its Commission to accept Anglican Orders.

Since the Anglican Delegation was not plenipotentiary, its statements need authentication by its home authorities. Accordingly the Resolution of the Sacred Synod requires that before the Rumanian recognition of Anglican Orders becomes definitive, the final authority of the Anglican Church must ratify the statements of the Delegation.

That requirement can be met in two ways, either by a resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1940 or by resolutions of the Convocations of Canterbury and York and the synods of the other churches and followers of the Anglican Communion.

The Convocation of York met that requirement on May 27th last, when it "accepted and approved" the Report of the Delegation. The Convocation of Canterbury may be expected to follow its example in January, 1937.

THE RECOGNITION OF ANGLICAN ORDERS BY THE SACRED SYNOD OF THE RUMANIAN CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION

On Monday, July 6th, the Patriarch formally transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury the Resolution whereby the Sacred Synod of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Rumania accepted and approved the Report of the Conference held at Bucarest from June 1st-8th, 1935, between the Delegation approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Convention appointed by the Rumanian Patriarch and Sacred Synod. That resolution which subject to the

HOTARAREA

Sf. Sinod privitor la validitatea hirotoniilor anglicane.

Sedinta din 20 Martie, 1936.

Presedinte

Secretar, ss). *VENIAMIN.

Patriarh, ss). MIRON

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Sanctitatea Sa Preafericitul Patriarh al Constantinopolului notifica Sf. nostru Sinod, ca a recunoscut validitatea hirotoniilor din Biserica anglicana si cere Sf. nostru Sinod sa examineze si el aceasta chestie si sa-i trimita raspunsul sau.

1. Sf. Sinod al Bisericii ortodoxe romane a raspuns inca la 1925, ca a). din punct de vedere istoric n'ar fi piedeca a se recunoaste continuitatea apostolica a hirotoniilor anglicane; b). dar din punctul de vedere dogmatic validitatea hirotoniilor anglicane atârna dela însasi Biserica anglicana si anume dela faptul, daca acea Biserica, considera hirotonia ca taina (sacrament) sau nu?

In scopul de a lamuri doctrina despre hirotonie a Bisericii anglicane s'a prezentat la Bucuresti o delegatie de 4 ierarhi si 6 teologi -ca trimisi ai I.P.S. Arhiepiscopul Cosma de Canterbury-, care, în cursul zilelor de 1-8 Iunie 1935, a dat lamuriri comisiei instituita de Sfântul nostru Sinod tot din ierarhi si din profesorii de specialitate dela facultatile noastre de teologie.

Comisia româna a prezentat delegatilor anglicani, care este doctrina ortodoxa cu privire la taina hirotonirii.

Considerând, ca delegatii anglicani si-au însusit fara rezerva doctrinei Bisericii ortodoxe cu privire la taina hirotonirii asa dupa cum au infatisat-o comisia româna cu toate momentele sale hotărâtoare si cu tot caracterul ei sacramental ca una din cele 7 taine.

-Sfântul Sinod al Bisericii ortodoxe române omologheaza propunerea comisiei sale precum urmeaza:

implementation of the Report by the authorities of the Anglican Communion implements the recommendation of the Rumanian Commission that the validity of Anglican Orders be accepted, is printed below, both in Rumanian and in a translation made by Canon Douglas with the assistance of members both of the Patriarch's suite and of the staff of the Rumanian Legation and certified by the Bishop of Arad who possesses a very competent knowledge of the English language.

RESOLUTION

of the Sacred Synod concerning the Validity of Anglican Orders.

Session of March 20th, 1936.

The Patriarch, His Beatitude

Secretary: Bishop Veniamin.

Miron Cristea, presiding.

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His All Holiness the Patriarch of Constantinople having notified the Sacred Synod that he had recognized the Validity of Anglican Orders and having requested our Sacred Synod to examine that question and to inform him in reply of its opinion:

1. Accordingly, the Sacred Synod of the Orthodox Church of Rumania replied in 1925:

- (a) that from the historical point of view no obstacle exists to the recognition of the Apostolic succession of Anglican Orders.
- (b) that from the dogmatic point of view the validity of Anglican Orders depends upon the Anglican Church itself and especially upon whether or not that Church recognizes Holy Orders to be a Mystery (Sacrament).

In order to explain the doctrine of the Anglican Church concerning Holy Orders a Delegation of four bishops and six theologians was sent to Bucarest by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cosmo Lang) and from June 1st-8th, 1935, made such explanations to the Commission of bishops and of expert professors of our faculties in theology appointed by our Sacred Synod.

The Rumanian Commission set before the Anglican Delegation a statement of Orthodox doctrine concerning the Mystery of Holy Orders.

In view of the fact that the Anglican Delegates accepted without reservation the doctrine of the Orthodox Church in regard to the

"Având în vedere concluziile raportorilor despre succesiunea apostolică, despre preotie, despre Sf. Euharistie, despre sf. Taine în general, despre Tradiție și despre Justificare ;

"Si având în vedere declarațiunile delegației anglicane asupra acestor chestiuni, care declarațiuni sunt în concordanță cu doctrina Bisericii ortodoxe ;

"Comisiunea ortodoxă română în unanimitate recomandă Sf. Sinod recunoașterea validității hirotoniilor anglicane."

De sine se înțelege că aceasta omologare devine definitivă după ce și autoritatea supremă a Bisericii anglicane va ratifica concluziunile delegației sale relativ la sacramentul hirotoniei cu toate momentele sale cuprinse în doctrina Bisericii ortodoxe :

2. Aceasta hotărâre se aduce la cunoscuta S. Sale Preafericitului Patriarh Ecumenic dela Constantinopol și a I.P.S. Arhiepiscopul de Canterbury și primat al Bisericii anglicane ;

3. Din aceasta ocazie Sf. Sinod al Bisericii ortodoxe române își exprima bucuria sa deosebită, că Providența divină a pregătit calea, că reprezentanții Bisericii anglicane să ne poată arăta, cât de puternici și hotărâți pași au făcut spre a lămurii învățătura lor în concordanță cu doctrina mamei Bisericii ortodoxe răsăritene, depunândă fidelă a credinței creștine în toată curatenia ei apostolică.

Aceasta apropiere poate fi de mare folos în calea indicată de însuși Mântuitorul nostru Iisus Hristos "că totuși una să fie."

4. În fine Biserica română dorește din suflet, ca aceste întâlniri de clarificare să continue și pe viitor până ce Preasfântul Duh va revarsă harul său spre cristalizarea doctrinei Bisericii anglicane, astfel, ca să corespundă în deplină măsură doctrinei Bisericii ecumenice ortodoxe.

Pentru conformitate,

Seal of the Sacred Synod of the Church of Rumania.

Jerom. CALLIST RADULESCU.

Sacrament of Holy Orders after the Rumanian Commission had expressed it in all its points of importance and in its full Sacramental character as one of the Seven Mysteries.

The Sacred Synod of the Orthodox Church of Rumania resolved the adoption of the recommendations of its Commission, viz. :

"Having considered the conclusions of the papers on the Apostolic Succession, Holy Orders, Holy Eucharist, Holy Mysteries in general, and Tradition and Justification,

"And having considered the declarations of the Anglican Delegation on these questions, which declarations are in accordance with the Doctrine of the Orthodox Church,

"The Rumanian Orthodox Commission unanimously recommends the Holy Synod (of the Rumanian Orthodox Church) to recognize the validity of the Anglican Orders."

It is to be understood that the above resolution will become definitive as soon as the final authority of the Anglican Church ratifies all the statements of its Delegation concerning the Mystery of Holy Orders, in regard to the points of importance comprised in the doctrine of the Orthodox Church.

2. This decision is to be communicated to His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of the Anglican Church ;

3. At the same time the Sacred Synod of the Orthodox Rumanian Church expresses its great joy in as much as Divine Providence prepared the way that the representatives of the Anglican Church might be able to show us what effective and definite steps have been taken towards establishing clearly their teaching to be in harmony with that of the Orthodox Eastern Church which is the faithful depository of the Christian faith in all its Apostolic purity.

May this approach be of great use in the path shown by Our common Saviour Jesus Christ in His words "That they all may be one."

4. In conclusion the Rumanian Church prays from its soul that such exploratory meetings may be continued in the future until the Holy Spirit pour out His Grace to make clear the doctrines of the Anglican Church to be in complete agreement with the doctrines of the Orthodox Ecumenical Church.

In confirmation the Seal of the Sacred Synod of the Orthodox Church of Rumania.

Hieromonk CALLIST RADULESCU.

This translation was made by John A. Douglas and certified by Andrei Mager, London, 7th July, 1936.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE AT BUCAREST

FROM JUNE 1ST TO JUNE 8TH, 1935, BETWEEN THE RUMANIAN COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND DELEGATION APPOINTED BY THE ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTERBURY

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

The Old Palace,
Lincoln.
May 9th, 1936.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

I send to you herewith the Report of the Conference held at Bucarest from June 1st to June 8th, 1935, between the Rumanian Commission on Relations with the Anglican Communion and the Church of England Delegation appointed by yourself to confer with the Church of Rumania.

Owing to delays caused by illness and death among the Rumanian bishops it was only in March of this year that this joint Report could be considered by the Holy Synod of Rumania. After careful discussion the Holy Synod unanimously approved the Report, and, in so doing, recognized the validity of Anglican Orders.

In submitting the Report to Your Grace, I desire to acknowledge, on behalf of my fellow-delegates and myself, the fairness and open-mindedness with which our Rumanian colleagues, at point after point, met our difficulties, such as they were, and the spirit of warm friendship which grew up between us by the end of the Conference.

I am,

Your Grace,

Yours very sincerely and dutifully,

NUGENT LINCOLN,

Chairman of the Delegation.

HIS GRACE

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
Lambeth Palace, S.E.1.

MEMBERS OF THE RUMANIAN COMMISSION PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE

1. The Right Revd. Lucian, Bishop of Roman.
2. The Right Revd. Vasile, Bishop of Caransebes.
3. The Right Revd. Tit Simedrea, Bishop of Targovista.
4. The Revd. Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban.
5. The Revd. Protopresbyter Professor Vasile Gheorghiu, Dean of the Theological Faculty of Czernautz.

6. The Revd. Protopresbyter Ioan Mihalcescu, Dean of the Theological Faculty of Bucarest.
 7. The Revd. Professor Petre Vintilescu.
 8. The Revd. Protopresbyter Gala Galaction.
 9. The Revd. Protopresbyter Haralambie Roventa.
 10. Professor Dr. V. G. Ispir.
 11. Professor Dr. V. Loichita.
 12. Professor Dr. Teodor M. Popescu.
- Chairman* : The Right Revd. Lucian, Bishop of Roman.
Correspondent : The Right Revd. Bishop Tit Simedrea.
Secretary : Professor V. G. Ispir.

MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND DELEGATION

1. The Right Revd. Dr. F. C. Nugent Hicks, Bishop of Lincoln.
2. The Right Revd. Harold Buxton, Bishop of Gibraltar.
3. The Right Revd. Staunton Batty, Bishop of Fulham.
4. The Very Revd. H. N. Bate, Dean of York.
5. The Revd. Dr. J. A. Douglas, Hon. Canon of Southwark and Hon. General Secretary of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations.
6. The Revd. Dr. A. J. Macdonald.
7. The Revd. J. H. Sharp, Canon of Malta.
8. The Revd. Philip Usher.

Assessors :

9. His Grace, the Most Revd. Dr. J. A. F. Gregg, Archbishop of Dublin.
10. The Revd. Professor Dr. Frank Gavin of the American Episcopal Church, Member of the Council of Ecclesiastical Relations of the American Episcopal Church.

Chairman : The Right Revd. The Bishop of Lincoln.

Correspondent : Canon J. A. Douglas.

Secretary : The Revd. Philip Usher.

REPORT

Report of the Conference held from Saturday, June 1st, to Saturday, June 8th, 1935, in the Patriarchal Palace of Bucarest, between the Commission of the Rumanian Church upon Relations with the Anglican Communion and the Church of England Delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to confer with the same.

We, the Members of the aforesaid Rumanian Commission and Church of England Delegation, report to the Holy Synod of the Church of Rumania, and to His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as follows :—

I.—SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE

According to the tenor of the correspondence between His Beatitude the Rumanian Patriarch and His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the scope of the Conference was in general the consideration of the statements exchanged between the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference of 1930 and the Committee on Unity of that Conference, which statements were declared by the whole body of the Lambeth Conference to be sufficient and were recommended by the Orthodox Delegation to the authorities of the Orthodox autocephalous Churches [see *Lambeth Conference*, 1930 (S.P.C.K.), pp. 138-40¹ and p. 49, Resolution 33 (c),² as also the *Report of the Metropolitan Nectarie of the Bukovina to the Holy Synod of Rumania*].³

II.—METHOD OF THE CONFERENCE

Papers were read as follows, discussions ensuing after the reading of each pair of papers.

1. *On the Apostolic Succession and the Validity of Anglican Ordinations from the Historical Point of View.* By the Dean of York and by Professor Dr. Teodor M. Popescu.
2. *The Necessity of the Priesthood and its Sacramental Character.* By Prof. the Revd. Dr. I. Mihalcescu and by Canon J. A. Douglas.
3. *The Holy Eucharist and its Sacrificial Character.* By the Bishop of Lincoln and the Revd. Prof. Dr. Petre Vintilescu.
4. *Holy Scripture, Holy Tradition, the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.* By the Revd. Dr. A. J. Macdonald and Prof. Dr. V. Loichita.
5. *The Holy Sacraments and Church Offices.* By the Revd. the Archimandrite J. Scriban and by the Dean of York.
6. *The Process of the Justification of Man* (Rom. iii, 20, 21). By Professor the Revd. Dr. Frank Gavin and by the Revd. Professor V. Gheorghiu.
7. *Christian Life and the Stimulus of Œcumenicity.* By the Archbishop of Dublin and by Professor Vasile Ispir.

III.—THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

In answer to an enquiry of the Rumanian Commission the Anglican Delegation stated 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

¹ See Appendix A.

² See Appendix B.

³ See *Christian East*, Spring, 1931, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 6-26.

the Book of Common Prayer." [See *Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 139.]

and that therefore the XXXIX Articles are to be regarded as a document secondary to the Book of Common Prayer.

IV.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST

A statement was submitted by the Rumanian Commission to the Anglican Delegation, concerning the Holy Eucharist and was accepted unanimously by the latter in the following form:

1. At the Last Supper, our Lord Jesus Christ anticipated the sacrifice of His death by giving Himself to the Apostles in the form of bread blessed by Him as meat and in the form of wine blessed by Him as drink.
2. The sacrifice offered (προσενεχθείσα) by our Lord on Calvary was offered once for all, expiates the sins as well of the living as of the dead, and reconciles us with God. Our Lord Jesus Christ does not need to sacrifice Himself again.
3. The sacrifice on Calvary is perpetually presented in the Holy Eucharist in a bloodless fashion (αναμάρτως) under the form (Rumanian, *sub chipul*) of bread and wine through the consecrating priest and through the work of the Holy Ghost in order that the fruits of the sacrifice of the Cross may be partaken of by those who offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, by those for whom it is offered, and by those who receive worthily the Body and Blood of the Lord.
4. In the Eucharist the bread and wine become by consecration (μεταβολή) the Body and Blood of our Lord. How? This is a mystery.
5. The Eucharistic bread and wine remain the Body and Blood of our Lord as long as these Eucharistic elements exist.
6. Those who receive the Eucharistic bread and wine truly partake of the Body and Blood of Our Lord.

V.—HOLY SCRIPTURE AND HOLY TRADITION

The Conference considered the following statement¹ agreed unanimously at its session at Lambeth in 1931 by the Orthodox and Anglican members of the Joint Doctrinal Commission appointed in pursuance of the recommendation of the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference of 1930 and of the Lambeth Conference of 1930 [see *Lambeth Conference*, 1930, Resolution 33 (b), p. 48].

¹ See *Report of the Joint Doctrinal Commission appointed by the Œcumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury for Consultation on the Points of Agreement and Difference between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches* (S.P.C.K., 1932), p. 12.

"Everything necessary for salvation can be founded upon Holy Scripture as completed, explained, interpreted, and understood in the Holy Tradition, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit residing in the Church.

"We agree that by Holy Tradition we mean the truths which came down from our Lord and the Apostles through the Fathers, which are confessed unanimously and continuously in the Undivided Church and are taught by the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

"We agree that nothing contained in Tradition is contrary to the Scriptures. Though these two may be logically defined and distinguished, yet they cannot be separated from each other nor from the Church."

The Rumanian Commission agreed unanimously that if the above statement is amended to read as follows, it will be sufficient :

"The Revelation of God is transmitted through the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Tradition.¹ Everything necessary for salvation can be founded upon Holy Scripture, as completed, explained, interpreted and understood in the Holy Tradition, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit residing in the Church. We agree that by Holy Tradition we mean the truths which come down from our Lord and the Apostles and have been defined by the Holy Councils or are taught by the Fathers,¹ which are confessed unanimously and continuously in the Undivided Church and are taught by the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

"We agree that nothing contained in Tradition is contrary to the Scriptures. Though these two may be logically defined and distinguished, yet they cannot be separated from each other nor from the Church."

The Anglican Delegation concurred unanimously with the Rumanian recommendation.

VI.—DIVINE MYSTERIES

The Conference compared the two statements upon the Sacraments made respectively and unanimously by the Orthodox and Anglican members of the Joint Doctrinal Commission at its session of October, 1931, namely :²

(a) By the Orthodox :

"We accept that the two of the seven Sacraments—namely

¹ The words italicized constitute the amendments by addition or alteration.

² See *Report of the Joint Doctrinal Commission appointed by the Œcumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury for Consultation on the Points of Agreement and Difference between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches* (S.P.C.K., 1932), pp. 14, 15.

Baptism and the Holy Eucharist—the first as introducing us into the Church, the second as uniting us with Christ, are pre-eminent among the others. But we do not think that the other five are of secondary importance as Sacraments, neither that they are unnecessary to the spiritual life of the Christian and consequently to his salvation. These also, as the two first are Holy Services of Divine foundation in which through an outward visible sign the invisible grace of Christ is conveyed."

(b) By the Anglicans :

"The number of the Sacraments has never been authoritatively fixed either by tradition from the Apostles or any decision of an Œcumenical Council. We recognize that the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are pre-eminent above the rest. As regards other Sacraments, while the Eastern Orthodox Church uses the term *mysterion* also of Ordination, Penance, Confirmation or Chrism, Marriage, and the Anointing of the Sick ; in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England the word Sacrament is only used of the two Sacraments Baptism and the Holy Eucharist inasmuch as these only have an outward visible sign ordained by Christ Himself and are held to be generally, that is universally, necessary for salvation. But it is recognized also in the Anglican Communion that in other Rites there is an outward and visible sign and an inward spiritual grace, and in that sense they may be considered to have the character of Sacraments and are commonly called Sacraments."

While hesitating to revise the above Anglican statement and while considering that before a final and complete agreement is reached, a further Conference is desirable, the Anglican Delegation agreed unanimously to recommend for consideration the following formula :

"We agree that Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, the first as introducing us into the Church, the second as uniting us with Christ and through Him with the Invisible Church, are pre-eminent among the Divine Mysteries. We agree that because Holy Scripture and Tradition witness to their origin, Confirmation, Absolution, the Marriage Blessing, Holy Orders and the Unction of the Sick are also Mysteries in which, an outward visible sign being administered, an inward spiritual grace is received."

The Rumanian Commission agreed to recommend this formula to the Holy Synod of Rumania for consideration.

VII.—JUSTIFICATION

The Orthodox Commission and the Anglican Delegation agreed unanimously upon the following statement :

"By the redeeming action of our Lord Jesus Christ, mankind has become reconciled to God. Man partakes of the redeeming grace through faith and good works, and reaches through the working of the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, sanctification by means of the Church and the Holy Sacraments."

VIII.—THE VALIDITY OF ANGLICAN ORDERS

The Rumanian Commission made the following Declaration:

"Having considered the conclusions of the papers on the Apostolic Succession, Holy Orders, Holy Eucharist, Holy Mysteries in general, and Tradition and Justification,

"And having considered the declarations of the Anglican Delegation on these questions, which declarations are in accordance with the Doctrine of the Orthodox Church,

"The Rumanian Orthodox Commission unanimously recommends the Holy Synod (of the Rumanian Orthodox Church) to recognize the validity of the Anglican Orders."

The Anglican Delegation received the Declaration with due acknowledgment.

IX.—CONCLUSION

In the strictest interpretation of the Rumanian invitation, the purpose of the Anglican Delegation was to elucidate the statements¹ interchanged between the Orthodox Delegation of 1930 and the Anglican Bishops with whom it conferred, in order that the Rumanian Commission might be able to advise the Holy Synod of Rumania as to whether it should declare that subject to the agreement of all the sister Orthodox autocephalous Churches, it is prepared to accept Anglican Ordinations.

As the result of the Conference, the Rumanian Commission has decided unanimously to recommend the Rumanian Holy Synod to accept the validity of Anglican Orders.

It should be noted, further, that in the course of the Conference, important agreements were reached between the Rumanian Commission and the Anglican Delegation, not only

- (a) upon the doctrine and significance of the Sacred Ministry, but also
- (b) upon the doctrine and significance of the Holy Eucharist,
- (c) upon the doctrine and significance of Holy Tradition, and
- (d) upon Justification.

Moreover, a preliminary agreement was also reached upon the nature and character as Holy Mysteries of Confirmation, Absolution, the Marriage Blessing and the Unction of the Sick.

¹ See Appendix A.

By these agreements, we believe that a solid basis has been prepared for further discussions whereby full dogmatic agreement may be affirmed between the Orthodox and the Anglican Communion. And to that end, we are agreed that it is desirable that further Conferences should be held between representatives of the Church of Rumania and the Church of England, with or without assessors from the other Orthodox autocephalous Churches and from the other churches and provinces of the Anglican Communion.

But whether or not the agreements reached in this Conference upon the Holy Eucharist, upon Holy Tradition, upon the other Divine Mysteries and upon Justification be implemented in all their details, we are of opinion that by the decision of the Rumanian Commission in regard to the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations as valid from the Orthodox point of view, this Conference has prepared a solid foundation for dogmatic agreement between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches.

In saying this, however, we are well aware that this expectation is provisional, in the first instance upon the acceptance of the Rumanian Commission's recommendations by the Holy Synod of the Church of Rumania and ultimately of the other Orthodox autocephalous Churches which have not yet replied to the invitation issued in 1922 by the Œcumenical Patriarch.

Finally, the Church of England Delegation and its assessors desire to express their warm sense not only of the thoroughness of the investigation of the Rumanian Commission but also of its deep spiritual and Christian goodwill. And in so doing, they desire to acknowledge the singular and gracious kindness and brotherly hospitality accorded to them by His Beatitude the Patriarch of Rumania.

Episcopul ✠ LUCIAN TRITEAUN AL ROMANUL,
Chairman of the Rumanian Commission.

✠ NUGENT LINCOLN,
Chairman of the Anglican Delegation.

Aluereul ✠ TIT SIMEDREA TARGOVISTEANUL
JOHN A. DOUGLAS
Correspondents.

Dr. V. G. ISPIR
PHILIP USHER
Secretaries.

APPENDIX A

A Résumé of the Discussions, July 15th–18th, 1930, between the Patriarch of Alexandria with the other Orthodox Representatives and Bishops of the Anglican Communion at Lambeth Palace.

- i. 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 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 explanation of Anglican Doctrine thus made with regard to the Eucharistic Sacrifice was 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 re-baptize 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 cases 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 Ortho-

We modern theologians try our best through constant scientific work and research to follow these lines of development faithfully, and I would venture to say that in a relatively short period of hard work the results we have obtained are very satisfactory.

If I may use symbolical language, we are trying to clean our old treasures which have been neglected and covered with a thick or thin layer of dust, and we are astonished to find how valuable they still are for use and susceptible of further development.

The Pan-Orthodox Conference in Athens—and the following conferences in other Orthodox cities—which are being planned, are an outcome of the serious study which is being devoted to modern Orthodox theology.

The following short account of the events leading up to this first conference at Athens, together with its programme, speaks quite clearly of itself as to the aims and scope and direction of modern Orthodox theological exegesis. May God guide this Conference and bless its efforts to the glory of His Holy Church.

The idea of an Orthodox Theological Conference which was put forward some time ago and has been under discussion for a long while is soon to be realized.

The date of its meeting is already fixed for November 22nd, 1936.

The several international conferences which were held after the War afforded a very good opportunity for Orthodox theologians to meet together and discuss the possibility of an Orthodox Conference. The writer of this article took the initiative at Copenhagen (1923) and proposed to the Orthodox theologians who were present there that such a Conference should be held to discuss important theological problems. The idea was received with enthusiasm, although there was no further opportunity then to discuss it. The Orthodox representatives discussed the matter again at Cambridge (1931) and agreed that the first Conference ought to meet in Athens, both because the representative of Athens had taken the initiative in this matter and because Athens was the seat of the oldest Orthodox faculty to-day. It will keep its centenary next year. I was then authorized to write to the several Orthodox Theological Faculties and proceed to organize the Conference.

After due understanding with the other Orthodox faculties it was agreed to summon the Conference in Athens as soon as possible, namely in 1932. But the realization of this project had to be postponed on account of financial difficulties. Last August (1935), on the occasion of the meeting of the International Council of the "World Alliance" and of "Life and Work," the theological professors met again at Chamby, Switzerland, and agreed that the Conference ought to be summoned, Athens being always proposed as its place of meeting. It was agreed that should financial

difficulties prevent the Theological Faculty at Athens from summoning the Conference, the Rumanian Theological Faculties should summon it instead.

Happily the financial difficulties have been for the most part overcome, and the Theological Faculty of the University at Athens has issued the official invitations for the Conference to the Theological Faculties of all Orthodox Universities, in accordance with the agreement arrived at at Chamby.

The Theological Faculty at Bucharest then invited representatives from the different Orthodox Theological Faculties to meet at Bucharest on January 16th of this present year, to discuss the organization and programme of the Conference. Representatives from the following Universities were present at this preliminary Conference: Athens, Bucharest, Chisinău, Cernăntz, Paris, Belgrad, Warsaw and Sofia.

This Committee, after due discussion, elaborated firstly a whole scheme for organizing a succession of Orthodox Theological Conferences of which the present one at Athens is to be the first, and secondly drew up the programme for this first Conference.

The chief points in the first scheme are as follows:—

- (1) The Conference is to be called the "1st Conference on Orthodox Theology at Athens."
- (2) Only professors from the Orthodox Faculties at the Universities will take part in it.
- (3) The purpose of the Conference is the promotion of Orthodox theological learning.
- (4) The official languages of the Conference are French, German and English.
- (5) A Theological Conference shall take place biennially in that city which is the seat of a Theological Faculty, by rotation.
- (6) The first Conference will meet at Athens on November 22nd.
- (7) After this Committee has finished its work, the Organization Committee of the Athens Faculty will carry on its work under the presidency of Prof. Alivisatos.
- (8) The Conference will only meet if the majority of the Faculties are represented.
- (9) Every Faculty must send at least a report (paper) on each item of the programme.
- (10) The official presidency of the Conference belongs to the representative of the Faculty of the city in which the Conference meets, but the sections of the Conference shall be presided over by representatives of other Faculties in rotation.

After due discussion the programme for the 1st Conference was, on the proposal of Prof. Alivisatos, accepted unanimously as follows:

I.

Greetings from the Church and the Faculties.

II.

Position of Theology in the Orthodox Church.

- (a) Definition of the fundamental principles of Orthodoxy.
- (b) Scientific work on Theology and Church Authority.
- (c) Precision of the external influences on Orthodox Theology, especially since the fall of Constantinople, namely :
 - (1) Roman Catholic.
 - (2) Protestant.
 - (3) Philosophical.
- (d) Orientation of modern Orthodox Theology towards Patristic theology in relation to the adoption of modern views and methods.
- (e) Mission of Theology to enlighten the conscience of the Church and public opinion.

III.

Theological presuppositions of Church problems.

- (1) The problem of convoking an Œcumenical Council.
- (2) Ways of positive intercommunion between the several Orthodox Churches and of applying their decisions on more general and urgent Church questions (such as the calendar, marriage of the clergy, fasting) in the case of the postponement of the Œcumenical Council.
- (3) Immediate services of Theology to the Church :
 - (a) Preparation for the codification of the holy Canons and precision of their value at the present day.
 - (b) Revision and editing of the several original liturgical texts.
 - (c) Orthodox liaison at home and abroad.
 - (d) Orthodox and present-day problems : Church and State, Church and Culture, Church and Social Problems.

IV.

Place of the Theological University Faculties within the framework of general scientific work.

V.

Desiderata :

- (1) Theological review.
 - (2) Interrelations of Theological Faculties.
- End of the Conference.

This programme seems rather full and heavy, but it is not expected that all these questions will be solved at the 1st Conference. The succeeding Conferences will have to deal with the greater part of these problems which cannot be solved by the 1st Conference at Athens.

The Conference planned for this year will be of very great importance, because it will be the beginning of a close co-operation of all the theological forces throughout the Orthodox Church.

Those who know Church history and can estimate rightly the position and importance of theology in the life of the Church can have no doubt of the influence that this Conference will have on the further development of the whole Church.

Of course the subjects which appear on the programme are not the only ones which require to be dealt with. There are many others of equal importance which will be dealt with by future Conferences.

One of these most important problems is that of the relations between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches, and there is no doubt that the moment this problem is solved the Church will not have to wait long to feel its beneficial effects on her life. Naturally all these problems cannot be solved in a short space of time, but a few years mean nothing, for many of these problems have remained unsolved for centuries. It is enough that they are now under consideration and will be the object of serious and scientific discussion and research in the future.

Thus it is to be hoped that the earnest pre-occupation of Orthodox Theology with these great problems—assisted by all those who are eager for their solution—will bring about this solution to the glory of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

A LETTER FROM ATHENS.

THE restoration of our King George II to his throne will have many beneficent results, not only in the Greek politics, but also in the religious life of the Greek people. As regards politics, with which, I hope, your readers are not concerned, let me say at once that the King's presence in our country and his impartial dealing with every political party have changed, within almost a week after his arrival, the Greek political atmosphere. It is quite true that the plebiscite carried out by the late General Condylis was not impartial at all. It was the work of a dictatorship unique in its methods of terrorism. And the King was restored to his throne while half of the Greeks were against any restoration. They still entertained in

their minds the bad memories of that period which followed after King Constantine's restoration in 1920. Now, four months after King George's restoration, he is almost the only popular person among all the classes and parties, including Communists. We venture to hope that, under his wise guidance, the acuteness of party feeling will in the long run disappear, and a new period of peace and prosperity will start.

As I mentioned already, however, our King's influence will tell even upon the religious life of our country. He is a pious monarch and devoted to the Greek Orthodox Church. As soon as he arrived at Athens the first thing he did was to go straight to the Cathedral and give thanks to the Almighty for his restoration. It was not in vain that His Grace the Archbishop of Athens, Mgr. Chrysostom, addressing the King on behalf of the Greek hierarchy, said among other things: "The Church especially rejoices for your Majesty's restoration because it knew already your Majesty as its faithful and devoted child, following the example not only of his glorious father, but also of his grandfather, King George I, of the blessed memory, who although he belonged to another denomination, yet used to be a warm supporter of the Orthodox Church, with which the Greek nation is closely connected. Being brought up under the guidance of his grandmother, the truly holy Queen Olga, and his mother, the Queen Sophia, who felt such a devotion and love towards the Orthodox Church, that she joined it, your Majesty feels deeply in his heart the power of religion and duly appreciates the quite exceptional significance of the Orthodox Church in the life of the nation." His Majesty's answer to this address was as follows: "It is with the most profound feeling that I accept your wishes for myself and the whole of the royal family; for they come from the Orthodox Church of which I am a faithful and devoted child and for which I feel a sincere reverence and love, following in this the lessons I have received from my revered parents. My faith in God has been my main support during all the trying years I have spent far from my country; and I am grateful to the Most High for not depriving me of His consolation. The task of the Church and its clergy is great and national; the Holy Synod of Greece, therefore, can be sure that it will have my assistance in every way." There are many signs to believe that the King has shown a great interest in the irregularity of the life of the Church of Greece caused by the followers of the Old Julian Calendar. It is, I suppose, known from the reports of papers that two bishops in the active service of the Church and another retired had joined the Old Calendar Movement and put themselves on the head of those who, not being satisfied with its acceptance by the Church of Greece, had separated themselves from the former and constituted a religious community of their own. One of those bishops has already repented and, after spending six months in a

monastery, following a decision of the Holy Synod, has returned to his flock. Now the other two bishops, thinking that the King will share their views in the question of the Old Calendar, some days after his restoration applied for an audience with him. Their surprise, however, was great when an answer came from the Palace to the effect that they should first try to settle their difference with the official Church and then ask for an audience. Following that the King had a long conversation with the Archbishop of Athens. It transpired that His Majesty insisted upon a peaceful settlement of the matter, it being understood that the two bishops ought to express their repentance for what they have done. It is hoped that thanks to this intervention of the King the question will be settled satisfactorily for the Church and its discipline.

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On November 3rd, last year, died at Kephisia, a suburb of Athens, the well-known professor of the University of Athens, Mr. Christos Androutsos, at the age of 66. His death came as a great shock to all of us here in Greece, because he was always in good health and never complained. By his passing away the University of Athens generally and its theological school in particular loses a brilliant genius and a unique scholar of whom every European university could be very proud. Androutsos was born at the town of Kios in Asia Minor, the residence of the Metropolitan of Nicæa for many centuries up to 1922, when, following the great and never-to-be-forgotten catastrophe, the Metropolitan with his flock left the town as did all the other bishops of that desolated country. After finishing his preparatory studies in his native town Androutsos was introduced into the old sacerdotal school at Phamar and then he entered the Theological School of Halki. Having passed there his examinations with honours in 1892, he went to Leipzig for wider theological and philosophical studies. After his return to Constantinople in 1895 he was appointed professor of philosophy and theology in Halki. Two years after he left Halki and accepted an appointment as a professor of Greek literature, first at Galatz in Rumania, then at Canea and Candia of the island of Crete. In 1901 we find him again as professor at the Theological School of Halki up to 1905, when he was invited to the Marasleion Didascaleion of Athens, a high school training teachers. In 1912 he was appointed professor of theology in the University of Athens, a post which he kept with great distinction up to the day of his death. Of his many works we mention only his *Dogmatics*, *Symbolics*, *Ethics*, *Psychology*—all standard works. I suppose Androutsos is well known to you, not only from the splendid work of Mr. Gavin called *Greek Orthodox Thought*, but also and mainly from his book on *The Validity of English Ordination*, translated into English in 1900 by F. W. Groves Campbell, who before Androutsos

name puts the high title of "The most Reverend" (*sic*). It was Androutsos that he first touched this very important question and he was followed by Professor Comnenos of blessed memory and the present Archbishop of Athens. As a theologian Androutsos was second to none. He distinguished himself especially in dogmatics, and his book on dogmatic theology, translated into some languages, is and will remain for many years to come the principal text-book in dogmatic theology for the Greek Orthodox Church. The language he uses is clear, correct and full of beauty in every sense; and his explanations on various dogmas scholarly, easily understood, well founded on the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Tradition. As a speaker Androutsos was superb. His lectures in the University of Athens were a sheer delight to his pupils as well as to the numerous people of every walk of life who used to attend always his classes. Speaking from his university platform he gave the impression of a philosopher of Ancient Greece. The intonation of his voice, the high style of his Greek, his unique, unforgettable eloquence, and the easiness with which he used to find the proper terms in order to express deep philosophic and theological thoughts used to astonish those who, spellbound, listened to him.

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In connection with the University of Athens I should like to say that we are very fortunate indeed to have in it representing theology very distinguished scholars. It is not an exaggeration if I say that theology as a whole was never in the past years represented so well as it is at the present moment. Their names are familiar even to theologians of Western Europe; and the part they take in world movements for peace or reunion is well known to you. One of them, Dr. D. S. Ballanos, professor of Patristic theology, was appointed Minister of Education in the first Cabinet after the restoration of our King. Justice and impartiality were the outstanding characteristics of his rather short service. But it showed what a valuable asset we have in the persons of our professors of theology of Athens University. There is a close co-operation between them and the Holy Synod of Greece. Every improvement which takes place in the affairs and the life of the Church of Greece is, as a rule, connected with the earnest endeavours of our theologians in the University. One of the reasons of this co-operation undoubtedly is the fact that our Archbishop Chrysostom was a professor of theology before his election to the throne of Athens. By the way, His Grace, amidst the overwhelming duties of his archdiocese, always continues to enrich theology with new valuable books. His last work, called *The History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria*, about one thousand pages, is and will remain a lasting memorial to that great Church, the last Patriarch of which has been the most distinguished Greek prelate in our times, Mgr. Meletios Metaxakis.

JUBILEE OF THE METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW, SERGIUS, GUARDIAN OF THE PATRIARCHAL SEE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN MOSCOW.

35TH ANNIVERSARY

AT the beginning of March of this year, the thirty-fifth year has just been completed in which the present Guardian of the Patriarchal See of the Russian Church in Moscow, His Beatitude the Metropolitan of Moscow, Sergius, has been serving the Holy Orthodox Church in the episcopal rank.

Metropolitan Sergius—in the world, Ivan Stragorodsky—received his higher theological education in the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd. He completed his studies in 1890. In the same year he received the tonsure under the name of Sergius. He was ordained to the monastic office on June 13th, and was sent out at once as a member of the Orthodox Mission to Japan. The missionary work of Father Sergius in the Far East lasted till 1893. Then he was recalled to Petrograd and appointed as lecturer of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd in the chair of Old Testament studies. On December 30th, 1893, Father Sergius was transferred to the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow in the position of inspector, and in 1894 we find him as representative of the Russian Church at the Legation in Athens. By this time he had become Archimandrite. In 1895 he published his scientific work, *The Orthodox Doctrine of Salvation*. After a brilliant defence of this doctoral dissertation he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1897 he undertook again to fulfil missionary duties as assistant of the head of the Japanese Church Mission and remained in Japan until 1899. Then he was appointed as Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd. On October 6th, 1899, Father Sergius became inspector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd, and January 24th, 1901, he occupied also the position of Rector of the same Academy. At the same time the decision of the Russian Holy Synod was promulgated, that Archimandrite Sergius should be elevated to the episcopal rank, provided that he served further as Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd with the title of Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Yamburg, Petrograd. On February 22nd, 1901, the Holy Synod chose and designated him as Bishop of Yamburg, to be the third Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Petrograd.

His episcopal nomination was effected by Antony, Metropolitan of Petrograd, Theognostus, Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, Vladimir, Metropolitan of Moscow, Hieronymus, Archbishop of Warsaw, as well as the following bishops: Jacob, Bishop of Kishinev and Hotin,

Boris, Bishop and President of the College Council in the presence of the higher officials of the Central Government, professors and students of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd and many other notable personalities. On this occasion, at his nomination as bishop, Archimandrite Sergius delivered a discourse, which is very significant both for to-day and for all times. This very instructive and truly prophetic discourse is reported in full, that it may be seen what an understanding of the episcopal rank the Archimandrite Sergius then had, and, after thirty-five years, the present Guardian of the Patriarchal See of Moscow.

" REVEREND FATHERS (Your Holinesses),

" In your choice of myself as bishop I see the approval of the Holy Spirit. Therefore I cannot, even if I would, refuse this summons. I can only pray that my Lord and Judge, to whom is known my unworthiness, my weaknesses and my sins, may Himself with His ever active grace, fill up my contrition and enable me to receive with a clean and innocent heart, to keep and to increase the talent entrusted to me.

" In external aspect the episcopal ministry can be very different. Bishops may be in honour and wealth. They may be endowed with great civic rights and privileges, or they may be in entire absence of rights, poverty or even—persecution. All this depends on Occidental and external causes, on the position of Christianity in the State, on popular and social customs, etc.

" With the change of these external causes, the external aspect of a bishop may change. But the episcopal ministry in its very essence, according to the disposition which is required of a bishop, always and everywhere remains one and the same, the apostolic ministry, whether it is manifested in great Constantinople, or in unknown Sasima. It is the ministry of reconciliation. It is the pastoral ministry. To be a pastor does not mean to live with one's own personal life, but with the life of the flock. It means to be sick with the same sicknesses with which the flock is ailing. It means to minister for its salvation, to die that it may remain in life. The pastor acts constantly in his everyday work, ' he gives his life for the sheep,' he denies himself, his habits and comforts, his self-love, ready to sacrifice his life, even his soul for the Church of Christ, for the spiritual well-being of his flock. We—as the Apostle describes his ministry—are ambassadors in the name of Christ and God Himself speaks through us. We pray in the name of Christ: ' be ye reconciled with God ' (2 Cor. v, 20). As if reconciliation were necessary to God and the apostles and not to sinners, who fall! And not only this. That they may persuade people to be reconciled to God (vi, 3), that they may not give offence to anyone in that respect, the apostles, of whom the whole

world would not be worthy (Heb. xi, 38), are set forth as condemned to death, as the filth of the world (1 Cor. iv, 13). Most of all, the example of the pastoral office is found in our Lord Jesus Christ, who, unable to see how the Devil tortures the human race, left His Divine glory and heaven and the ministry of angels, and being made in the mortal form of a servant He served us and saves us. Such in its essence, in its spirit and disposition, is ' the ministry of reconciliation.' The full powers of such reconciling ministry are to-day entrusted to me also.

" For the old (pagan) man, this self-denial, this crucifixion of one's self-love for the benefit of others, appears to be wonderful, nay, more, it appears to be folly. But in humiliation and weakness, in filling with Divine grace, the fountain of true power is opened and the greatness of pastoral ministry is in no way comparable. In this ' powerlessness ' is ' the victory that has overcome the world.' We are, says the Apostle, poor, but we make many rich. We have nothing, but we possess all things (2 Cor. vi, 10). In Church history we see how weak and humble bishops, who have given their hearts to the Church, have become fulfillers of destiny, leaders of the people, and defenders of the Church and empire. Against their faith the storms of heresy have beaten powerlessly. Their unconquerable steadfastness could not be shaken by malice, or the threats of the world or hell. Before their peaceful but powerful speech the mighty and powerful of the earth have humbly bowed. So in this manner the Cross of Christ leads to glory and resurrection. ' If a seed falls to the ground and dies not, it remains by itself, but if it dies, it brings forth much fruit.'

" May God grant to me to think always and understand thus the great mystery of the high-priestly ministry and enable me to be always worthy as one of his true servants in the day of His awful and just judgment. Amen."

On the occasion of the celebration of the jubilee of His Beatitude Metropolitan Sergius all the Orthodox Church in foreign parts held commemorations and sent their warm congratulations, in which they expressed their lively joy and the wish that the great chief pastor may yet live long at the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, for the glory of the true faith and for the joy of the Russian people.

OBITUARY

DEATH OF ARMENIAN CATHOLICOS-COAJUTOR OF SIS.

HIS HOLINESS BABGEN KULESARIAN,¹ Catholicos Coadjutor of Sis, the Armenian jurisdiction, formerly of Cilicia, but now comprising Syria and Cyprus, died after a brief illness on July 9th, at Beirut, Syria. His death, at the early age of 68, removes from leadership in the Armenian Church one of its most eminent and vigorous post-war figures, whose vacant throne it will be very difficult to fill adequately. The venerable Catholicos Sahak, whose coadjutor he had been for the past five years, is now in his eighty-seventh year and has long been unable to take an active part in Church affairs. His Beatitude Thorgom Goushakian, Patriarch of Jerusalem, an intimate friend of the late Catholicos Babgen, and other Armenian dignitaries from adjacent countries, went to Syria for the funeral, which was also attended by representatives of various religious communities, and the French Government.

An appreciation. When the Armenian Church was shattered by the wholesale massacres and despoliations of the war, and most of the outstanding leaders had lost their lives, or were too broken to take an active part in the necessary reconstruction, there appeared two or three stalwart champions whose task it was to rebuild the Church and the nation. Of these the late Patriarch Yeghishe Tourian of Jerusalem was one, and another was his younger associate Catholicos Babgen. Catholicos Babgen had been trained at the famous theological school at Armash, near Constantinople, under the most able of the pre-war leaders. He was a man of excellent mind, well-educated in Armenian, French and English thought, straightforward in thought and action, gifted with a delicious sense of humour, a hard worker, and guided by a noble ideal of regenerating his stricken people. In manner and life he was remarkably simple and humble, caring nothing for the mere honours which came to him but rejoicing in the opportunities which came for serving the Church. His sterling personal character won the confidence of the well-to-do Armenians of America and England and so opened their purses for the means to carry out his large schemes.

The writer first met him in New York, in 1920, when, accompanied by Mr. Vahan Kurkjian, an Armenian layman, who conducted the affairs of the Armenian Benevolent Union in America, he came to visit the Presiding Bishop of the American Church to ask interest and assistance in his plans for the revival of the Armenian Church

¹ [EDITOR'S NOTE.—Two methods of transliteration from Armenian script are in use. By the other the name would be Papken Gulesarian, and as such the late

in the Near East. At that time Bishop Babgen (he was then Bishop of Angora) contemplated the opening of a theological school in Constantinople, and desired such assistance from the American Church as the Church of England had rendered the Assyrians through the Archbishop's Mission. In the four years' negotiations which followed I saw much of Bishop Babgen, having the privilege of helping him with his English, which was already quite good, and growing to admire his many virtues. Eventually his plans crystallized in the form of a restoration of the theological school at Jerusalem, where his friend and former teacher Yeghishe Tourian had now become patriarch. Bishop Babgen finally went to Jerusalem in 1924 with sufficient funds from the Kulpenkian family to finance the school for four years, and there it was my privilege to be sent at the request of the Patriarch to assist in English and Practical Theology as a representative of the American Church. Although one of the chief initiators of the revived school, Bishop Babgen was content not to be its director but quietly devoted himself to the daily task of training up the new generation. It is a significant commentary on his character that though a bishop he lived simply in a couple of rooms, with a man-servant to do his errands for him, did all his own cooking, and never left his bookladen tables except to attend Church or classes. It was my delight each day after lunch in the monastery refectory to go to his room overlooking the walls and towers of Jerusalem, for a cup of Turkish coffee, which he prepared to perfection with his own hands—"Bishop's coffee," he used to call it—and to discuss with him the current problems in theology and Church affairs. The theology and customs of the Anglican Churches were ever of great interest to him; but also those of the Latin Church. The reform of the Armenian Church on lines in harmony with her special genius was a constant pre-occupation.

In 1930 Bishop Babgen was chosen by the aged Catholicos of Sis as his coadjutor and successor, and on April 26th, 1931, was consecrated to his new office. The task which lay before him was overwhelmingly difficult for any but a man who trusted wholly in God's assistance. The Catholicosate of Sis had been one of the most important of the Armenian Church. When the Armenians trekked from the Caucasus to Cilicia on the Mediterranean littoral in the eleventh century they founded what was to be in time a new Armenia, the Cilician Armenian Kingdom, whose royal family intermarried with the Crusading dynasty and was one of the main allies of the Crusaders in the East. In course of time the supreme headship of the Armenian Church was transferred to the See of Sis, and the bishop thereof took the title of Catholicos. When once again the ecclesiastical hegemony was regained by Edchmiatzin in the Caucasus, the title remained as an honorific one and with it a certain local independence, such as in consecrating its own Bishops.

Although the establishment of the Constantinopolitan bishopric after the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine capital tended to take away from Sis much of the administrative control of Armenians in Turkey, the honour remained. And the prosperity of Cilician Armenia gave it a natural importance until the war. The Church in Cilicia and her people were subject to the severest trials in the pre-war massacres, and to final deportation during the war. There was a brief restoration after the defeat of Turkey and as long as France controlled Cilicia, but when Mustafa Kemal vindicated his right to that part of the old Turkish domain, the unhappy people fled for the last time to Syria. There 100,000 lived as the most abject of refugees in "tin-towns" hastily erected in the outskirts of Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo. To be sure there was an old-established Armenian population in Syria, but its few Churches, convents and colonies were swamped by the incoming tide.

The task of rebuilding the Armenian community from what was practically scratch was herculean. Armenians the world over strained every effort to help their people. The refugees themselves turned at once to any kind of work they could do. Soon schools were opened in ramshackle huts, churches were built by refugees of flattened tins and packing cases, the deported priests took up any kind of work they could do to support themselves between Sundays, and the aged Catholicos Sahak with a handful of Bishops strove to reassemble the scattered bits of ecclesiastical machinery. Much aid was given in caring for the orphans by the Near East Relief and the Save the Children Fund but the main task of establishing new homes and businesses and Church life in a strange country fell upon the indomitable people themselves.

For five years the Catholicos Sahak struggled to lay the foundations, but when his strength failed, he asked for Bishop Babgen to carry on the task as coadjutor. Leaving the peace of his Jerusalem work, Bishop Babgen, though long impaired in health, accepted the task and threw himself with characteristic vigour into the new work.

One of the first tasks was to find a new home for the offices and Cathedral of the Catholicosate. The Near East Relief was giving up its orphanage at Antelyas, north of Beirut. These buildings were offered the Catholicos at a moderate rental for a term of years, with an additional sum to help underwrite the theological school which Catholicos Babgen felt was needed. Here their Holinesses took up residence, built a fine Church, started an excellent school, and began to lay the foundations of a new life. Money was ever a problem. The Armenians in Syria were still living close to the poverty line, and the world crisis made aid from Armenians abroad difficult to secure. Catholicos Babgen himself undertook the heavy task of visiting the scattered communities, shepherding the bishops and clergy, encouraging the people by sermons of burning enthusiasm, and seeking in

every way to raise funds for the clamorous needs. One of his projects was the encouragement of Sunday schools to supplement the parochial school work. Another was the preparation of suitable simple texts to teach religion in schools. Yet another was a religious journal. In the meantime more permanent houses were being built, decent Churches and schools were being put up everywhere, and the people were getting a firm economic footing in their new country.

Catholicos Babgen soon felt the strain. The difficulties of travel undermined his normally fragile health, worry over finances and unrelenting administrative work gave him no respite; but up to the last he kept doggedly at his work until an attack of septicæmia ended fatally. Thus he died before the more elderly man whom it was hoped he would long survive. His work was not finished, but he has laid good foundations, and given the Church and people a new hope, and a noble example of service well rendered. It remains for another to carry on.

HIS LIFE

Babgen Kulesarian was born in Aintab in 1868 and there received his early education. Subsequently he went to Armash, where he became a member of the monastic community which maintained the theological school. His lifelong association with the late Patriarch Tourian of Constantinople and Jerusalem began there, as well as personal contacts with such as the late Patriarch Ormanian of Constantinople. After his ordination in 1895 he became secretary to the Patriarchate in Constantinople, served as preacher in the Church of the Holy Illuminator in Galata from 1900 to 1907, became vice-principal of the school at Armash in 1907 and was consecrated bishop at Edchmiatsin in 1910. Having to go to the West for medical treatment, he was in 1913-14 locum-tenens of the Bishopric in America. There perforce he remained during the war, planning for the time when with the aid of his American and English Armenian co-nationals he would be able to aid in the regeneration of the Church in the Near East.

Catholicos Babgen was noted as a preacher of simple, stirring sermons, many of which were published, and he was a keen student of Armenian history, on which subject he published a large number of books and pamphlets. He edited *Zion*, the monthly publication of the Jerusalem patriarchate, for some years prior to going to Syria, and was a prolific contributor to other journals.

His works shall follow him. Requiescat in pace.

A. & E.C.A. NOTES.

JUDGING from a large number of letters received the prayer leaflet issued by the Association has supplied a widely-felt want. No. 1, containing some subjects of Intercession, was sent out early in Lent. It was sent to all members of the Association. Two of them returned their copies saying they could not undertake anything further in the way of intercession. So it may be well to repeat that the issue of the leaflet was not supposed to add any obligation to membership of the Association. It was assumed that members do in fact pray about the work of the Association, and it was hoped that the leaflet might be useful to them in doing so. In a great many cases it evidently was; and we thank those who enclosed a few stamps in their letters of appreciation. Enough was received just about to cover the cost of printing and distribution. There are a few copies left over and so long as the supply lasts we will gladly send them on request to others than members of A. & E.C.A.

To our series of booklets there have been added two publications of somewhat larger size. *St. Seraphim of Sarov* (1s. 6d.), which *The Times Literary Supplement* says is the "most novel contribution to the series," should certainly be read by any who desire to know more of the spiritual and devotional life of Orthodoxy. It consists of a translation of the Saint's conversation "concerning the Aim of the Christian Life," admirably done by Mr. Dobbie Bateman, who also writes an introductory account of St. Seraphim himself. *The Ethiopian Church* (2s.) bears the sub-title "Historical Notes on the Church of Abyssinia." The author is Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, and it is just the sort of brief account which will be useful to the many people who would like to have more information about the Church of the Abyssinian people whose tragic fate is in everybody's mind to-day.

We are proud to note that of the three recently-elected Orthodox Prelates to the Patriarchal Thrones of Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem, the two latter were already Vice-Presidents of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association.

The Association is again indebted to the Archimandrite Virvos for his enthusiastic help in making known the ideals of the Association. He has recently spoken at a well-attended meeting at Corsham and also attended Solemn Evensong at Chiswick Parish Church on February 20th, when he preached and spoke at a meeting afterwards.

A. & E.C.A. NOTES

The Vicar (the Revd. E. C. Rich) presided and the General Secretary also spoke.

Some people bind their copies of the *Christian East*, others send them on to friends abroad, but probably there are many who do not wish to keep them indefinitely after reading. The Secretary (1, Hilltop Road, London, N.W.6) would be very glad to have any unwanted copies of Vol. XV, 3 and 4, the last issued double number, which is out of print.

On May 28th in conjunction with the Russian Church Aid Fund, the Association arranged a celebration of the Divine Liturgy in English at St. Mary's, Primrose Hill. The celebrant was the Revd. Fr. Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, and the deacon was the Revd. V. Theokritov. The Archimandrite Virvos sang the Epistle in English and also recited the Creed in Greek. The choir parts of the Liturgy were sung, in Slavonic, by the Russian Choir, conducted by M. Denissov, which has been winning so much admiration recently in various parts of the country. May 28th fell during the Nine Days of Prayer for Reunion, and appropriately enough the Epistle chosen for this Liturgy was the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Gospel was taken from St. John xvii. The unimpeded view of the altar enabled the congregation to follow the action of the Liturgy in much greater detail than is the case in an Orthodox Church and in addition most of those present had provided themselves with copies of Pullan's translation, which was the one used on this occasion.

The Vicar of St. Mary's, the Revd. J. A. L. Hardcastle, afterwards entertained the officiating clergy and choir, and other guests, to luncheon.

The following will, we doubt not, receive a reply from members of A.E.C.A.

Since the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations came into being it has been concerned greatly with the need of supplying the bishops and clergy and other theologians of foreign Churches with Church newspapers and other Church periodicals whereby they may keep in touch with the life and thought of the Anglican Communion. The Council has now decided to attempt the creation of a bureau whereby this need may be satisfied.

The Council itself cannot undertake to collect and dispatch such papers and periodicals, but a Statement has been issued to readers of various Church periodicals by the Bishop of Gloucester (Chairman of the Council), and Canon J. A. Douglas (Hon. Gen. Secretary).

offering to supply the name and address of a suitable recipient. The Statement asks that the names of those willing to undertake "this most serviceable and valuable piece of work" should be sent to the Hon. Gen. Secretary of the Council on Foreign Relations, Church House, Westminster, S.W.1, with an indication of the foreign Church (e.g., Orthodox, Lutheran, etc.), to an ecclesiastic of which they would prefer to send. The Statement concludes:

"We may add that in an unofficial way a small bureau of this kind was initiated in connection with the now defunct Eastern Churches Committee and is still maintained, the results being of no small importance as witness the letters which we receive from distinguished continental theologians and ecclesiastics."

OUR BOOKSHELF

CONCERNING SOPHIA, THE DIVINE WISDOM

THE THEOLOGY OF FR. SERGIUS BULGAKOV
(Paris, 1935. 64 pp. In Russian.)

PART I (pp. 5-19).—THE DECREE OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE
TO ELEUTHERIUS, THE METROPOLITAN OF LITHUANIA AND
VILNA

ON information received about the teaching of Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, professor of dogmatic theology at the Russian Theological Institute, Paris, a report was called for and memoranda were prepared by two named individuals. The material supplied makes possible the following conclusions.

It is inexpedient to state the separate points of the teaching which contradict the teaching of the Church, since they are the results of a basic principle, on which is built all his teaching concerning Sophia-Wisdom. This principle is not of the Church and the system built on it cannot be reconciled with the Church's teaching. The intellectual B. himself does not insist that his teaching is of the Church; he patronizes the tradition as a stage left behind. According to him theology, having become a dead thing in Byzantium, streams with new life in the heterodox West, particularly in Protestant kenotic theology. Starting from this re-birth of theology, B. wishes to make a further step in the development of Christian teaching.

In general his teaching recalls the Gnostics, whose basic problem was the teaching concerning Wisdom, the Logos or the medium between God and the creature world.

Revelation concerning the Heavenly Father cannot be reduced to the level of ordinary inquisitiveness. The Gnostics sought philo-

sophical knowledge; by the imagination they supplied sensuous forms for the incomprehensible and imageless reality. The system of B. also is made up by philosophical thought and creative imagination. It, too, is a poem. But can B. infuse into this new form a content that is of the Church? To answer this question it is not necessary to examine his whole system and, in order not to be hypnotized by it, the Patriarchate will approach the system from one side, that of certain basic propositions of Orthodox dogma.

(1) *The Holy Trinity.*

According to B., beside the three Hypostases, it is necessary to distinguish Sophia-Wisdom, the pre-existent ideal image of the world in the mind of God. As the Divine thought, Sophia cannot be a phantom, but is a spiritual reality, therefore alive—the object of the Divine love and answering with love for God. But, if Sophia can love, Sophia must have consciousness, a hypostasis. B. formerly said this, while qualifying this hypostasis as different in kind from the Three. But despite every reservation this clearly denies the doctrine of the Trinity. Now B. identifies Sophia with unhypostatic *ousia*, the Divine substance. Sophia's love is a passive, feminine love; this is the heavenly Aphrodite of Plato and Plotinus (a source which clearly shows the nature of his system). But according to the Christian view love, even passive, to be spiritual must be conscious, i.e., belong to a hypostasis. Unhypostatic love would be instinct, uncontrolled by reason and unthinkable in the Absolute Spirit. Even such an unconscious natural love of Eve for her husband was sent only after the Fall.

B. relates Sophia to all Three Hypostases but distinguishes its revelation in the Second Hypostasis (Logos or Wisdom) and in the Third Hypostasis (the Glory of God). Further, as a basis for his anthropocentric views, B. affirms as the departing point of revelation a conformity between God and man, whence Sophia is pre-eternal Manhood in God; in connexion with which two principles are to be distinguished in God on the analogy of male and female, the Logos being the Hypostasis of Christ, the man-child and the Holy Spirit being more fully revealed for us in Theotokos and realized in the Church.

This association of the Glory of God with the Holy Spirit is unexpected and it is difficult to see the value of the distinction (uncertain in origin) between male and female in the simple Divine substance. B. sees the Divine image in man in the duality of sex, which is not far from the deification of sex, such as in writers like Rozanov. B. does not teach this but the conclusions are there to be drawn.

(2) *The Incarnation.*

We believe that the Fall did not enter into the Divine plan,

though foreseen by God. Man might not have fallen and then the Incarnation would not have taken place. To foresee is not to fore-ordain and from the standpoint of intention the Fall and the Incarnation thereby brought about can be described as an accident produced in the primordial plan of creation.

Revelation places the responsibility for the Fall neither on the Creator nor on man, but on the Devil. Besides man there are the angels and man was not originally created for the central position in creation which he afterwards obtained with the Incarnation. Also man's sin is thereby not as incurable as is the wound of the Evil One himself. The Devil cannot turn back and Revelation knows of no apocatastasis of all creation, but only the theosis of those who will be with Christ.

But according to B. the Incarnation is not an accident in the plan of creation; rather, "for the sake of the Incarnation God created the world." In a kenotic act of love God creates the world from *nil*, i.e., from His own substance, there being no other material. Beside the eternal Sophia appears the temporal creature Sophia, requiring to be redeemed from its creaturely limitations and imperfections, although Divine. This is fulfilled in the Incarnation, whereby the Logos, the Hypostasis of the Divine Sophia, receives into Himself man, the hypostasis of the creature Sophia, and gradually apotheoses all creation to a final "God will be all in all." We may observe that in discussing the union of the two natures in Christ, B. consciously repeats the heresy ascribed (rightly or wrongly) to Apollinarus.

The possibility and even the necessity of the Incarnation is given in the nature of things, in the conformity between God and man, as if the Logos would not have fully realized Himself without an earthly Incarnation; as a kind of subordinate aim of the Incarnation, B. does mention the salvation of fallen man. The possibility of the Fall is very obscure. It is one thing to understand with the Church the kenosis of God in the self-limitation of the Almighty, who posits beside Himself the freedom of self-determination of creature spirits. It is another when the world is also Sophia, though created, whereby man through his Divine origin as it were participates in his own creation. But the Church has condemned the hypothesis of the pre-existence of souls.

Still less intelligible is the existence in the creature Sophia of the Devil, a being more powerful than man, who is the hypostasis of the creature Sophia; while, if the Devil cannot repent, there is no apotheosis of all creation and, if B. thinks that the Devil can repent, he again breaks with the Church, which condemned Origenism.

(3) *The Redemption.*

The essence of the doctrine is that Christ by His sufferings offered to the Father a certain value which more than-satisfied the demands of the Divine Justice. But the Divine Justice cannot be reconciled

with sin itself and, if a satisfaction more than sufficient is given, the eternal torments of the unrepentant must be explained. Divine Justice is satisfied only by repentance. But why was the Cross necessary for the renewal of human nature, although the Almighty could have chosen another, less shameful, way?

Revelation explains this by conditions of history and fact. Coming into the world, the Redeemer found it in bondage to the enemy. The Creator could have annihilated this bondage with the breath of His mouth but He remained faithful to His self-limitation in creation, accepting the conditions of life as the Devil and man had made them. The Lord took the form of a servant and called Himself not otherwise than the Son of Man. And the Devil, through his sons, brought the Lord to a shameful death. The Cross depended on the conditions of the world and submission to these conditions is the real kenosis. If you like, the work of the Redeemer begins from the first moments of His earthly life and even from eternity; but the fulfilment is the death on the Cross. As all men by bodily death leave the earth and descend into corruption, so the Man Jesus was freed by bodily death alone from the kingdom of the Devil to become the principle of resurrection for re-born mankind. Voluntary death was the ransom paid for our salvation. Not to the Devil was the sacrifice given, but to the Father, or rather, to the Divine Justice. The Lord laboured by no means as a kind of spiritual head of all creation or even of all mankind (which would not have corresponded to the form of a servant); He was only the Second Adam, founder of a new mankind, and only those who are re-born of the Spirit into the new mankind can benefit by the fruits of His work.

But, if according to B. the cause of the Incarnation is rooted in the depths of the Godhead, then the Redemption becomes an appendage to the Incarnation. It is necessary, he says, to accept the kenosis of the Incarnation in all its awful seriousness as the metaphysical Golgotha of the Logos self-crucified in the Incarnation. Then the historical Golgotha was not a new, and not the most grievous, fact. In B.'s system the personality of the Devil is most obscure and the struggle between good and evil is transferred from the objective sphere into the inner life of the Redeemer, His struggle with Himself, a struggle between suffering love and absolute holiness. But with all its psychological depth this is but guesswork.

Also, seeking to discover the psychological depth of Gethsemane, B. depicts a new counsel of the Trinity. The Creator Himself accepts the responsibility for the Fall and for the creaturehood conceived as the cause of the Fall. With the Son suffers the whole Holy Trinity. But the Church has condemned Adam's attempt to make God share in the Fall.

According to B. the God-Man suffered two deaths, a spiritual or Divine death consisting in a kind of separation from the Trinity

("Godforsakenness") and occurring at Gethsemane, and the bodily death of His human nature at Golgotha as a supplementary act to the former. This substitution of Gethsemane for Golgotha is entirely wanton. The death on the Cross is central. And let us not forget that the Son of Man suffered in human wise; in His Divine nature He was free from suffering. Such substitution is possible only because B. considers that the Holy Trinity suffered as He suffered at the Incarnation and even at the Creation. This is possible as poetry, but not as theology.

Conclusions.

It is clear that B.'s teaching:

- (i) Has no intention of reckoning with the tradition and in certain points adopts positions condemned by the Church.
- (ii) Introduces so much caprice into the understanding of fundamental doctrine as to recall Gnosticism rather than Christianity, though, like Gnosticism, employing Christian terms.
- (iii) In its practical conclusions is the more dangerous, the more attractive it is in its seeming depth and its pondered reverence. By prompting the thought of the Creator's responsibility for the Fall, it weakens the consciousness of sin, the basis of spiritual life. By representing salvation as a kind of cosmic Divine process in created nature and particularly in man, it opens the door to direct perversions of the spiritual life.

Decisions.

- I. To recognize the teaching of B. as alien to the Orthodox Church and to warn the faithful against it.
- II. To summon bishops, priests and laymen, who have been so incautious as to become involved in this teaching, to correct their errors.
- III. As B. is not in communion with the Patriarchate of Moscow, to make no special condemnation, but to require, as a condition of his future reception and authorization to officiate, a written recantation of his Sophiological interpretation of dogma and his other mistakes, also a written undertaking of unswerving loyalty to the teaching of the Orthodox Church.

(Signed and dated 7th September, 1935.)

PART II (pp. 20-53). MEMORANDUM PRESENTED BY FR. SERGIUS BULGAKOV TO THE METROPOLITAN EULOGIUS

B. protests firmly against a condemnation of his life's work, based, not on any sufficient acquaintance with his writings, but on a compilation of excerpts mainly taken from his latest work (*The Lamb of God*) and embodied in an information laid against him. He notes certain historic facts. Before the Revolution teaching concerning

the Divine Wisdom was accepted as a tolerable theological opinion. A Sophiological book by Fr. Paul Florensky was approved for the degree of Master of Theology by the Moscow Spiritual Academy and the Holy Synod, the latter on the report of the M. Antonius. B. himself published Sophiological articles from 1914, which later appeared in 1917 in his book *The Unfading Light*. This book, though it no longer fully satisfies its author, was on sale in the Moscow Diocesan House during the All-Russian Church Council and did not prevent his active membership of the Council and its committees even on dogmatic questions, or his membership of the Supreme Church Council or his subsequent ordination with the personal approval of the Patriarch Tikhon. The M. Sergius had opportunities to protest during that period. Now without knowing B.'s system, without naming the separate points which offend, without examining the system as a whole, without giving B. any opportunity to defend himself, the M. Sergius condemns the system on the ground that the basic principle of Sophiology itself is not of the Church. This condemnation is not in keeping with the Church and the M. Sergius has not a Papal infallibility. B.'s system also is not infallible, though he does insist that within the sphere of theological opinion it is of the Church. He is an "intellectual" but a known critic of the intelligentsia, to whom he thought himself to have a mission in the service of the Church. He gives the lie direct to any assertion that he patronizes the tradition, to which he has testified before the whole heterodox world and the true voice of which he has sought to hear. The phrase about theology having become a dead thing in Byzantium has been taken out of its context and has a precise reference to the problematics of kenotic theology, to which, moreover, he seeks to give an Orthodox answer. Also he is surprised to learn that from his teaching can be deduced the teaching of Rozanov, to whose ideas he is opposed. Similarly he has not yet touched in his works the doctrines of Origen and St. Gregory of Nyssa concerning the salvation of the Devil and eternal torment. The reference to the heavenly Aphrodite has been removed from its context in *The Unfading Light* (1917) and quoted as if it were his latest opinion. But is it necessary to explain to the M. Sergius the part played by Greek philosophy in patristic theology? The use of the term Gnosticism is unintelligible, since all the patristic writings were concerned with Wisdom, the Logos and the medium between God and the creature world. He affirms that he has no taste for the semi-pagan syncretistic systems of the Gnostics and has never felt their influence.

The Sophiological theme is deeply and essentially Orthodox, given us by Holy Scripture, by patristic theology and by the consciousness of the Russian Church, to which was granted a revelation of Sophia in its Theotokan aspect (Kiev and Novgorod Uses). For a theologian not to take this last seriously would be a direct opposition to

tradition. It is in fact the source which inspires B.'s "system." In this revelation entrusted to his forefathers are hidden the spiritual paths of the future through a Sophian understanding of the world and of man.

As to reckoning with the tradition he can only affirm categorically that he accepts as obligatory for the direction of his theology all the dogmas of the Church contained in the tradition, distinguishing only the true dogmas, proclaimed by the Councils or established in the rite, from scholastic opinions. The bulk of his writings are devoted to the interpretation of the dogmas and not to fanciful Gnostic problems. His Sophiology is itself in the sphere of theological opinion and open to examination, which, however, it has not yet received.

As to the Divine incomprehensibility he begins his dogmatics therefrom and has given much space to apophatic (negative) theology, which does not, however, exclude cataphatic (positive) theology, unless we are to fall into a Protestant dogmatism or even antidogmatism.

(1) *The Holy Trinity.*

To the deadly but unfounded sentence that his teaching clearly denies the doctrine of the Trinity, he can only reply by enquiring whether there is any denial of the Trinitarian dogma in the Biblical teaching concerning the Wisdom and the Glory of God; in the Russian prayers addressed to the Wisdom of God, "famed Sophia"; in the teaching concerning prototypes of SS. Dionysius, Maxim the Confessor and John Damascene; in the teaching concerning the Divine energies of S. Gregory Palama; finally (to be consistent) in the recognition of *οὐσία* in the Holy Trinity.

The M. Sergius sins against the plenitude of the revelation concerning the Trinity, Who is Love and in Whom there can be nothing unalive and therefore unloving. B. distinguishes various types of love, hypostatic and unhypostatic, active and answering—in the last sense passive or "feminine," but not "female" in the meaning of sex. Can the creation of the God Who is Love, be deprived of the gift of an answering love to its Creator, though an unhypostatic love and even (for one does not love with the reason) uncontrolled by reason? Is it only in the language of rhetoric that the Psalms and the Song of the Three Children call on all inanimate (but not dead) creation to praise and bless the Lord? Or the liturgical texts? And what is the meaning of the prayer to the Divine Wisdom or to the Holy Cross, which is depicted as a spiritual power, though certainly not a "fourth hypostasis"? And what of the Church which is the Body of Christ, and given to drink of one Spirit (1 Cor. xii, 13)? Is the Church an impersonal and suprapersonal being capable of love to Christ or are only the hypostatic members of the Body so capable? The Church is not a personality, but she loves and builds

herself up in love (Ephes. iv, 16). Moreover, S. Paul explains the love of the Church for Christ in the image of the love of wife for husband (Ephes. v, 23, 25, 32). Is it the Church or the members that love? Finally, passing by the marvellous images of the Song of Songs, which has always been a stumbling-block for rationalist theologians, we find in the Apocalypse the dramatization of Ephes. v in the woman arrayed with the sun, in the bride, the wife of the Lamb, and in the concluding triumphal cry: "And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come." Who is the Bride, if not the Church? And what does this "Come" signify if not the unhypostatic love of this reasonable, spiritual nature, which is the Wisdom of God in its eternal prototype. In short, B. cannot accept the personal opinion of the M. Sergius concerning the possibility of unhypostatic love as corresponding to Holy Writ, to the data of liturgics or as an expression of the "Christian view."

As to anthropocentrism the "conformity of man to the Godhead" is simply the truth disclosed by revelation. As to the relation between men and angels, B. prefers the definition of S. Gregory Palama: "there is nothing higher than man; the spiritual nature of the angels has not such energy of life, since it has not received a body formed of earth."

It is difficult to understand in the confused account of his teaching concerning the distinction between the Second and Third Hypostases in the Divine Sophia what is the point of the criticism. B.'s teaching is not exhausted and is not even defined by the distinction of the male and female principle *in the spirit*. But the distinction is not of uncertain origin. Gen. i, 27, brings us face to face with a certain spiritual analogy. Also the fact is that the Incarnate Logos was a man, while the Holy Spirit did descend on Theotokos, whereby the same analogy was revealed from another side. The references above to the Song of Songs, Ephesians and the Apocalypse confirm the analogy. Further, in Syrian writings of the fourth century, we find the Holy Spirit depicted as a female hypostasis. Finally, Orthodox Mariology testifies to the same analogy in its teaching concerning the Virgin Mary as Spirit-bearer and Mother of God, the "New Eve."

The association of the Glory of God with the Holy Spirit was characteristic of the Orthodox consciousness of SS. Theophilus and Irenæus of Lyons. According to the Scriptures the Glory of God corresponds either to a Trinitarian theophany as a revelation of the Godhead (*i.e.*, of the Divine Sophia) as in the prophets, or to the sanctifying action of the Holy Spirit as in the consecration of the tabernacle, the Transfiguration and in the Resurrection (*cf.* Rom. viii).

(2) *The Incarnation.*

The M. Sergius seeks to prove that without the Fall the Incarnation would not have taken place (though S. Irenæus of Lyons held the

other view). But his anthropomorphism goes to such lengths as to speak of an accident in God. *O felix culpa!* To carry the idea to its conclusion, the Devil was the real author of this saving accident! B. quotes 1 Peter i, 20, 1 Cor. ii, 7, Ephes. i, 4-5, i, 9-10, iii, 9-11, 2 Tim. i, 9, and Rev. xiii, 8. Is it possible against such evidence to speak of the Incarnation as an accident? Such occasionalism would be more explicable if the power of the Incarnation were limited to the Redemption alone and did not extend to the glorification and theosis of human nature in Christ: "Thou didst bring us back to heaven and didst bestow on us Thy kingdom which is to come"—from the Anaphora.

There is nothing in his writings to belittle the work of Redemption. He quotes from *The Lamb of God*: "The Incarnation was fulfilled in all its meaning as it was eternally ordained in the counsel of God, but it came to pass for the sake of fallen humanity. By reason of the Fall it was made manifest *above all* as the means of salvation and redemption, though preserving all the fullness of its meaning even beyond the limits of the Redemption; for this does not exhaust it." And there are many other passages. B. cannot undertake a full commentary on every proposition put forward by the M. Sergius; but he observes that the argument concerns the obscure and difficult question of the creation of man in his freedom in distinction from the world of things. He has twice discussed this question. Once in *The Burning Bush*, in connection with the dogma of original sin, which can be understood, not only as an hereditary illness, but also as personal sin, only with the support of a free self-determination included by God in the very creation of man. Secondly, in *The Lamb of God*. But, of course, in this difficult sphere there can only be expressions of theological opinion; yet the M. Sergius ascribes to him opinions the opposite to those he holds. He quotes himself: "The whole animal world is created by the direct act of the Divine Omnipotence, as it were as objects, through the Divine command to earth and water; to man this immediate creation is not applied, but concerning him there is the Divine counsel: 'Let us make man in our image'; and God created in His own image. Creation in the image of God is something other than that of the whole creature world; it includes in itself a creature self-position, equally for angels and men. . . ." He also names two passages where he explicitly denies recognition to the hypothesis of the pre-existence of souls.

B. notes generally in this section, which criticizes his Christology, the absence of the least reference to the heart of Christology, viz., the theological apprehension of the Chalcedonian dogma. He has devoted many pages to an exhaustive study of the tradition, in which there is much more than only Apollinarus. It is a question, not of heresies, but of interpreting the opinions of the Bishop Apollinarus, concerning whom also the M. Sergius makes qualifica-

tions. B.'s positive attitude to Apollinarus is limited to seeing in him, as a question of history, the misunderstood forerunner of the Chalcedonian theology.

(3) *The Redemption.*

The M. Sergius expounds the doctrine of the Redemption in the tones of Anselm's theory complicated by his own occasionalism. It is not a matter of what you like; it is obligatory to believe that the work of the Redeemer begins from the first moments of His earthly life and even from eternity. The Cross has more than an instrumental and historical meaning. The fundamental thought of Orthodox theology, especially in liturgics, ascribes to the Cross an eternal power. Moreover, Holy Writ does affirm that Christ as the Second Adam received the *whole* of human nature (cf. "what is not received is not redeemed"); in this is the power of the Chalcedonian dogma, as is testified by the patristic tradition and especially by S. Irenæus of Lyons. But here the M. Sergius simply contradicts himself. Also Christ was the Son of Man, but it is absolutely untrue that He called Himself not otherwise. The M. Sergius shows a tendency to divide and contrast the Son of God and the Son of Man, a tendency realized in Nestorianism and in the Protestant kenotic teaching that in the condition of kenosis Christ ceased to be God. Particularly grievous is such an assertion as that "the Man Jesus was freed by bodily death alone . . ." or "the Son of Man suffered in human wise." This is a Nestorian idea and directly contradicts the Creed. It is, of course, impossible to speak of the sufferings of the Divine nature in a human sense. But He who suffered was the God-Man Himself, the Incarnate Logos. The Orthodox Church believes and teaches that in all His states Christ remained "indivisibly and unconfusedly" in His God-Manhood. In this is the strength of the Redemption.

The "information" has played a cruel trick on the M. Sergius; he ascribes to B. the theory of the M. Antonius, which B. has never shared, since it is unusually one-sided. It is not necessary therefore for B. to give a full account here of his thought on the Redemption and refers his reader to *The Lamb of God*. He confines himself to short quotations. "With sin the Saviour was bound to accept bodily suffering and to taste death; moreover, not the death of any man, knowing only his own sufferings, tasting but his own death. For the New Adam, the Redeemer of *all* human kind, it was necessary to suffer all human sufferings and to taste the death of all deaths, to accept death in order to vanquish it, by death trampling death, universal integral death." "This death is the *crown* of the whole work of redemption, its end and the beginning of the new life. The Cup of Gethsemane is the cup of death. It is the sacrifice of Golgotha, in which is concentrated all the fullness of the Divine depletion, the saving kenosis of the Son of God."

Certainly, B. in accordance with the Chalcedonian dogma relates the death on the Cross, not to the Godhead of the Son as also not to His manhood, but to His *God-Manhood*. The M. Sergius has against him Holy Writ; the Father sent the Son into the world to the death on the Cross. But others can speak better than B. "The Love of the Father crucifying, the Love of the Son crucified, the Love of the Spirit triumphing by the might of the Cross—so God loved the world," says the M. Philaret. The M. Macarius testifies simply to "the participation of all the Persons of the Holy Trinity in the work of redemption."

It remains to deal with the confusion about the creaturehood of man as the condition of the Fall with the consequential ascription of blame to the Creator. In fact, when B. speaks of the creaturehood of man as the condition of sin, he means the creature freedom of limited but free created beings. The reality of freedom includes the real possibility and danger of a fall, which indeed happened. Freedom is the highest gift of the Creator's love, but a difficult and dangerous gift, worthy of such a love. And the Creator by giving it inevitably combines in His pre-eternal counsel the will to create with the will to redeem; this is not an "accident" but the direct logic of creation. The animal and physical world lies beneath sin; endowed with creature freedom, angels and men may, but are not obliged to, sin. This instability is overcome only by the acquisition of spiritual maturity and it is natural for theology to combine creation and redemption in one pre-eternal counsel of God. That and no more is meant in his teaching about the unity of the Divine love both in the Creation and in the Redemption, to which reference was made. As the M. Philaret says: "the death of Jesus is the focus of created existence, and with His pronouncement that the Redemption is finished (John xix, 30), is fulfilled the perfection of creation (Gen. ii, 2), and prepared is the accomplishment of all things new (Rev. xxi, 6)."

Such is the content of the M. Sergius's report and there is nothing in it to justify the description of B.'s teaching as Gnostic or pagan.

What are the faithful flock of the M. Sergius to do? Are they forbidden to read B.'s books? And, if not, how are they to sift the wheat from the tares? The imprecision of the sentence makes it unreal.

As to the demands on B. himself, the requirement having been made, he gives before the whole Œcumenical Church his assurance of unswerving loyalty to the teaching of the Orthodox Church. As regards recanting his Sophiological *interpretation* of dogma and *other* mistakes, he cannot satisfy the demand, even if he wished to, since the demand is not made in the form of dogmatic definitions as is usual in such cases. He cannot disavow his theology which includes all Orthodox dogmas or the unknown *other* mistakes.

B. speaks of the pain which he suffered at the time of the canonical breach with the Mother Church some years ago. Now dogmatically the doors of the Mother Church are closed on him. He kisses the hand that signed that strange document. But he refuses to acknowledge the canonical and dogmatic force of a sentence which violates in such a degree the elementary demands of theological criticism and, worse still, of Orthodox freedom. He awaits the time when can begin, not the trial, but the first preliminary examination of his ideas. Meanwhile he will be guided by S. Paul (Gal. v, 1).

Conclusions.

(1) The report of the M. Sergius was not based on a knowledge of B.'s writings. No notice was given to B. of the trial and there was no preceding judgment of competent theologians. The exposition of his views is inaccurate and incomplete. The judgments relate not so much to central points of his doctrine as to details not always connected with it. The report is a theological polemic and the theology of the M. Sergius is not free from dispute.

(2) B. responsibly declares that he confesses all the true dogmas of Orthodoxy. His Sophiology relates not to the content itself of these dogmas but to their theological interpretation. He has not represented it as obligatory.

(3) His teaching has never contained and never will contain an acceptance of a "fourth hypostasis" in the Holy Trinity; but deals primarily with the relation of God to the world. Likewise it has not the least relation to pagan Gnosis, but is inspired by the Orthodox Russian veneration of Sophia the Divine Wisdom.

(4) The condemnation does not correspond to the conciliar spirit of Orthodoxy. The Orthodox Church knows no external hierarchical organ of dogmatic infallibility, but makes its dogmatic sentences under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in different ways, either by conciliar definition accepted by the Church or *tacito consensu*, by the life of the Church. Orthodoxy confers the corresponding freedom of thought.

October, 1935.

[A note (pp. 54-64), dated Whitsuntide, 1927, and dealing with similar criticisms, has not been included. Abstract by A.F.D.-B.]

GREEK MONASTICISM.

"THE MONKS OF ATHOS."

By R. M. DAWKINS, M.A., F.B.A.

(George Allen and Unwin. 15s.)

THE MOUNTAIN" or "The Holy Mountain" is a second Holy Land of the Eastern Church. There, legend says that the Woman rested for "a time, times and a half," after her flight from the Serpent of the Apocalypse. Thus, legends bring the Mother of God to Athos and countless ikons, precious relics and saints are said to have fled there after numerous troubles in the Holy Land as well as after the Ikonomachia and the False Unions in Byzantium. Safe history shows the famous monastic republic as the place where the cœnobia-types founded in Egypt, Judæa and Cappadocia managed to survive after the Crusades, and the reactions they provoked among the Moslem fanatics, had depleted the Orthodox monasteries of Asia and Africa almost completely. To-day outside Greece itself only Mt. Sinai and Mar Saba among Greek monasteries are really on more than a nominal-footing. Inside Greece, apart from the great exception of Mt. Athos, the regular monasteries of historic foundation with more than a handful of resident brethren in each are very few indeed. The Hieromonachoi for the most part have their life and activity outside the recognized Monastic Houses. It is in exceptional places, and pre-eminently on Mt. Athos, that the Greek monastic life of Asia Minor, Egypt and the Wilderness still goes on.

Yet I venture to insert a paradox. When I visited "The Mountain," I was constantly reminded of Oxford. The relations of the Houses to the Sacred Community as a whole, the relations of Skete and Kelli to parent House, the relations of the Brother to the House on the Athonite Idiorhythmic system: all these relations bring to mind our College and University, our halls and lodgings, our system of fellowships, and we find that the historical evolution of Oxford and Athos presents strange parallels. There also are our quads and our staircases. The resemblance amid so much difference is very curious. Once when a Greek friend, walking down the Turl with me, kept exclaiming "Agionoros in England," I laughed; now, however, I understand.

We have also the anecdote, passing so readily from one historic personality to another and the competition in "tall stories" about the antiquity of the various Houses. The resemblance, albeit little mentioned, has aided the author of *The Monks of Athos*. We may, perhaps, say that we eagerly await a companion Greek volume on Oxford, possibly by the Professor of Mediæval and Modern

English, if such a chair exists, at Salonika. But, alas! it should have been written years ago; Oxford is losing the atmosphere in question.

Agionoros is another home for "impossible loyalties." The calendar is the present loyalty of her "Zealots." I have eaten of their hospitable tables and can testify to the kindness of some of them, and there have been in human history causes far less intelligible than their cause. But their "Zeal" has directed them to the organization of the self-entitled "Autokephalous Greek Church of the Genuine Orthodox" (των γνησίων Ορθοδόξων) of which the three bishops, together with any others they may have consecrated and with purely hypothetical supporters in the isolations of Soviet Russia, are deemed to constitute the one true episcopate, as opposed to false and heretical episcopates. This is interesting as evidence of the meaning of authority for the Eastern Conservative. The external authorities in the Orthodox Churches, not excluding the ruling Houses of Mt. Athos, are all compromised in Zealot eyes, and a minute minority which for many years had no bishops anywhere, as far as anyone could possibly ascertain, can be deemed to be the faithful remnant of the true flock. To the Zealots the "enormity" is the policy that divided the seamless robe of the Orthodox Church in respect of the celebration of "fixed" fasts and feasts and allowed one portion of the Orthodox congregation to "concelebrate" or "con-feast" the festivals with the Westerns, while another portion fasts, feasting thirteen days later. Thus the "modern monks" of New-Calendarist Vatopedi can ride off during their fasts, and can be guests at the Carnival-feasting of others before the real fast begins. If we believe the "Zealots," New-Calendarist monks never fast. Only one monastery has the New Calendar for its own use. The other "Ruling Monasteries," numbering nineteen, have simply recognized the legitimacy of the New Calendar in principle, and submitted to a Patriarchate that employs it. But, that is compromise from the "Zealot" standpoint. The sad thing from our point of view is that the post-war introduction of the New Calendar in the Greek and Rumanian Orthodox Churches is twisted in an inextricable nexus of events and projects with the idea of *rapprochement* with Progressive Western Christendom. "The devil shall take you and all the unbaptized peoples," says the Zealot to the New Calendarist, remembering the latter's connection with the "sprinkled and unoiled" nations of the West (αλαδητοι—pop—for unchrismated—esp. Protestants).

In this strange world, Professor Dawkins glides untroubled, a neutral in ecclesiastical controversy. We have in his book not many photographs or descriptions of priceless objects of art, but many examples of types of human character as they reveal themselves,

especially in their telling of their legends and traditions. This is, I think, the first good English book on Athos by an author who was from first to last on his visits there independent of the need of an interpreter, where the Greeks were concerned, at any rate.

Here are several monks whom I recognized at once and it would be tempting to supplement their descriptions and to dwell on particular stories, giving variants. Instead, I venture to draw the attention of readers to certain general comments the author makes. He gives an important place to a famous passage in the "Interpretation of the Painters," where the ideal monk is described, nailed to a cross amid figures symbolizing temptations to sin, punishments, and the reward of constancy in resistance. I know nothing in ikonography more striking, in its very reserve, than the typical Athonite picture of the literal "mouth" of Hell and the confusion of people falling down on top of one another inside it. The author of the book finds in Greek Eschatology a curious but common-sense attitude, a "simple submission to the processes of nature." As a body has the right to be dissolved, so a soul, on the same condition, has the right to be with God. If man does his part, God ought to do the rest. "The perfect humility of the penitent . . . is not found without considerable qualification in the Greek world," the Professor thinks. But on the other hand, Athos is "no place to look for . . . the jolly fat monk who is vulgarly supposed to have eaten and drunk too much." I agree; but once I did meet Friar Tuck, and he was an "exile" from Athos, an Athonite acting as bailiff of a farm that his monastery owned.

Interesting stories of motives for retirement from the world are given. Among these it is especially noticeable what a potent influence can be exercised, even in the Greek-American community, and even among far-travelled sailors, by the monkish lives of the Saints and by such stories as those in *The Salvation of Sinners*. Family tradition and pre-war primary education, especially in the Provinces that were Turkish before the war, where Greek education was lately the business of the Church, gave even to the ordinary worldly Greek a very vivid picture of heaven and hell and of good and evil Angelic Powers in the world around us; that remains in the back of the Greek's mind. He turns at a crisis towards a heavenly haven on earth and an escape from the "power of Satan" exhibited in misfortunes and miseries. Then Athos attracts him.

One may wonder whether the omission from the book of all reference to the "Athonias" school is not rather misleading. It is a high school or gymnasium at Karyes, attended by monks of different ages, and having additional religious subjects so as to make it at least equivalent to any one of the many "Hieratic Schools" in the Greek Provinces, where men qualify for the parochial priesthood. This is a provision for monks who desire education. Nor should it

go unrecorded that many Athonite monks, educated at Athens, University or elsewhere at the expense of their Houses or of their Patrons and Spiritual Fathers, are now, as absentees from Athos, working on the staffs of the Greek Dioceses, or as bishops. Thus there is a certain "give and take" between Athos and the rest of the Greek Church; to some extent Athonites come and go. One could wish that the same relation was possible between the Mountain and other Orthodox Churches. As it is those who become monks have to be Greek subjects and the Non-Greeks generally either have to remain resident for life or have to depart without any hope of returning. The result is unfortunate for the "international" aspect of Athos, as to which more might be written. Meanwhile Athos is not economically unproductive. The monks as manual workers produce oil and wine and timber which tend increasingly to pay for the few needed imports. So Athos is not really a drain on the rest of Greece, as some have supposed.

I am a little surprised at the remarks about "incorruptibility of bodies" as a Western or Latin peculiarity. Russian examples are well known. The Russians on the mountain met the difficulty about the supernatural preservation, both of some saints and of the excommunicated, and those who die "possessed" in the following very matter of fact way: When a body begins to become corrupted and corruption is arrested, that signifies a special divine grace, anticipating the resurrection. But if corruption never sets in at all when it should do so in the course of nature, the cause of the phenomenon is diabolical. The classic instance is that of the forty fathers of the Lavra, who, to please the Latins and the "Unionists," held a Liturgy at the Lavra according to the form of the Roman Mass. This was traditionally in the thirteenth century after Lyons (1274). They died excommunicated and their bodies are undissolved, hidden in a shore-cave which is shown to travellers as the cave of the "excommunicated." Neither sea nor earth would accept them.

The title for a type of ikon "Τῆς φοβερᾶς προστάς" is certainly adapted from a daily Morning Hymn and as certainly refers to the "Fearful and Never Shamed" Patroness of the Christian Race. So the translation "Dreadful Presentation" is something of a puzzle—though Professor Dawkins' interpretation of the ikon so entitled is clear and important. It represents the Christ as a small boy shivering and trembling at the vision of His impending Passion. He struggles with fear and, in one example of the subject at Chilandari not noticed in the book, He kicks away His tiny shoe. The history of ikonography is indeed a great corrective of pre-conceived theories!

The treatment of the relations between legend and safe history is tentative. We might have hoped for a somewhat fuller treatment of the authentic historical information from written sources. The

fascinating problems are those of the real origins of the commonest narrative-outlines. For an example, is it really true that all ikons that came wondrously to Athos came in the legendary pre-historic period between the Ikonomachia and S. Athanasius the Athonite? Ikons and other precious objects were drawn wondrously from the sea, in other places at least, at later periods. Most surprisingly there is an ikon of the Panagia that came by a miracle on to the Euboean coast seventy years ago; a new Church was then built to receive the ikon. The ikon is certainly centuries older. Is it possible in the course of nature that Byzantine ikons could be preserved under the sea for centuries like ancient bronze statues?

The mention of Euboea and the place where that ikon of the Panagia comes ashore, recalls me forcibly to another form of Greek Monasticism. It seems a far cry from the Lavra of Athos to the Kyme of Euboea, of the province of Karysbia, from the saddles of the Athonite mules to the seats of the handy motor-car that dashes out before sunrise every Sunday morning carrying and scattering preachers in villages. It could seem very strange in the "changeless East" to stand again on a completely new monastic building on land deserted and rock-strewn ten years ago where the toil and sweat and agony of a few who loved their Church and people had built a new foundation, a centre of mission-preaching and a refuge for orphans, and for seekers of Christian truth and life. There over an Orthodox Foundation I saw the Fiery Cross of electric light hang in the night air, a reminder to the sailor of all communions and all nations and to the inland wanderer. The work of that House of S. Panteleimon in Kyme, and the work that spreads around it year by year, stand outside the scope of this article. They belong to another story. Yet is it another story? It is the same Monastic life that dies to live again.

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